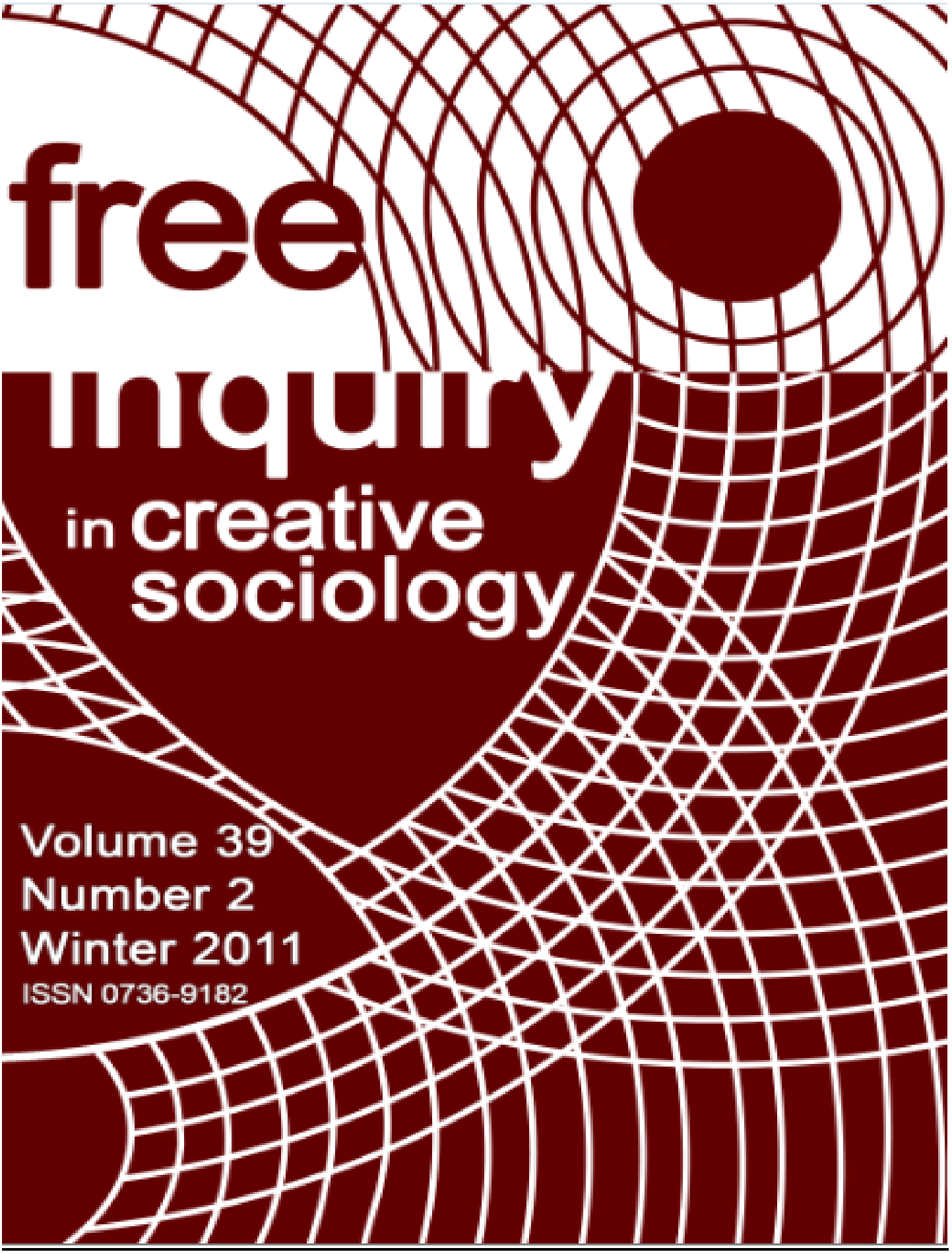

Volume 39
Number 2
Winter 2011
ISSN 0736-9182

General Editor: Alberto G. Mata, Jr., Ph.D., University of Oklahoma

Associate Editor: Catalina Herrerías, MSW, Ph.D., University of Oklahoma

Published: Twice annually, once in spring and once in winter

Questions &/or Comments: freeinquiryemail@ou.edu

ISSN: 0736-9182

MISSION: To provide an outlet for interdisciplinary scholarship.

WORLD REFEREED AND DISTRIBUTED: Abstracted in Sociological Abstracts. There are over 150 academic subscribers including 15 libraries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Individuals in the U.S. $40. Foreign Surface Mail $45 (U.S. $$) Institutional rate is $75. All subscriptions must be prepaid.

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THE STATE OF THE GREAT SIOUX
PART TWO

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ABSTRACT

By the late 1600s, the Great Sioux had settled in what is now known as Minnesota as village farmers. As a result of conflict with other First Americans, the Sioux –then known as Dakota– began to divide and to migrate west. The result of the division was three groups –the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota. Within four decades the population of this great nation had been decimated and the nation itself had been reduced to a defeated and despondent people totally dependent on the United States for the resources necessary for its survival. This manuscript describes the Massacre at Wounded Knee, The Great Dakota Conflict, and then summarizes the current population, cultural, and economic status of the Great Sioux.

INTRODUCTION

In Stover (2011), a brief history of the early Great Sioux was presented and a discussion of the massive societal collapse the Sioux experienced from the mid-1800s until about 1900 was begun. Four events were identified as critical in understanding this societal collapse: (1) the Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Big Horn, (2) the illegal confiscation and continued occupation of the Black Hills, (3) the Massacre at Wounded Knee, and (4) The Great Dakota Conflict. That paper presented a brief history of the Great Sioux, the Battle of the Greasy Grass/ Little Big Horn, and the illegal confiscation and continued occupation of the Black Hills.

By the late 1600s, the Great Sioux had settled as village farmers in the area now known as Minnesota. As a result of conflict with other First Americans, the Sioux –then known as Dakota– began to divide and to migrate west. This division resulted in three groups –the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota. The Sioux grew in strength and power and by the middle of the 1800s they were the most powerful Indian nation in the upper Great Plains, and arguable one of the two most powerful nations in what is now the continental United States –the United States itself being the second (Biography 1996; Discovery Channel Communications 1993a).

However, within four decades the population of this great nation had been decimated and the nation itself had been reduced to a defeated people totally dependent on the United States for the resources necessary for its survival. Four events can be identified as critical in understanding this massive societal collapse. They are (1) the Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Big Horn, (2) the illegal confiscation and continued occupation of the Black Hills, (3) the Massacre at Wounded Knee, and (4) the Great Dakota Conflict. Described in Stover (2012) was a brief history of the Great Sioux and of the first two events instrumental in their collapse. The final two critical events and an over summary of their current status are described here.

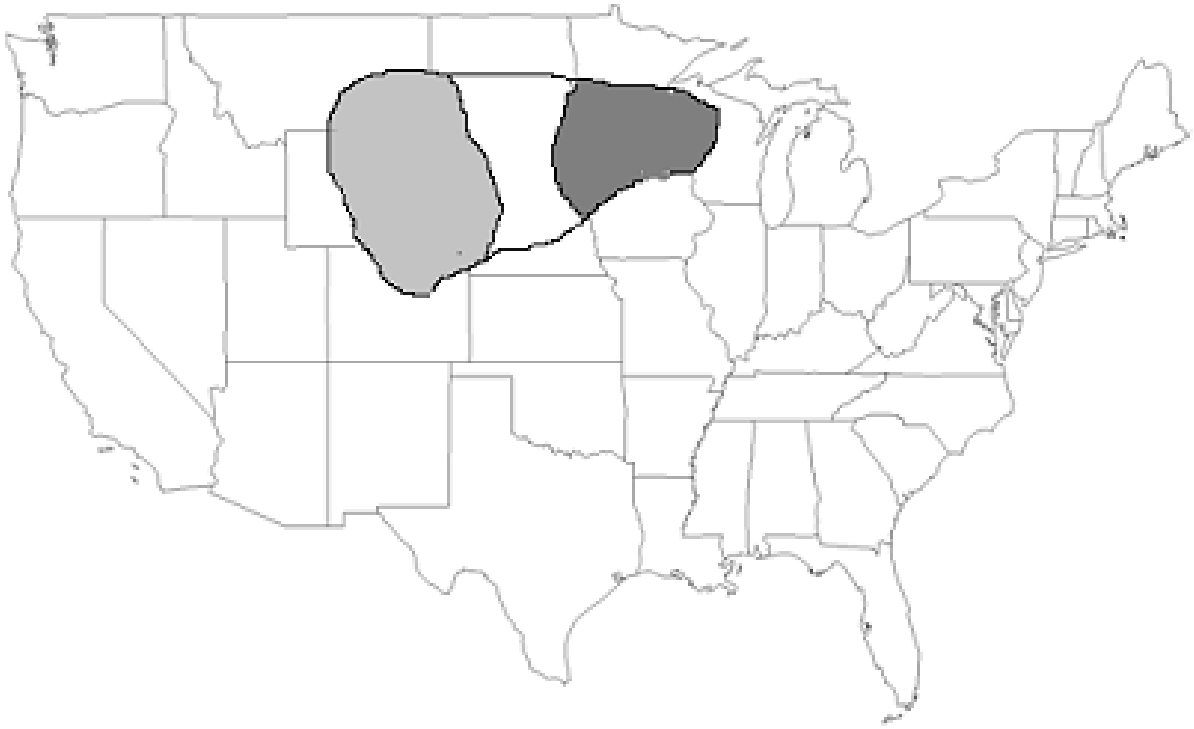
The Massacre at Wounded Knee

By 1890, the Great Sioux had been reduced to a despondent, dependent, dispirited people. First, they had lost the basis of their way of life and second, the buffalo. In 1800, an estimated 30,000,000 buffalo roamed the Great Plains. By 1900, a mere 1000 survived (Gibbon 2003:117; Hodgson 1994:71). The loss of the buffalo was devastating to the Sioux way of life. In 1882, an American Indian fighter who had come to respect the Indians is reported to have said, “Ten years ago the Plains Indians had an ample supply of food. Now everything is gone, and they are reduced to the condition of paupers, without food, shelter, clothing, or any of those necessities of life which came with the buffalo...” (Hodgson 1994:71).

Second, they had lost their land base. Through a series of treaties, agreements, and laws, they had lost the overwhelming majority of their land. In the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, the Sioux had given up ownership claims to all of their land in the territories surrounding South Dakota in exchange for the guaranteed sovereignty of the Great Sioux Reservation. Yet within a decade, that guaranteed sovereignty was violated. The Agreement of 1876 reduced the Great Sioux Reservation by almost eight million acres (Wilkins 1997:221-222). Further, The Act of 1889 reduced the Great Sioux Reservation by an additional eleven millions acres and divided what remained into a series of six discontinuous much smaller reservations (Wilkins 1997: 222).

But arguably the most devastating, and probably the most hated of all laws pertaining to the Great Sioux, as well as to all American Indians, was the Allotment or Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 (Burns 1996a; Utter 2001: 395). The declared purpose of this act was to take communally owned Indian land and to convert it into privately owned land. The procedure was to divide the Indian land and allocate specific parcels of the land to individual Indians or Indian families according to a given formula (Burns 1996a; Grobsmith 1981). The most heinous aspect of this act was the provision that all Indian land not allocated at that time was to be declared surplus and made available by the U.S. government for distribution to whites. For example, on April 22, 1889 two million acres of former Indian land were made available for homesteading in an Oklahoma land rush. By the end of the day, all two million acres had been claimed (Burns

FIGURE 1. ***The Three Zones of the Great Sioux***



Legend: The western region was claimed by the Lakota, the center by the Nakota, and the eastern region by the Dakota (approximately 1860).

Source: The information used in the creation of this map was taken from Gaffney (2006).

1996a). Many land rushes followed. Before the Dawes act, there were an estimated 150 million acres in Indian hands. Within twenty years of the passage of the Dawes Act, Indians had lost at least half of their land, and some suggest it was as much as two-thirds, through this appropriation process (Native American Documents Project 2010; Burns 1996b).

The Sioux were not spared this confiscation. Gibbon provided details of their loss when he stated, "The Yanktonai Crow Creek Reservation shrank from 285,521 acres when established in 1889 to 154,872 in 1950; Fort Peck shrank from 2,094,144 acres to 1,100,859 by 1935; Standing Rock shrank from 2,672,640 acres to 1,064,000 by 1950; Lake Traverse shrank from 918,779 acres in 1873 to 117,119 acres in 1952; and the Yankton Reservation dwindled from 430,000 acres to 34,802 by 1980 (Hoover 1996a, 1996b)" (2003:241).

Third, their right to practice their own religious beliefs had been denied. In 1883, Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller established special Indian reservation courts to deal with unacceptable Indian religious practices (Utter 2001:151). Among those practices were all public and private traditional religious activities on the reservation. Religious dances, for example, were prohibited. The Sun Dance –the most sacred Sioux religious ceremony– was specifically prohibited (Grobsmith 1881:81; Marshall 2004:217; Utter 2001).

They had lost several of their most important leaders. In 1877, Crazy Horse –their most famous military leader– had been killed while resisting arrest (Marshall 2004; Gibbon 2003). Thirteen years later in December of 1890, their most important political and religious leader –Sitting Bull– was killed in a failed arrest attempt (Discovery Channel Communication 1993b; Gibbon 2003).

Hope among the Sioux, and for all Great Plains Indian nations, suddenly appeared in the 1880s in the form of a religiously-based revitalization movement that had emerged in the south west. A Paiute Indian prophet named Wovoka (Jack Wilson) taught a new religion combining elements of traditional Indian beliefs with elements of Christianity (Burns 1996c; Strom 1995). Wovoka, sometimes referred to as the Indian Messiah, taught a non-violent message suggesting that the dancing of a magical dance –popularly known as the Ghost Dance– would return the world to what it had been before the whites had arrived. The dance, consisting of up to five days of continuous dancing, would bring back the buffalo, bring back the warriors, and sweep the whites away.

Perhaps no Indian nation was more receptive to Wovoka's message than the Sioux since they had lost so much (Utley and Washburn 1977:334). Many embraced the message. A few Sioux modified it to be more militaristic, teaching that the wearing of a special shirt in addition to the dance would protect the wearer from the

weapons of the whites (Burns 1996c; Josephy 1994; Strom 2010).

Some whites, fearful of the Ghost Dance, demanded military intervention for protection. At first, the U.S. Army resisted. The Army eventually relented and sent military units to the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in southwest South Dakota.

At the same time, the agency personnel on the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota became concerned that famed medicine man Sitting Bull would support the Ghost Dance activities. On December 15, 1890 a contingent of Lakota police was sent to his home to arrest him. His supporters intervened to try to prevent the arrest. Sitting Bull was killed in the ensuing struggle (Burns 1996c; Discovery Channel Communications 1993b; Josephy 1994:439; Strom 1995).

In response to the killing of their leader, the followers of Sitting Bull fled south to the Cheyenne Reservation in South Dakota to seek sanctuary from Sioux leader Big Foot. Fearful of his influence, the US military issued orders to arrest Big Foot. To avoid arrest and because he had been invited to the Pine Ridge Reservation by the important Sioux leader Red Cloud, Big Foot lead his followers off the Cheyenne River Reservation south toward the Pine Ridge Reservation (Josephy 1994). He and his followers evaded the U.S. Army for days, but were intercepted at Porcupine Butte (near the Pine Ridge Reservation) by the 7th Calvary on December 28, 1890. Big Foot and his followers were escorted to a hollow near Wounded Knee Creek and ordered to make camp. The Sioux numbered about 120 men and 230 women and children. The soldiers, numbering about 500, established a circular perimeter on the ridges surrounding the Sioux encampment. Among the weapons the soldiers aimed at the Sioux encampment were four rapid fire Hotchkis cannon capable of firing 50 rounds per minute.

The next morning, the soldiers searched the camp and the adults –including women– for hidden weapons. The soldiers attempted to confiscate the weapons. Some Lakota men resisted. The Lakota resisted because not only were their rifles and bow and arrows used for defense, they were a means of survival since they were used in hunting. Shots were fired. There is no consensus concerning who fired the first shot. In all, somewhere between 200 and 300 Sioux men, women, and children were killed. About 25 soldiers were also killed. Since the soldiers were shooting into the encampment from a circular perimeter, it is highly likely some of the soldiers were killed by "friendly fire" (Burns 1996c; Discovery Channel Communications 1993b; Josephy 1994; Utley and Washburn 1977). The wounded of both sides and the dead Army soldiers were taken from the battlefield to a church on the Pine Ridge Reservation and treated. The dead Sioux were left where they lay (Burns 1996c).

Three days later, on January 1, 1891, a long procession of Lakota, a burial detail of whites, and an Army troop assigned to protect the others from possible revenge attacks arrived at Wounded Knee. They were surprised to find some of the Sioux had survived the massacre and the two day blizzard that followed, and were still alive. Others had apparently survived the massacre only to die later. The wounded were placed in wagons and returned to the Pine Ridge Reservation where they joined the other survivors. Paddy Starr, leader of the burial detail, had previously negotiated an arrangement with the U.S Army to bury the dead at two dollars per body. He and his men collected the bodies, dug a deep pit and buried them all in mass grave. A member of the burial detail counted 146 bodies (Discovery Channel Communications 1993b; Utley 1963:4).

Perhaps the most famous of the survivors was a baby of about four months old. As the men gathered the bodies, they heard a faint cry. Searching for its source, the men found a tiny baby lying under her mother's dead body. Somehow she had survived three days of brutal South Dakota winter weather. Since no one knew her real name, she was given the name Sintkala Nuni –the Lakota name for Lost Bird. She is now known to history as "The Lost Bird of Wounded Knee." She was adopted and raised by a white family (Utley 1963). Throughout her life she struggled as a person caught between two worlds –a Lakota one and a white one. She died of influenza in 1920 in California. In 1991, her California grave was found and her remains were disinterred and brought back to South Dakota where they were reinterred at Wounded Knee (Josephy 1994; South Dakota Public Broadcasting 2000).

Two comments are appropriate concerning the Massacre at Wounded Knee. First, it marked the last violent conflict between the U.S. Army and the Sioux in their several decades' war. Second, the mere mention of the Massacre at Wounded Knee evokes the same kind of visceral reactions among the Sioux that Americans in general have when discussing the attack on Pearl Harbor or the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center (Burns 1996c).

The Great Dakota Conflict

The fourth critical event in the story of the United States-Great Sioux relationship –the one least known– has a variety of names. Among other names, it has been referred to as Little Crow's War, the War of 1862, the Great Dakota Conflict, and The Great Sioux Uprising. It was a short war, but the results were devastating to the division of the Sioux nation that lived in Minnesota –the Dakota. It resulted in the deaths of thousands (both directly and indirectly) of Dakota, the loss of almost all of the land they still owned in Minnesota, the virtual depopulation of Dakota from the state of Minnesota, and the largest mass execution in the history of the United States (Coleman and Camp 1988). While there are still Dakota in Minnesota since not all Dakota fled and since some drifted back to their homeland, most Dakota never returned to Minnesota (Coleman and Camp 1988; Gibbon 2003).

The ultimate cause of the war was the desire of whites for Dakota land. In 1805, the Dakota were persuaded to make their first land concession; they sold 100,000 acres

(Coleman and Camp 1988). In 1837, they were convinced to sign the Treaty with the Sioux, a treaty giving up all of their land east of the Mississippi (First People: Treaties and Agreements 2010). In 1851, the first governor of the territory of Minnesota Alexander Ramsey embarked on an effort to persuade the Dakota to give up their land in the southern part of the state to satisfy the land demands of whites who had flooded into Minnesota when it became a territory in 1849. Through a combination of political intimidation and ultimately military violence, the Dakota gave in and signed the 1851 Treaty of Traverse de Sioux, a treaty giving up 20 million acres of Southern Minnesota in exchange for a reservation consisting of narrow strips of land on both sides of the upper Minnesota River (Coleman and Camp 1988; Minnesota Territorial Pioneers, Inc. 2010).

The reservation was about 150 miles long and 10 miles wide. However, the Treaty contained provisions of which the Dakota were not aware. They were given control of the reservation for only five years, where upon they lost that control (Anderson 1988; Berg 1993). When told they had been deceived and owned no land, they were understandably upset. They were then offered full ownership of half of the reservation they had been promised. They reluctantly agreed to the reduction; they had little choice (Anderson 1988; Berg 1993; Coleman and Camp 1988).

They were thus exiled from their native Minnesota woodlands and consequently deprived of their right to hunt and gather to augment their farming lifestyle. However, the Dakota were supposed to be compensated for their loss. According to the terms of the treaty, large sums of money were to be provided "...to pay for the costs of removing the Indians to the new reservation, educating them, establishing agencies and providing supplies and annual cash payments" (Berg 1993; Coleman and Camp 1988). Unfortunately for the Dakota, through fraud and mismanagement most of the supplies and money were siphoned off before getting to the Dakota and they received few of the promised resources.

A decade later, in 1862, the Minnesota Dakota faced starvation on their reservations. Crops had failed the year before. The winter had been long and harsh. And the annual disbursement of supplies and money had been delayed by bureaucratic red tape. Thousands of Dakota gathered at the two reservation agencies –the Upper Sioux Agency near the Yellow Medicine River and the Lower Sioux Agency near the Redwood River– seeking the food to which they were entitled. They were told no supplies would be released until authorization was provided (Coleman and Camp 1988).

In August, Dakota at the Upper Sioux Agency demanded the food and supplies due them in June. When they were again rebuffed, they stormed the agency warehouse and took 100 sacks of flour. A military detachment quelled the incident.

Little Crow, perhaps the most prominent Dakota leader and one of the leaders who had signed the 1851 treaty, rushed to the Agency to try to mediate the crisis. At a meeting of the Dakota and the white traders at the agency, Little Crow suggested the Dakota be given the supplies they sought, to be paid for when the authorization was given and the reimbursement arrived. The traders refused. One trader, Andrew J. Myrick, is alleged to have issued what is perhaps the most infamous statement of the war– "So far as I am concerned, if they are hungry, let them eat grass" (Coleman and Camp 1988:9). When Myrick's remark was translated, the Dakota exploded with indignation. They went back to their villages to consider war. Several days later at the very beginning of the war, Myrick's dead body was found filled with arrows and his mouth filled with grass. The Dakota had taken their revenge on him for his comment.

August 17th, 1862 was a Sunday. Four young Dakota males were returning from an unsuccessful hunt. They neared the farm of Robinson Jones and asked for water. Jones and his family had no reason to fear the young men since Dakota had been seen in the area before. The young men turned their guns on the whites and within seconds had killed Jones, his wife, her son, an adopted daughter, and a neighbor who had just arrived from Wisconsin (Coleman and Camp 1988). Little Crow's War had begun.

The four Dakota warriors sought refuge at the Dakota reservation on the Minnesota River and recounted what they had done. Little Crow and the other senior Dakota knew there would be a white response. After a night of discussion and debate, the Dakota decided to launch a war against the whites. Little Crow warned the other Dakota that the whites were too powerful to be defeated and cautioned against the war. Out voted, he agreed to lead them in a last-ditch effort to restore the Dakota homeland.

Over the next several weeks, the War played out in the Minnesota Valley. As many as 500 Minnesotans–men, women, and children –were killed. By the end of September, the War was over. After suffering a decisive defeat at the hands of the U.S. Army on September 23, Little Crow and some of his followers began fleeing the state. Many other Dakota warriors were captured.

Trials quickly began for the captured Dakota warriors accused of participating in the conflict. The trials, heard by a five-man military commission, concluded on November 5th (Coleman and Camp 1988). More than 300 Dakota were sentenced to death. President Lincoln, hearing of the sentencing, intervened in the trials. He ultimately approved of the hanging of 39 Dakota. One was subsequently pardoned. On December 26, 1862, in Mankato, Minnesota, 38 Dakota men were hung simultaneously. It was the largest mass execution in U.S. history (Coleman and Camp 1988; Hudetz 2006).

There immediately followed a mass exodus of Dakota from Minnesota and the state was virtually depopulated of Dakota. Fearful of being the victims of white violence, Dakota fled to present day South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, and Canada.

In 1863, the U.S. Congress enacted a law mandating the removal of four subgroups of the Dakota from

Minnesota –the Sisseton, Wahpeton, Mdewakanton, and Wahpekute ("Eastern Dakota Timeline: 1660-1869," 2004). Though no longer enforced, the law has not been repealed.

Over the following years, a few Dakota drifted back into the state. Little Crow did. In 1863, he and his son were discovered raiding a farmer's garden. The farmer shot and killed Little Crow. Little Crow's remains were first displayed and then stored by the Minnesota Historical Society. They were finally buried at Flandreau, S.D., 108 years after his death (Gibbon 2003).

Intervening Years

For decades the Sioux suffered the consequences of their decimation. But during the mid-1900s their conditions, just like those of other First Americans, slowly began to change. Their population rebounded. Many of their legal rights were restored. Still other rights are now protected. Pride in their cultural traditions is flourishing.

And the Sioux have developed strategies to address their substantial economic challenges.

Current Status of the Great Sioux

In summarizing the current status of the Great Sioux, it is important to note there is a critical distinction between on-reservation and off-reservation Sioux. Unless otherwise noted, information presented here pertains to the Sioux living on reservations.

Population of the Great Sioux

All told, there are currently about 180,000 Sioux. The largest concentration of Sioux –about 60,000 as of 2000– live in South Dakota (U.S. Census Bureau 2006b). The others live mainly in Canada, Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, and North Dakota.

About one half of all enrolled Sioux in the United States live on reservations (Gibbon 2003:196). In South Dakota, an even greater proportion live on reservations; about 50,000 of the 60,000 Sioux live there (Young, 2009b). There are 17 Sioux reservations in the United States– one in Montana, four in Minnesota, one in Nebraska, two in North Dakota, and nine in South Dakota. One reservation –Standing Rock– crosses the North Dakota-South Dakota border (Gibbon 2003:200; U.S. Census Bureau 2010a).

Restoration and Protection of Legal Rights

Their right to practice their own religion has been restored. In 1883, Secretary of the Interior Henry M. Teller established courts on reservations to suppress Indian religions. In 1978, Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act to guarantee Indian freedom of religion. It was amended in 1994. Despite these official protections, there are allegations that unofficial antagonism toward Indian religions still exists (Utter 2001: 151-152).

They have gained the unqualified right to citizenship independent of tribal membership. In the 1900s, there were many paths to citizenship for First Americans, and by 1924 as many as two thirds were U.S. citizens. In that year, the Indian Citizenship Act conferred citizenship on all Indians not yet citizens (Utter 2001:247).

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 marked the first time the federal government stepped into the issue of higher education policy for First Americans. "Until then, religious missionaries and charities had initiated efforts in this area. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 attempted to increase Indian participation in higher education by establishing loan and scholarship programs..." (Aguiree and Turner 2009:172).

In the late 1960s, the policy of termination began to wane. Termination had been a policy of withdrawing governmental responsibility for American Indians by ending formal recognition of tribes and therefore ending the special federal-Indian relationship and trust obligations of the federal government (Utter 2001: 69-70). Termination has now been abandoned.

Gibbon lists several other legislative initiatives protecting Indian rights: "...the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which transferred greater governmental and administrative powers to federally recognized tribes; the 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act, which gave Indian people the right to retain custody of their children..." (2003:190). Others he enumerates are "...the 1990 Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which required museums and other institutions that received federal funds to return human remains, and funerary and sacred objects, to tribes; and the 1990 Act for the Protection of American Indian Arts and Crafts, which made it a criminal offense to falsely identify oneself as an Indian in order to sell artwork" (2003:190).

Pride in the Great Sioux Culture

A cultural revival has taken place. It has appeared in education. Curriculum in the primary and secondary schools in many Indian communities now includes the teaching of the Dakota language and Dakota-Lakota-Nakota culture and history (Gibbon 2003:191). The Sioux have established seven tribally controlled colleges to develop an educated and professional workforce which can also provide role models for the next generation of Sioux. Two (Fort Peck Community College and Fort Belknap College) are in Montana, one (the Nebraska Indian Community College) is in Nebraska, one (Cankdeska Cikana Community College) is in North Dakota, and three are in South Dakota (Oglala Lakota College, Sinte Gleska University, and Sisseton-Wahpeton College). Collectively, these seven colleges enroll about 3700 students. In the academic year 2007-2008, they awarded 234 associates degrees and 52 bachelor's degrees (National Center for Education Statistics 2009).

The cultural revival has appeared in their engagement in their cultural traditions. Increasingly, the Sioux are practicing traditional arts and crafts, and participating in traditional ceremonies. Many go on vision quests. And Sun Dances –the most revered and sacred of all religious ceremonies– are held on many reservations (Gibbon 2003:194).

But Gibbon insists that the re-emergence of the powwow is the best indicator of their cultural revival. "Throughout the last quarter-century, no other action has signaled the revival of the Sioux so strongly as their growing and enthusiastic attendance at powwows (and wacipis). International powwows are held each year at Fort Totten and Rosebud, and most reservations or communities have powwows and powwow grounds (2003:195)."

It is useful to put the Sioux cultural revival into the context of the cultural revival of all First Americans. It would be hard to find a better representation of the changes in their feelings than in the design, building, and opening of the two hundred million dollar National Museum of the American Indian on the Washington Mall. The Museum took fifteen years of planning, fundraising, design, and building. In September of 2004, literally thousands of Indians from the Americas, not just the Sioux and not just First American from the United States, traveled to Washington to participate with great pride in the opening of their Museum (Franklin 2004; McNeal/Lehrer 2004)

Economic Status on the Reservations

There are both negative and positive aspects of the economic status of Sioux living on reservations. On the negative side, the economic statistics of the Sioux are somber. Per capita income is strikingly low. When the per capita yearly incomes of all large First American reservations were ranked, four of the ten with the lowest incomes were South Dakota Sioux reservations; all four had per capita yearly incomes of $6000 or less (Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development 2008:118). While varying enormously among the many reservations, overall both unemployment and poverty rates are high. At a time before the Great Recession of 2007-2009 when the U.S. unemployment rate was about 5%, the unemployment rate for South Dakota Sioux reservations ranged from 30% for the Lower Brule Reservation to 85% for the Rosebud Reservation. The poverty rate for the Sioux was three times as high as for the U.S. population; 12% versus 40% (U.S. Census Bureau 2006a). This figure was for all Sioux, not just those living on reservations. The poverty rate for those living on reservations would be higher.

The resolution of the Cobell Lawsuit provides little hope of substantially improving these grim statistics. In 1996, Elouise Cobell, a member of Montana's Blackfeet Tribe, filed one of the largest class action lawsuit ever brought against the U.S. Government at that time (http://cobellsettlement.com/press/faq.php; Harriman 2005; House 2006). The lawsuit alleged that for the past century American Indians have been systematically deprived of the royalties plus interest due them for the grazing, mining, logging, and drilling on their land through negligence, incompetence, and actual fraud of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. While difficult to prove due to the loss and actual destruction of records, there are estimates American Indians had been deprived of as much as $100 billion (NewsAhead 2010; House 2006). To try to end the stalemate, American Indian leaders proposed a settlement of $27.5 billion. It was not accepted. Desperate to finally resolve the issue, Americans Indian leaders in 2009 agreed to a settlement of $3.4 billion. In November 2010, both the U.S. House and Senate voted to pass the Claims Resolution Act of 2010. On Wednesday, December 8th, President Barack Obama signed the $4.6 billion dollar act which included the $3.4 billion for settlement of the Cobell lawsuit (Kohan 2010).

Prior to the recent recession, there were some glimmers of positive changes for the economic status of the Sioux. Per capita income had increased and unemployment rates on the reservations had declined. Consequently, the poverty rate had begun to drift down. The average poverty rate for the Sioux reservations was slightly more than 43% in 1990, ranging from a low of 4.9% on the Prior Lake (Shakopee) Reservation to a high of 60.9% on the Pine Ridge Reservation (U.S. Census Bureau 1989; U.S. Census Bureau 1990). By 1999, it was an estimated 41%, ranging from slightly less than 10% on the Lower Sioux Reservation in Minnesota to a high of 54% on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota (U.S. Census Bureau 2000).

Gambling had helped, but not to the extent many had hoped for and many believed. Some reservations–actually very few– have established very successful casinos. Darian-Smith, in her study of casino gambling on reservations, suggests no more than 2-3% are "very successful" (2003). Minnesota's Mystic Lake Casino of the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux is arguably one of the most successful of all casinos anywhere in the United States (http://mysticlake.com/history.htm; Hudetz 2006). The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development found that the top 55 (i.e., 15%) of the 367 Indian gaming operations accounted for almost 70% of total revenues while the bottom 219 (i.e., 60%) accounted for only 8% of revenues (Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development the United States 2008:149). Most Sioux casinos are only moderately successful and do not provide employment for a large number of workers. A principal reason for that moderate success is that the most reservations do not have access to the large population base needed to support a very successful casino.

Many Sioux have created small businesses. The U.S. Census Bureau reported that in the early part of the 1990s over 1300 businesses were owned by Sioux (U.S. Census Bureau 2002). The Sioux have tried a variety of alternative strategies for economic development. The Rosebud Sioux Tribe in South Dakota has created and chartered the Rosebud Economic Development Company (REDCO) to stimulate economic development and to create jobs on the Rosebud Reservation (REDCO, Rosebud Economic Development Company 2010). One of its projects is the wind turbine farm entitled the "Owl Feather War Bonnet Wind Farm" that now sells power to Ellsworth Air Force Base and to Basin Electric (Chamley 2003).

Buffalo management is being pursued both by Sioux colleges and reservations. In 2000, Si Tanka College in South Dakota planned a two-year degree in the scientific study of bison. Possible outcomes of a successful bison industry were thought to include bison management and meat processing jobs as well as products such as bison meat, tanned hides, and material for artwork (Ortman 2000). Both the Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe and the Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation have also turned to bison ranching as a tactic of economic development (Braun 2008; fsst.org 2010).

Finally there is the substantial potential economic return from the mining, forestry, and the leasing of land within the reservations. The geographic area of all of the Sioux lands –combining reservation and trust lands– account for slightly more than 23,000 square miles (U.S. Census Bureau 2010a). To put that number in perspective, it would rank the Sioux lands as large as that of the 41st state, West Virginia (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2010a; IPL2 2011b).

SUMMARY

The Sioux face many challenges, but they have reason to be hopeful. The population of the Sioux has rebounded. It is estimated that in 1980 the population of the Sioux was about 80,000 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1980), in 1990 it was about 105,000 ("Sioux Religion," 2010), and in 2000 it was about 150,000 (U.S. Census Bureau 2009). As noted earlier, it is now estimated to be in excess of 180,000. The Sioux are not relying on casino gambling as their only strategy of economic development. The establishment of REDCO on the Rosebud Reservation is an attempt to foster economic development and job creation. The Flandreau Tribe in South Dakota is similarly, but more informally, trying to develop job creation strategies. The attempt to build a bison industry is another innovative economic development path.

The challenges facing the Great Sioux are daunting. However, after half of a century of devastating disasters, the Sioux have experienced incredibly positive changes in the last century. It remains to be seen if the trajectory of those positive changes continues.

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TECHGNOSTICISM AND THE CONTRADICTIONS OF PERSONAL PRIVACY AS IT IS CHERISHED AND FORSAKEN

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ABSTRACT

Voluntary self-disclosure may seem counterintuitive to the maintenance of personal privacy, yet both activities are engrained in our collective life style. Today's technological era, sometimes called the .com or bluetooth generation, contains many pitfalls to the maintenance of personal privacy as we simultaneously try to maintain social bonds with others. This article, using a triptych of ideas on interpersonal communication, technological change, and sacro-secular beliefs, represents an investigation into the loss of personal privacy in the modern era.

"Computers are getting faster all the time. This Internet thing, whatever it really is, is growing like crazy, networks, paging, cellular phones, faxes."
(novelist Davis Baldacci's *Total Control,* 1997)

"…[a] generation that believes that twittering actually constitutes personal interaction."
(Davis Baldacci's *True Blue*, 2009*)*

"BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU."
(novelist George Orwell's *1984,* 1949)

"Too many people failed to realize that every conversation you made was out there capable of being retrieved."
(novelist Jack Higgins' *The Judas Gate,* 2010)

INTRODUCTION

Jurists Warren and Brandeis wrote a legal opinion that *privacy* is "the right to be let alone" (1890:1). Brandeis (1928) later refined the notion saying that privacy is "the most comprehensive of rights and the most valued of civilized men" (cited in Patterson 2001:38), ranking it alongside life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in our ethos. Between those years, sociologists Park and Burgess (1924:231) wrote that "privacy may be defined as withdrawal from the group, with, at the same time, ready access to it," allowing the individual "to reflect, to participate, to recast, and to originate" in "the growth of the self-consciousness, self-respect, and personal ideas of conduct", thereby making privacy, commented Schwartz (1968:741), "a highly institutionalized mode of withdrawal.

We try to protect our privacy, yet we also relinquish it– sometimes freely in primary relationships, sometimes inadvertently through involuntary eavesdropping by adjacent others, sometimes through coercion, and at other times without permission through Orwellian electronic eavesdropping. Privacy's maintenance can be an elusive endeavor with its loss serving as ammunition for film producers, for "black helicopter" surveillance and government over-reach theory advocates, and for novelists, alike.

This study is an exploration into the voluntary loss of personal privacy, and its first stage is a complex theoretical framework. It is an integration of thoughts from the Johari Window by Luft (1955, 1969) that looks at disclosed information about the self; the *ExT=C* theory of cultural change by Leslie A. White; and a new term that was developed for this study– *techgnosticism.* The melded triptych is then woven into successive stages looking at some political and economic aspects of privacy and self-disclosure, to be followed by inclusive discussions of typological sociology from Dewey (1960), M. Mead (1970), and H.P. Becker (1950). This study was undertaken because the choice to share, or not to share, elements from the *ownlife* (Orwell 1949:182) appears to be under attack from many sources, threatening our right to, and freedom of, personal privacy.

I have several domain beliefs about the sociological enterprise. One of them is that sociology is the appropriate qualitative narrative of humanistic investigation. Another of my beliefs is that sociologists can, and should, look for inspiration in non-traditional locations such as literature. Novelists, for example, offer their readers isolated social observations that, when collected and collated, lend credence to many sociological assertions. Also, if a single theory is not readily appropriate but certain elements of several approaches are, then a synthetic explanation can be formed (Merton 1967). Finally, a sociologist's imagination should be open to new areas and avenues of investigation and expression, reflecting the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment: That is, experientially based, capturing the imagination; providing an inherent or vested interest in the observed; formal inquiry and analyses; with creative presentations and conclusions.

This study, having several sources, is no exception. The first was when a high school friend, also a sociologist, and I were swapping anecdotes about the classes we were teaching in Illinois' prisons. We had attended conferences in New Orleans and as we traded stories in the hotel's lounge we realized that other patrons were listening, reminding us of an old television ad for a financial investment company. A second chance experience took place with a different friend as we took a young mother to family court in Chicago. A different petitioner was pleading her case when the judge

unexpectedly announced outstanding warrants against her, so she was arrested immediately because certain venues are excluded from protections of privacy. Also, many of us have been in waiting rooms when other visitors had cell phone conversations about personal finances, health, family issues, and so on, making us unwitting participants in the strangers' lives. Such scenes as these led to my formal curiosity about contradictions of personal privacy as it is cherished and voluntarily forsaken.

CREATING A SYNTHETIC EXPLANATION

Sociological protocol requires that our studies have grounded bases. The footing for this study comes from a set of unrelated ideas, neither of which is sufficient alone, but in combination support my purposes.

The Johari Window

Named after its co-creators, Joseph Luft and Harry Ingham, the scheme is diagrammed as a four-paned window representing information known to the self and others. The basic window is contained in Figure 1, and modified versions are contained in Figure 2.

The Open Pane in Figure 1 refers to personal information that is known to the self and others, indicative of primary relationships. The window's Hidden Pane contains information that is known to the self but unknown to others: Not shared, or shared cautiously, indicating the lack of intimacy characteristic of secondary relationships, such as many work settings. The Blind Pane contains information that is not known to the self but it recognized by other, illustrated in classic Greek tragedies where protagonists' hamartia or character flaw is recognized by others on stage and by members of the audience, but not by such a starring role as Sophocles' Oedipus. The Unknown Pane contains traits, such as hidden talents (Yen 1999), that are equally unknown to the self and others.

The four panes are pragmatic devices in personal or group therapy where Open Panes of exchange, similar to adult-to-adult discourse in Transactional Analysis (Harris 1969), is paramount to making cooperation and empathy possible. Recovery groups such as Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous, or religious renewal groups such as cursillo, are dependent upon the drunk-a-logs (Denzin 1987) or the retold epiphanies (O'Sullivan 1999) that people tell about their journeys of renewal. The announcements recounting lives once led, turning points, and new priorities allow listeners to accept their own passages while the presenters self-understand without reliving the pasts.

An intended version of the window is recounted in O'Sullivan's 2010 return to his case study from 2002. Industrial wage-earning employees and foremen are often antagonistic to each other, hampering production and employee retention. Hoping to reduce such conflict, O'Sullivan convinced upper management of "Subsidiary Logistics Kompany" to include a meet-and-greet working lunch during training for new wage earners with their intended floor managers. All participants revealed a little about themselves with the intention that labor-management tension, the hallmark of the company's local reputation, would be reduced. O'Sullivan's bosses and the new-hires liked the sessions, but influential foremen did not. Opening Hidden Panes of personal traits to *insignificant* others, they felt, bred familiarity, undermining the mystique of authority

Figure 2 offers modified Johari windows depicting directions of voluntary self-disclosures. These exchanges

Figure 1 – *The Johari Window*

	Information that is Known to Self	**Information that is Unknown to Self**
Known to Others	Open Pane	Blind Pane
Unknown to Others	Hidden Pane	Unknown Pane

(Modified from Luft 1955, 1969)

Figure 2 – *Johari Window Conversations*

The Self Known Others
Open Pane ←---------- *Unguarded Self-disclosures*----------→ Open Pane
Hidden Pane ----------→ Open Pane
Open Pane ←---------- Hidden Pane

Hidden Pane ----------*Guarded Self-disclosures*----------→ Open Pane
Open Pane ←---------- Hidden Pane

The Self Unknown Others
Hidden Pane ----------*Anticipatory Self-disclosure*----------→ Open Pane
Hidden Pane ---------- *Indiscreet Self-disclosure*----------→ Open Pane
Hidden Pane ----------*Obligatory Self-disclosures*----------→ Open Pane

are based on the principles of behavioral bookkeeping (novelist Randy Wayne White 2002/2003:208) or reciprocal altruism (Stone 2001) where the norm of reciprocity is an economic exchange between the self and known or unknown others.

Movement of privacies between Open and Hidden panes is the general pattern of several types of self-disclosure. Between the self and known others, *unguarded self-disclosures* typify the intimacies of primary relationships between close kin and friends where a sense of togetherness is the goal. Yet *guarded self-disclosures* between Hidden and Open panes are indicative of limited secondary relationships with expected boundaries, as shown in O'Sullivan 2010 study.

There are also Joharian dialogues between the self and unknown others. *Anticipatory self-disclosures* from Hidden to Open are based on expected and tangible outcomes of information evaluations, such as the granting of granting of financial assistance or job offers. *Indiscreet self-disclosures* from Hidden to Open panes can be a perilous way to establish friendships, as we are reminded all too frequently in the news. *Obligatory self-disclosures* can be testimonies in court or legislative hearings where reporting self-details is required. Such revelations are recorded as matters of public concern, but as novelists Orwell and Higgins, and sociologist Patterson, have portrayed, the loss of personal privacy extends beyond specific settings. *All* actions, these writers say, can be recorded somewhere, somehow, by someone, for some use, and the subject of such observations are powerless to prevent the intrusions.

White's *ExT=C* Theory of Cultural Change

White's theory of cultural ecology and cultural materialism has been criticized for its universality that will be briefly mentioned later. Right now, however, I look at the symbols in the equation.

E= animate and non-animate sources of energy to do work, where human musculature is elemental, supplemented by domesticated dray animals. Non-animate energies are found as wind, electricity, flowing water, controlled fire, as well as solar, atomic, and geothermal potential.

T= the various tools or technologies that we have, starting with our hands, and all other created devices are their extensions. Neither E nor T can stand alone to accomplish any task, but when sources of energy are matched with applicable tools, work gets done, becoming more efficient and productive, and lifestyles change.

C= cultural changes that take place, and the social sciences have logged many theories in the history of social change or evolution. Tonnies (1887/1988) talks about the transition from *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft.* Dewey (1960) does the same for the transition from the rural to the urban where technological innovations have significant impact on the shift, and Mead talks about differences in generation conversations between *post-, co-,* and *pre-figurative* societies.

Earlier in this article I asserted that illustrations from popular culture can support general or specific sociological theses, and several are offered to uphold mine. By looking at the history of entertainment media, some of us can recall the two-way wrist radio and visual screen device that comics detective Dick Tracy wore and the communication device that Mr. Spock wore in his ear in the television version of *Star Trek* that looks like a bluetooth mobile phone: The fiction of science then is the reality of science now. Digitalized communications change rapidly and inexorably as novelist Baldacci noted such transitions in his books from the "dark ages" of 1997 to the then-modern era of 2009. Similarly, novelist White remarks that drums, signal fires, and landline telephones have evolved into other devices, but "our wistfulness, our rebellion against isolation, does not" (2003a:215-216), begetting newer and faster devices, prompting novelist White to postulate later that "we're all destined to be microchip [fanatics]" (2004:30).

Email, Facebook walls, Twitter, Internet cafes, chat rooms, blogs, and so on are diverse yet common blends of Es and Ts, which allow us to share different kinds of information, even self-disclosures, apart from each other. Sometimes we know the person at the other end and sometimes not. An application of White's theory to a communications model then goes something like this. Basic A-B verbal exchanges can hold unguarded contents between the Open Panes of primary others or guarded contents between the Hidden Panes of secondary others, but modern material communication technologies no longer require direct dyadic contact (Ringen 2005a, 2005b). All the while, concerns over who can be trusted with what information and how to moderate the technologies are amplified in our frenzied electronic environment.

Techgnosticism

Gnosticism is an imprecise sacro-secular belief system from Judaic and Christian backgrounds, dedicated to mystical and esoteric truths in the divine or in the creations of the divine. An intellectualized and spiritual awakening collectively adored by devotees, it elevates disciples to statuses higher than non-believers (Macquarrie 1977, Spencer 1965) just like any other social, political, or religious belief system.

Techgnosticism represents an amalgamation of gnosticism and *ExT=C*. Allowing for poetic license, novelists Hershenow (2001:36) and White (2003b:86) each agree that electronic communication couplings have reached near spiritual levels of superstition, magic, idolatry, and worship, independent of all other applied sciences. Derived from brainstorming with my nephew, Andy, the expression seems embodied in such idea people as DaVinci, Michelangelo, and Jules Verne, but they did not have the means to turn their dreams into realities. Others, people like Thomas Edison, the team of Daniel Burnham and Frederick Law Olmsted, Henry Ford, Buckminster Fuller, and Bill Gates, had the means to actualize their visions. All of these men were apparently endowed with high levels of need achievement

(McClelland 1961) to succeed and move forward, believing that the premises behind *ExT=C* were backed by the purist of motives benefiting all.

The ultra-modernists of electronic communications systems have promoted their devices to almost super-natural icons, but the near-cultic everyday user may lack the ability to understand the ensuing loss of personal privacy. Borrowing from McLuhan's (1964) and McLuhan and Fiore's (1967) slogans, the changes wrought by the new media are the messages of change that some people get and others do not, as Gavison (2001), Ringen, and Stone would each likely agree.

The *techgnosticism* of our .com/bluetooth generation has an advantage over previous ideas because the term allows for derived expressions widening its scope. *Techwizards* are the scientists and the developers of modern technologies, and *techgnostics are* the faithful users of the creations who stand in opposition to the *techagnostics* who reject the allure and promises of modern gadgetry. *Techmarketers* are the hawkers and purveyors of the emergent technologies; and *techcommunities* are social network pen pals. From Durkheim (1897/1951) is derived *techanomie* as a collective's rejection of many modern tools, a trait of some rural communities; and from Srole (1956) we have *techanomia* as an individualized *techanomie,* possibly influenced by others who are more technologically enlightened, with *techsavvy* representing that proficiency and understanding. *Techtoys* are the mobile media that far surpass their original roles as mobile telephones. *Technocracy* is the near-obligatory communication media imposed, foisted, or *techmarketed* upon us via advertising in our *techcapitalist* and *techfrenzied* environment. There are the *technaivetes* who do not believe that the world can be a dangerous place, failing to protect themselves from cyber-crimes of *techpredators* using pseudo-*gemeinschaft* ploys (Merton 1967), and who, paraphrasing novelist Nevada Barr (2010 157), have the power to control others' finances, histories, and destinies. Finally, there are *techspies* who engage, rightfully or wrongfully, in Orewellian surveillance into our privacies for various public and private agencies.

Details in the locked safes of our Hidden Panes are secrets, after all, when only one person knows them (Higgins; Ringen 2005b). The very nature of dyadic or A-B conversations allows for shared intimacies, and the degrees or amounts of details contained in self-disclosure are functions of trust in the others. We cherish the personal privacies in our Hidden Panes, but we also voluntarily release them to others. As we become more attuned to the gadgets *de jur* some of us use them for their intended purposes, as with mobile phones. Still others go far beyond that degree of utility, fully integrating into *techgnosticism,* ingratiating themselves with other *techgnostics,* and poking fun at those who are less *techsavvy* or are *techgnostics.* Perhaps the ones who are less skilled by choice or are doubters recognize that unguarded uses of electronic airwaves jeopardizes personal privacy.

THE NATURE OF PRIVACY

Privacy, especially personal privacy, has many interpretations. Warren and Brandeis, for example, discuss its development of meaning from meddling with life, property, trespass, spirituality, intellect, the right to be let alone, civil privileges, and possessions, with subsequent definitions reinforcing those claims. Formal laws have followed suit to protect us from criminal charges based on our acts rather than on our deeds, copyrights to protect intellectual property, patents to bulwark inventions, and trademarks to safeguard corporate symbols and slogans. The U.S. Patriot Act of 2001 defends us from certain governmental invasions into our private lives; and the Health Insurance Portability and Protection Act of 1968 secures our medical records from unwarranted trespass. The Patriot Act is regularly set aside, however, when national security is threatened, and medical providers have us sign HIPPA waivers to share information for diagnoses. Privacy may be one of our rights, but it is not ensured.

Speaking of self-disclosure, I sometimes use and acknowledge electronic sources in my research because they offer condensed and easily accessible entries and articles leading to others. I use them judiciously, but in my semi-retirement I no longer have ready access to good university libraries. *To wit,* I read an entry on privacy in an online encyclopedia that complements and reflects ideas offered by Warren and Brandeis. Joined with the Johari Window, that entry is interpreted to mean that individuals, groups, and organizations are protected from invasions into their Hidden Panes. Taking the list from Brandeis and Warren and collapsing them into *physical, informational, spiritual/intellectual,* and *organizational* privacies, the categories are not mutually exclusive. Laws (governmental protections) and bans forced self-disclosures of voting choices (informational privacies) that are based on political (spiritual/intellectual) preferences. We are allowed, however, to self-disclose our election choices if we so choose, just as we can reveal any elements of *ownlives* however and to whomever we select. That is, we have the freedom to keep our Hidden Panes closed or open them at our discretion as Brandeis and Warren, Luft and Ingham, Park and Burgess, and Westin (1967) would all agree.

Privacy and Freedom

Self-disclosure may be an element of being as we promote trust in others and learn more about ourselves, but there are perils involved in the process (Borchers 1999). Others may not respond in kind; it can create an imbalanced relationship where actors A and B are not equally invested; and, while the information may be used against us, we still take such chances connecting ourselves with others.

Historic and contemporary essays have debated this exchange, treating it as one of political ideals and freedom, liberalism, and humanism. Several of these recent pieces are cited here (Borchers; Gavison;

Patterson; Ringen; and Stone). Added to that list is Leouissi's 2000 article on humanism. Their opinions are not exhaustive, but were chosen because their interpretations reflect my thoughts: Specifically, the freedom to self-disclose or not, the social contexts of laws that threaten our freedoms, and the role that technological changes have in all. These articles are addressed interpretively and comprehensively unless otherwise required.

Freedom, these articles illustrate, is like privacy–multidimensional. There is *negative* freedom to mean freedom from something. For example, the Bill of Rights puts limitations on governmental power and criminal law that prohibit certain kinds of acts. *Positive* freedom allows us to believe as we choose, and is closely related to the liberty and the real freedom schools of thought. It allows us to make our own choices and live by our own interests. The combined forms of these traditions say that we are permitted to do as we so choose, so long as we do no harm to others or to the state.

Grounded in many of the *philosophies'* ideals, both negative and positive freedoms are often seen at macro- and micro-political levels of analyses. At the macro-level, a number of possible truths exists: the fewer the number of legal restrictions placed on people, the better the government; the fewer the number of restrictions placed on people, the wider their ranges of personal choices; the fewer the number of restrictions placed on people, the wider their connectedness to others; a good government upholds the negative freedoms imposed on itself; governments that violate positive freedoms and the real school of liberty become dangerous, as Orwell depicted; finally, governments that are proactive to protect the several freedoms are better than governments that react to harms already done.

The micro-level of political ideals is less complicated. Communal strength, opportunities, and connectedness, all elements of classical humanism, are rooted in independence of action and interdependence with others' trust rather than on external controls, force, or dicta. Friendships, for example, are also based in the micro-economics of reciprocity and like-mindedness, as well as on macro-levels economics.

Political economies, such as democratic capitalism, are guided by such forward-thinking people as those mentioned earlier: Working together, they change ways of life. Governments that adopt the *laissez faire* ideology of fewer rather than more economic impediments allow the forces of supply and demand to work and level economic exchanges. The same type of attitude toward positive freedoms of belief and choice allow populations to flourish.

A market economy is based on consumers who purchase new products or services that are designed and implemented by entrepreneurs and their investors. Product and service prices are based on a combination of factors including overhead, competition, applicable trade guidelines, and what the market will bear. New products and services are introduced to a population through the advertiser's bag of tricks including Maslovian appeals, the bandwagon approach of "everyone's doing/getting it", and ego gratification of mastery over product, utility, and safety, as well as individual modernity.

Rephrased in the current context, the entrepreneurial *techwizards* of modern communications develop or recombine energies and technologies into new products. *Techmarketers* promote the new designs and functions with near-salvific claims to potential *techmarkets,* allowing them to participate in *techcommunities* of like-skilled and like-thinking reference groups where, Baldacci laments, tweeting is seen as being interactive or conversational. The *techcommunities* embrace the *technocracy* provided by the range of *techtoys,* becoming *techsavvy* in proficiency. Others, however, are not attracted to the gadgets, remaining *techgnostics,* perhaps manifesting *techanomie* or *techanomia*. Danger lurks for them and the *technaivetes* who make unguarded self-disclosures shifting information from their Hidden Panes to their Open Panes for unknown others to view. Despite laws against social predation protecting others' properties, rights, and personal information, *techpredators* are always able to find new victims who have unwavering trust in their electronic devices and the providers' promises of security, as well as the identities and the motives of others posing as electronic friends and reference groups. Personal privacy may be one of our rights backed by an abundance of legal protections, but the individual is privacy's first line of defense.

A RECAP

Few would argue that the technologies of electronic communications have had and will continue to have profound effects on our individual and collective lives. On the beneficial side, they have enabled friendships to be maintained over time and distance when they might otherwise fade away. They have expanded our ability to present and acquire information and opinions, almost instantaneously. They have expanded political reference points so that we can make weighed rather than emotional or impression-based electoral choices. They have fueled our economy, but these same points have reverse effects. The people at the other end of our conversations may not be friends at all, only disguised opportunists. One of the criticisms that has been made about electronic encyclopedia is that information that has been electronically dispatched may not have been filtered through peer review to determine authenticity. Plagiarism is hard to detect. Political opinions can be carefully disguised so that the message portrayed is not the message given, serving to misguide the unsuspecting. They have fueled other countries' economies even more than ours because the material devices are more likely than not made in foreign countries. Many electronics service plan contracts are iron-clad, entrapping the buyer who wants the newest *techtoys*, but does not read the agreement's fine print.

The first items on the parallel lists address the issue of

friendships and personal intimacies. Close friends or close family members do not keep balance sheets typifying novelist White's behavioral accounting: Opening Hidden Panes to friends and family members is natural, not contrived. A-B conversants have electronic means to chat with each other when they are away from each other, but the same milieu contains legal protections of privacy and social predations on privacy arising at differential rates.

The belief that personal privacy is a *right* is backed by a variety of laws and regulations that protect our backgrounds. It is also true that there are time, place, and procedural circumstances wherein we are disclosed without the voluntary act of self-disclosure. We have the positive, negative and real freedoms to share or not to share ourselves with others, to buy or not to buy the available communication media, and to use those media as we choose, but we often incorrectly distinguish them, jeopardizing our privacies as we try to be modern. Instead of being held close to the vest, our private lives quickly become public domain. No longer "shouted from the rooftops" (Warren and Brandeis) by newshounds and gossip mongers through their mass media outlets, we have become quite capable of doing that all by ourselves as we succumb to cultural and social pressures of the *technocracy* in which we live.

A LARGER CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

Several undocumented sources I read viewed privacy as a modern concept in western Europe, in the U.S. and the minority of countries throughout the world. A partial product of the *gemeinshaft-gesellschaft* transition, a right to privacy emerged when populations shifted from villages with homogeneous lifestyles to urban areas with heterogeneous lifestyles.

The *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft* and rural-urban typologies have held prominent positions in the history of sociology, but they must be used cautiously for several reasons. The two sets of terms are not respectively synonymous, nor do they have the same identifiers; but those of us who are familiar with their populations realize that Weber (1947/1964) was correct when he asserted that *gemeinschaft/gesellschaft* or *rural/urban* communities could be distinguished by *communal* or *associative* relationships among and between their populations. While the sets of terms are outwardly dichotomous, we need to avoid committing the dualistic fallacy by assuming that they are absolute. There are certainly *urban* areas in rural America, just as there are neighborhoods based on ethnicity, language, and communal religions in large cities. O'Sullivan's 2007 article saying that *social variance* exists between the ideals of conformity and deviance has application here also: Lifestyles exist somewhere between *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft,* just as the old term *rurban* splits the difference between rural and urban.

Other cautions that must be addressed are the allegations of universality and linearity of movement in typological presentations. Do all communities eventually make the transition from one type/stage to another? Are the rates of transition, if they occur, uniform? If they are not, are the inhibiting factors universal? If change occurs, are the promotional factors universal? Are the causes of change the products of sovereign local inventions or of cultural diffusion? Most of us would exercise caution when answering these questions, but for the sake of argument, discussion, or analyses, we must sometimes throw caution to the wind, minimizing chance occurrence as the independent variable to social change or modernization. With that *caveat* made, I blatantly use social typology ideas from Dewey (1960), H.P. Becker (1950), and Meade with their emphases on cultural materialism to look at the loss of personal privacy in modern society.

Typology Theories and the Contradictions of Personal Privacy

White's theory states that changes in energies and technologies increase work productivity, creating a more specialized division of labor, affecting population growth. Dewey's article, a detailed literature review of social typologies, listed forty outcome variables from technological changes in social structure from eighteen authors. Two of those writers were significant. From Wirth (1938), Dewey listed five traits of urbanism, and they were complex divisions of labor, symbols of class and status, heterogeneity of values, formal laws, anonymity of individual behavior, all of which are linked to the current study. The complete list, however, contained another item, secularism, from Becker that is also important here.

Division of labor. As work becomes less time- and labor-intensive, fewer people are needed to provide for the basic necessities of life. People then move into alternative labor specializations that contribute to lifestyle and economic divisions. Social classes emerge.

Included in those labor specializations are those who engage in theoretical technology as *idea* people, and those who apply principles to productivity as developers– the *techwizards.* Another labor specialty, especially in a service-based economy such as ours are advertisers, *techpromoters,* who target *techcommunities* with specific consumer appeals, ultimately enhancing *techgnosticism* as a modern way of life.

Symbols of class and status. Material possessions and market exchanges replace communal sharing. Social positions shift from egalitarian ones to others based on the amount of money owned and its ability to acquire the latest material goods.

The newest material goods can easily become *techtoys,* and a person's social status may be measured not by the person's accomplishments, but by how new, enhanced, glittery, and expensive the acquisitions are. The advertisers know how to "trip the trigger" of consumers, appealing to social images more than the actual uses to which new technologies are applied.

Heterogeneity of values. Lifestyles and social perceptions change: Emergent social classes, for example, develop different values, and they sometimes conflict. Social ecologists have long studied the effects that immigrant populations' values have on host

populations, but heterogeneity of values can also be generational phenomenon as Mead discussed in her anthropological study of the "generation gap."

Post-figurative societies are likened to *gemeinschaft,* communal, or tightly-knit rural religious communities. Community elders teach the young truths and methods that have been effective for time immortal. The generations were cooperative, but World War II, a conflict in which tradition was repudiated and targeted for destruction (Raven 1943:80), ended with "…history's most striking conjunctions of challenge and response" (Woodhouse 1954). The development and only use of atomic weapons served as the flashpoint for the new *co-figurative* generation. The young no longer needed to learn from their elders who could not grasp the enormity of emergent informational and energy technologies that made nuclear war possible. The generation gap had emerged.

The *pre-figurative* society is identified as minute-by-minute technological and ideological changes making *techanomie* and *techanomia* normal. The young who are *techsavvy* have the opportunity to teach elder *technaivetes* about modernity and social integration, thereby closing the generation gap. *Techgnosticism* becomes a prevalent belief, but the *techwizards* retain informational control, or social power, over all others so a system of social differentiation is still present.

Formal Laws. The heterogeneity of values derived from internal and external sources eventually create social conflict needing sanctioned rather than casual solutions. Governing agents and agencies emerge providing guidelines for protections of tangible and intangible properties, freedoms and rights, lives, and the ability to be left alone, if desired. Personal privacy emerges as a dominant value.

Laws are often made as responses to social conflicts, rather than on preemptive bases. There exists a type of cultural lag (Ogburn 1957) between harm done and a government's response to it, but by the time negative freedoms have been levied on a population, new ways of doing harm have already been put into place. This principle is especially true in the fast-paced world of *techpredators* whose footprints are often difficult to find, let alone be susceptible to prosecution, but in order to retain citizen approval and confidence by doing something to protect personal rights and freedoms, governments must try to remain current.

Anonymity of Individual Behavior. If Weber is correct, then communal living was based on kinship and homogeneity. Open Panes of communication between citizens and distinctiveness of individual activity were normal and necessary. The shift to urban areas with large and heterogeneous populations, complex divisions of labor, formal laws fostering limited associative ties with unknown others contributed to much individual anonymity. A synonym for anonymity is personal secrecy, and by extension, personal privacy. Keeping Hidden Panes closed or opened guardedly provided a convenient safety net for personal protection. Concurrently, the same technological changes that served as stimuli for these cultural shifts also threaten anonymity by reducing distinctiveness of personal activity.

Here exists the glaring inconsistency between *gesellschaft*/urbanism and personal privacy– the contradiction between it being protected and it being forsaken. If anonymity of individual behavior and identity is desirable and practical, why do people open their personal vaults, their Hidden Panes, to strangers? Perhaps we see the re-emergence of communal social life in combination with sophisticated technologies that promote such cooperation– Mead's pre-figurative society.

Social mobility, social-class and value-based differences, and variations in technological savvy can cause rifts between friends and family members. People become isolated though forces not of their making or desire, but they want something different for themselves. Borrowing from Hirschi's studies on juvenile delinquency (1969), they want attachments and commitment to others, involvement in others' lives, and the belief that they are part of mainstream society, albeit one that changes rapidly.

Secularism. Becker's 1950 book also assessed social typologies, specifically addressing the sacred and the secular. Neither term was essentially religious in nature (Dewey; Lyon 1989), but referred to attachment to social values. The sacred refers to a desire/need to maintain social traditions even in the light of surrounding change, whereas the secular refers to willingness to accept social and technological change –actual elements and products within White's *ExT=C* equation.

Traditional, communal, *gemeinschaft,* post-figurative, or sacred populations find comfort in traditions. Social networks are composed of likeminded family members and neighbors. Technological and social changes are resisted because they threaten tranquility and ennui.

Modern, associative, *gesellschaft* co- and pre-figurative or secular populations thrive on social change. Social networks are no longer locally based and limited in scope, but that same vastness inhibits social contacts unless technological adaptations allow us to bridge time and space separations. While it can be argued that we still live in an environment of strangers, those same strangers can become friends over time, and the wide variety of electronic communication devices allows that to occur.

Secondary relationships can become primary ones through different forms of intimacy, and the most profound method is to open Hidden Panes of the self, trusting in the other's sincerity. Electronic posting of the hidden self to unknown others is no different in kind than emerging intimacies derived from direct contact; it is only the methods that change. *Techgnosticism* is a contemporary example of Becker's secularism: Adherents do not want to be socially or technologically "left behind" (LaHaye and Jenkins 1995), and microchipped interaction with significant and generalized others is dispensation from such a fate.

DISCUSSION

When the idea for this article was evolving, a decision had to be made as to whether or not specific examples of self-disclosures and their effects should be included. It was concluded that approach could turn the project into a listing of case studies. Each illustration would have been internally valid, but external validity and reliability would have been suspect.

Instead, principles were borrowed from White's theory of cultural materialism and the Johari Window of self-disclosure to be combined with a set of terms centered on *techgnosticism* as reverential awe of applied science. Together the ideas allowed me to look at self-disclosure, the voluntary loss of personal privacy to known and unknown others, in a way that, to my knowledge, has not yet been addressed.

Privacy, as a right and a freedom, has certain social and legal ramifications. Protected in a wide variety of legislative and regulatory proceedings, governments fulfill one of their responsibilities to their citizens. There is, however, a delay, a cultural lag, between the time that rights of privacy are abused in our fast-paced communications technology and new laws are made prohibiting violations of personal privacies. Ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of private information then rests with the individual: If a person does not want information contained in Hidden Panes disclosed, then keep the panes closed. Social forces outside the individual make self-disclosure increasingly appealing, yet dangerous.

Sociologists recognize that the labels attached to opposing ideal types are interesting and that variations of the end points exist between them, so continued discussions of the *types* provide little new information. The descriptors used in those comparisons are useful when discussing the process of voluntary self-disclosure, or the voluntary loss of personal privacy.

Traditional societies encourage Open Panes of oral communication between citizens to maintain cooperation and homogeneity. At the other end of the continuum, in modern societies, privacy is encouraged rather than discouraged because sometimes who can be trusted is unknown. Social and geographic mobility makes oral or face-to-face intimacies difficult to maintain, yet alone accomplish, so micro-chipped and digitalized products of applied science make continued, or new, relationships possible. Feelings of isolation can be abated with the tip of the finger touching mobile communication devices. In that regard, the voluntary loss of person privacy, self-disclosure, and using artificial devices is no different than the voluntary loss of person privacy or self-disclosure in direct A-B conversations.

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EXPERIENCES WITH CHILDHOOD TRAUMA AMONG FIRST-TIME ADOLESCENT AND YOUNG ADULT MOTHERS: RISK FACTOR FOR SUBSEQUENT PREGNANCY WITHIN TWELVE MONTHS

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ABSTRACT

The current study had two objectives: (1) to document the rates of rapid subsequent pregnancy among first-time adolescent and young adult mothers and (2) to assess how experiences with childhood trauma may be associated with rapid subsequent pregnancy. First-time adolescent and young adult mothers (*N*=118) were interviewed during the prenatal period and when their baby was 6 and 12 months of age via home visits. Overall, 18% of the first-time adolescent and young adult mothers experienced a subsequent pregnancy within 12 months. Mothers who had a rapid subsequent pregnancy were more likely to have experienced childhood trauma than mothers who did not have a rapid subsequent pregnancy. These findings suggest the prenatal period offers a critical opportunity for health care providers to identify individual mental health needs of pregnant women and initiate appropriate supports.

INTRODUCTION

Becoming a young mother often significantly alters the woman's life trajectory and presents many societal concerns (CDC 2011; Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics 2011). In the United States, three in ten adolescent females become pregnant at least once by the age of 20, with one in five teen births occurring among adolescents who already have a child (National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy 2011). Experiencing a short interpregnancy interval has been shown to increase risk for adverse maternal and perinatal outcomes, including preterm delivery and low-birth weight (Bratt and Scheepers 2006; Conde-Agudelo, Rosas-Bermudez, and Kafury-Goeta 2006). Meade and Ickovics (2005) reported in a recent meta-analysis that approximately 19% of teen mothers experience a subsequent pregnancy within 12 months and 38% of teen mothers experience a subsequent pregnancy within 24 months. Considerable research has been conducted on age, ethnicity, and income status as risk factors for a short interpregnancy interval among adolescent mothers, indicating rates of short interpregnancy intervals are often greater for younger, African American adolescent mothers from lower economic backgrounds (c.f., Boardman et al. 2006; Coard, Nitz, and Felice 2000; Pfitzner, Hoff, and McElligott 2003; Pulley et al. 2002). Few longitudinal studies, however, have explored how maternal history of trauma exposure may be related to short interpregnancy intervals. To address this gap in the literature, we examined how maternal history of childhood trauma experience relates to rapid subsequent pregnancies (defined as 12 months or less) within a sample of first-time adolescent and young adult mothers from economically impoverished backgrounds.

Maternal history of trauma exposure is hypothesized to be an important risk factor in short-interval pregnancies based on extant literature (cf. Jacoby, Gorenflo, Black, Wunderlich and Eyler, 1999; Raneri and Wiemann 2007) and our previous research (Patchen, Caruso, and Lanzi 2009). Childhood trauma is a major societal issue that is widespread across the United States, affecting approximately six million children annually (US DHHS, 2010). Childhood trauma, as indexed by physical, medical, emotional, educational and/or sexual maltreatment, has been shown to be related to a host of developmental consequences including increased rates of teen and unplanned pregnancies, drug use, dropping out of school, delinquency, and future poor parenting (Bert, Guner, and Lanzi 2009; Langsford et al. 2007; Kelley, Thornberry, and Smith 1997; Runyan et al. 2002).

In a previous study, we assessed differences in mental health indicators and trauma experiences during pregnancy in relation to interpregnancy intervals less than 24 months among a sample of adolescent mothers participating in a program for pregnant adolescent and young adult mothers (Patchen, Caruso, and Lanzi 2009). We found that adolescent mothers who experienced a subsequent pregnancy within 24 months reported more indicators of poor mental health and trauma experiences during the pre-natal and postpartum periods than did mothers who did not experience a subsequent pregnancy within two years. It is noteworthy that reports of physical abuse were greater for mothers who experienced a subsequent pregnancy within 24 months than those who did not experience a subsequent pregnancy with 24 months.

Although research has repeatedly provided evidence of the multiple risk conditions surrounding short interpregnancy intervals among adolescent mothers, little is known about the role of childhood trauma exposure. Documenting rates of rapid subsequent pregnancy among teen mothers and studying how experiences with childhood trauma relates to rates of rapid subsequent pregnancy is the overall objective of the current study.

METHODS

Participants

Participants were drawn from the *Parenting for the First Time Study,* a NIH 4-site (Birmingham, Alabama;

Kansas City; Missouri/Kansas; South Bend, Indiana; and Washington, D.C.) prospective study of the early predictors and precursors of neglect in the first three years of life among children born to first-time mothers (Centers for the Prevention of Child Neglect 2002). This study was the product of close collaboration with prenatal healthcare providers to identify and recruit mothers for the study; participation of multiple disciplines represented in the leadership of this project (i.e., nursing, public health, psychology, sociology, child development, and special education); and a partnership among four universities with diverse communities in the research design and implementation. Participants were eligible to be enrolled if they were pregnant and had no previous live births. During pregnancy, we recruited a sample of teen mothers (*N*=396; ages 14-19) and two adult comparison groups: an adult lower education sample of first-time mothers (*N*=169, ages 22-35, matched to the teen mother sample for ethnicity/race and educational level); and an adult higher education sample of first-time mothers (*N*=117, ages 22-35, with at least two years post-secondary education, also matched to the teen mothers for ethnicity/race).

The current analyses focus solely on adolescents and young adult mothers matched in terms of ethnicity/race and education (ages 15-24) to examine the adolescent/ young adult development continuum, a time when the evolution of critical thinking and decision making skills coincides with the period when many developmental and societal consequences of their decisions may be altered. Analyses included those with full data on prenatal variables of interest, outcome data, and with data at the 6-month and 12-month follow-up assessments. The final analytic sample included 118 respondents with complete data for subsequent pregnancy, childhood trauma exposure, and 12-month outcome data.

Design and Procedures

Data were obtained during the prenatal period and continued throughout the first 12 months after the birth of her first child. Initial in-person interviews were conducted during the mothers' last trimester of pregnancy. Data also were collected during home visits when the baby was 6- and 12-months of age.

Measures

Maternal exposure to childhood trauma. At 6-months postpartum, mothers were administered the *Childhood Trauma Questionnaire* (CTQ; Bernstein et al. 1994), a retrospective measure of childhood abuse and neglect. It consists of 28 questions that begin with the phrase, "When I was growing up..." and then end with a query about different types of abuse and neglect. Each item is rated for frequency on a 5-point Likert scale (responses range from never true to very often true). The instrument yields five different factors: physical and emotional abuse, emotional neglect, sexual abuse, and physical neglect. The instrument has been found by Bernstein and colleagues (1994) to have a high test-retest reliability over a period of months (intraclass correlation=0.88). Good convergent validity was demonstrated through a high correlation with an alternate measure of childhood trauma (Childhood Trauma Interview) and non-significant correlations with measures of vocabulary and social desirability. This questionnaire is a valuable research tool as it is quick and easy to administer, highly reliable and valid, and allows for distinctions between different types of abuse and neglect (Bernstein et al. 1994). Clinical measures of trauma exposure on a scale of "none-mild" and "moderate-severe" were utilized as well. Cut off scores were based on the scoring criteria described in the CTQ manual.

Rapid subsequent pregnancy. The outcome variable of interest was whether the respondent experienced a subsequent pregnancy within 12 months of their first delivery. This was determined by a self-report of subsequent pregnancy at either the 6-month or 12-month assessment. Mothers were asked whether she had had another baby since her first baby was born, whether she is currently pregnant, or had been pregnant at all since the birth of her first baby at each data collection point. These questions allowed for consistency checks across reports. Pregnancy was coded as "yes" or "no" if the mother reported a pregnancy at either 6-months or 12-months after the birth of her first child.

RESULTS

Statistical Analyses

Descriptive analyses were conducted to assess study participant race/ethnicity characteristics, history of trauma exposure, and 12- month subsequent pregnancy rates. Second, chi-square analyses and *t*-tests were conducted to examine the associations between predictor variables and 12-month subsequent pregnancy. Lastly, *t*-tests were run to examine mean differences on specific CTQ items as a function of rapid subsequent pregnancy.

Descriptive Findings

Characteristics of the sample (*n*=118) are provided in Table 1. The mean age of mothers was 18.19 (*SD*=2.20) years. More specifically, participants represented two groups of teens, a middle adolescent group aged 14-16 years (12.2%) and a late adolescent group aged 17-19 years (54.5%), as well as a group of young adults aged 22-24 years (33.2%). In terms of race/ethnicity, the sample was comprised of 20.7% White/non-Hispanic mothers, 70.3% African American mothers, and 4.8% Hispanic/Latino mothers.

Approximately 20% of the sample reported excessive exposure to trauma during their childhoods. Emotional neglect (*M*=9.64, *SD*=4.41) and emotional abuse (*M*=8.40, *SD*=4.02) constituted the most frequent type of exposure to trauma, followed by physical abuse (*M*=7.31, *SD*=3.26), physical neglect (*M*=6.91, *SD*=2.83), and sexual abuse (*M*=5.94, *SD*=3.04). At twelve month postpartum, 17.8% (*n*=21) of the sample reported a repeat pregnancy. Of those mothers reporting a repeat pregnancy, 4.2% were

Table 1. ***Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample (N=118).***

Characteristic	Percent	Mean *(SD)*
Age		20.50 (4.43)
Race/Ethnicity		
White	20.7	
Black	70.3	
Hispanic	4.8	
Exposure to Childhood Trauma [a]		38.17 (11.96)
Emotional Abuse		8.40 (4.02)
Physical Abuse		7.31 (3.26)
Sexual Abuse		5.94 (3.04)
Emotional Neglect		9.64 (4.41)
Physical Neglect		6.91 (2.83)
Clinical Exposure to Childhood Trauma	20.3	
Rapid Subsequent Pregnancy by 12 months	17.8	13.39 (8.77)

[a] Childhood Trauma Questionnaire.

Table 2. ***Associations among Predictor Variables and Rapid Subsequent Pregnancy (N= 118).***

Characteristic	Subsequent pregnancy at 12 months (n = 21)	No subsequent pregnancy at 12 months (n = 97)	Test statistic[#]
	% or *M SD*	% or *M SD*	
Race/Ethnicity			2.47
White	26.1	19.7	
Black	65.2	71.3	
Hispanic	8.7	4.1	
Exposure to Childhood Trauma	*M*=43.64 *SD*=12.97	*M*=37.18 *SD*=11.56	(4.34)*
Emotional Abuse	*M* =9.18 *SD*=4.25	*M*=8.27 *SD*=3.98	0.74
Physical Abuse	*M* =7.72 *SD*=3.86	*M*=7.23 *SD*=3.17	0.34
Sexual Abuse	*M*=6.22 *SD*=3.00	*M*=5.89 *SD*=3.06	0.18
Emotional Neglect	*M*=11.50 *SD*=4.54	*M*=9.30 *SD*=4.32	(3.90)*
Physical Neglect	*M*=8.22 *SD*=2.71	*M*=6.67 *SD*=2.80	(4.76)*
Clinical Exposure to Childhood Trauma			(7.29)**
None-Mild	70.6%	87.2	
Moderate-Severe	29.4%	12.8	

Note: ** $p<0.01$. * $p<0.05$. †$p<0.10$. [#]Test statistic *t*-test for mean group differences and χ^2 for percentage group differences.

aged 14-16 years, 45.5% were aged 17-19 years, and the remaining 50% were young adult mothers aged 22-24 years.

Significant Associations among Predictor Variables and Rapid Subsequent Pregnancy

The second research objective was to examine possible relationships among predictor variables and subsequent pregnancy 12-months after the birth of a participant's first child (see Table 2). Significant differences were documented for mean Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ) total scores, emotional neglect, and physical neglect scores. Mothers reporting a subsequent pregnancy had higher overall exposure to trauma (*M*=43.64, *SD*= 12.97 vs. *M*=37.18, *SD*=11.56), emotional neglect (*M*=11.50, *SD*=4.54 vs. *M*=9.30, *SD*=4.32), and physical neglect (*M*=8.22, *SD*=2.71 vs. *M*=6.67, *SD*=2.80) than mothers who did not report a subsequent pregnancy. Of particular concern, mothers reporting a subsequent pregnancy by 12-months postpartum were significantly more likely to have clinical CTQ scores in the "moderate-severe" range (29.4%) than those who had not experienced a rapid repeat pregnancy (12.8%; $\chi^2= 7.29$, $p<0.01$).

Significant Associations among Specific Childhood Trauma Questionnaire Items and Rapid Subsequent Pregnancy

A final research objective was to conduct an in-depth exploration of specific childhood trauma experiences among first-time mothers who reported a rapid subsequent pregnancy compared to those who did not experience a rapid subsequent pregnancy. Mothers were asked specific questions concerning their exposure to childhood trauma. For four of the questions, there were significant mean group differences between those who reported subsequent pregnancy within 12 months of their first birth and those who did not. These specific questions

were: "I felt loved," "People in my family felt close together," "I knew there was someone to take care of me and protect me," and "My parents were too drunk or high to take care of me." To assess the percentages of mothers who indicated these statements were true for them during their childhood as a function of rapid subsequent pregnancy, we conducted chi-square analyses (see Figure 1).

Seventeen percent of mothers with a rapid subsequent pregnancy reported feeling not loved during childhood, however, only 4% of mothers without a rapid subsequent pregnancy feeling not loved (χ^2= 8.28, p<0.01). Similarly, 17% of mothers with a rapid subsequent pregnancy reported feeling not taken care of during pregnancy but only 6% of mothers without a rapid subsequent pregnancy reported feeling not taken care of during childhood (χ^2= 8.26, p<0.01). Significant differences also were documented for the items "People in my family felt close to each other" " (χ^2= 4.64, p<0.05) and "My parents were too drunk or high to take care of the family" (χ^2= 2.59, p<0.05). More than one out of five (22%) of the mothers who had a rapid subsequent pregnancy said that people in their family did not feel close together during childhood; whereas about one out of ten mothers (13.3%) who did not have a subsequent pregnancy indicated that this was true for them. Further, 15.1% who had a subsequent pregnancy said their parents were too drunk or high to take care of them during childhood as opposed to only 7.6% of those who did not have a subsequent pregnancy.

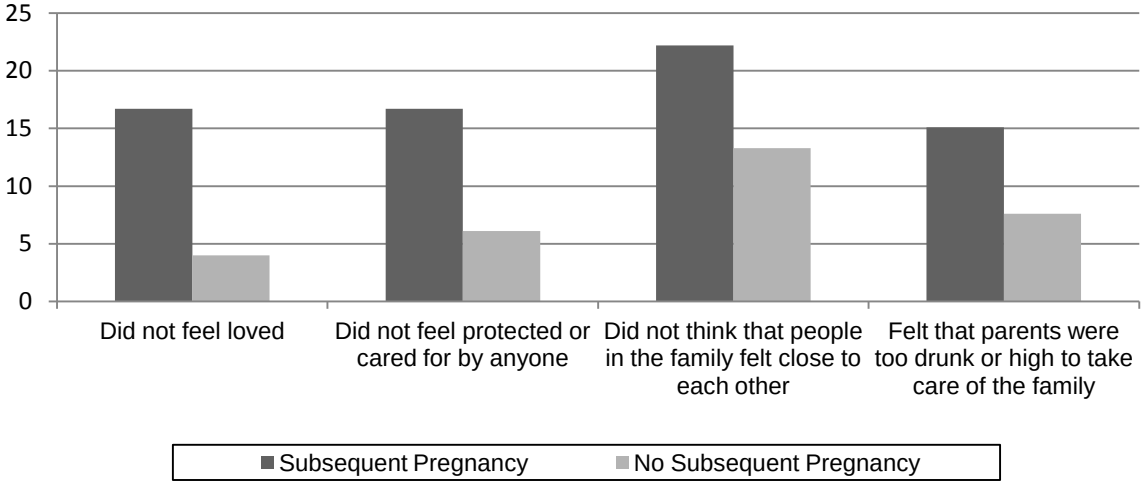
DISCUSSION

Findings from the present study indicate that approximately 18% of adolescent and young mothers from low economic backgrounds experienced a subsequent pregnancy within 12 months of their first delivery and that experiences with childhood trauma are risk factors for rapid subsequent pregnancy. These subsequent pregnancy rates are consistent with previous research (Meade and Ickovics 2005) and expand upon our prior analysis that suggested depression and trauma are risk factors for rapid subsequent pregnancies among adolescent and young adult mothers (Patchen, Caruso, and Lanzi 2009). Adolescent and young adult mothers are in a critical transitional of social, emotional, cognitive, and physical development. It is therefore particularly important that adolescent mothers receive support services to adequately negotiate the increased responsibilities associated with parenting as they mature themselves (McNeely and Blanchard 2009; Mulye et al. 2009). The prenatal period offers an excellent window of opportunity to identify individual needs and initiate appropriate supports.

Although the value of prenatal care to achieve optimal birth outcomes has been widely acknowledged, it is not as well-recognized as an opportunity to have a positive impact on the future health and well-being of a mother and her subsequent children. Screening women during the prenatal period for incidences of childhood trauma offers the opportunity to identify women that not only may benefit from support during their pregnancy, but also from interventions to support optimal birth spacing after they deliver. Further, pregnant women who experienced childhood trauma may benefit from intensive contraceptive counseling and follow-up during the first year after delivery. The prenatal period offers an ideal time to initiate discussions regarding birth spacing, number of desired children, and contraceptive options. Obstetrical providers may help women achieve their future reproductive goals by facilitating their efforts to select a family planning method that is compatible with their medical history, ability to tolerate potential secondary effects, and desired birth spacing.

Scheduling contraceptive follow-up every 10-12 weeks allows for periodic evaluation of a woman's continued satisfaction with her contraceptive method of choice, as well as identification of inconsistent or incorrect method utilization. A standing appointment every 10-12 weeks may encourage women to discuss their concerns about

Figure 1. ***Percent of mothers with and without a rapid subsequent pregnancy who indicated CTQ were true for them.***



contraceptive use as they arise and before they become so dissatisfied that they simple discontinue the method. Regular visits also offer an opportunity to change contraception methods and provide reassurance that secondary effects, such as menstrual changes, are expected (Hatcher 2008). A scheduled follow-up visit also provides an opportunity to review method use and identify any issues with accuracy and consistency of utilization, which may not even be recognized by the individual. If a woman does become pregnant, regularly scheduled follow-up offers the benefit of early pregnancy identification and follow-up. Interventions specific to childhood trauma may be needed in order to support women in their desire to achieve optimal birth spacing. To develop effective programming, it will be important to explore how adolescent and young adult mothers with trauma history make their reproductive health decisions.

Acknowledgements

This research was supported by NICHD grants K01 HD42173 and HD39456; cosponsor groups include the CDC, NIDA, and the Department of Education, as well as the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (#037224). Cellular phones and service were provided by generous donations from Cingular and Centennial Wireless Corporations. Senior members of the Centers for the Prevention of Child Neglect include John Borkowski, Judy Carta, Bette Keltner, Lorraine Klerman, Susan Landry, Robin Lanzi, Craig Ramey, Sharon Ramey, and Steve Warren. The authors would like to acknowledge the intellectual contributions of the Community Child Health Network (CCHN) for drawing attention to the topic of interpregnancy intervals and health disparities. CCHN is a community-based participatory research network supported through cooperative agreements with the Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (U HD44207, U HD44219, U HD44226, U HD44245, U HD44253, U HD54791, U HD54019, U HD44226-05S1, U HD44245-06S1, R03 HD59584) and the National Institute for Nursing Research (U NR008929). Nonetheless, these views do not necessarily represent those of CCHN members or the network overall.

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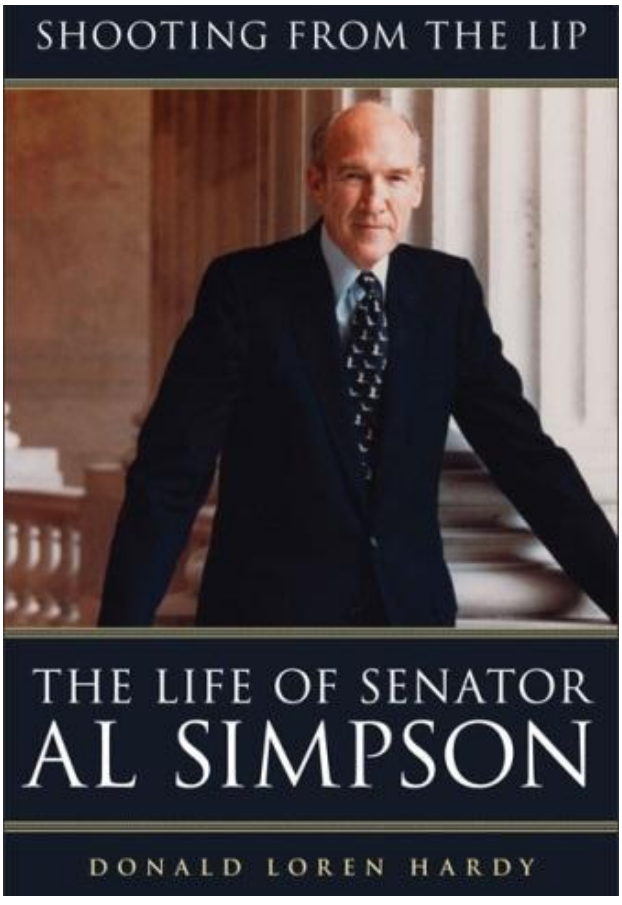
Shooting from the Lip
The Life of Senator Al Simpson
By: Donald Loren Hardy
PAPERBACK ISBN: 9780806143200

An unvarnished account of the American statesman known for his outspokenness, credibility, and willingness to rise above politics

Shortly before Wyoming's Alan K. Simpson was elected majority whip of the United States Senate, he decided to keep a journal. "I am going to make notes when I get home in the evening, as to what happened during each day." Now the senator's longtime chief of staff, Donald Loren Hardy, has drawn extensively on Simpson's personal papers and nineteen-volume diary to write this unvarnished account of a storied life and political career.

Simpson gave full authorial control to Hardy, telling him, "Don, just tell the truth, the whole truth, as you always have. Leave teeth, hair, and eyeballs on the floor, if that results from telling the truth." Taking Simpson at his word, Hardy shows readers a thrill-seeking teenager in Cody and a tireless politician who has thoroughly enjoyed his work. Full of entertaining tales and moments of historical significance, *Shooting from the Lip* offers a privileged and revealing backstage view of late-twentieth-century American politics.



Hardy's richly anecdotal account reveals the roles Simpson played during such critical events as the Iran-Contra scandal and Clarence Thomas's confirmation hearings. It divulges the senator's candid views of seven American presidents and scores of other national and world luminaries. Simpson is a politician unfettered by partisanship. Among President George H. W. Bush's closest compatriots, he was also a close friend and admirer of Senator Ted Kennedy and was never afraid to publicly challenge the positions or tactics of fellow lawmakers, Democratic and Republican alike.

Simpson's ability to use truth and humor as both "sword and shield," combined with his years of experience and issue mastery, has led to an impressive post-Senate career. In 2010, for example, he co-chaired President Barack Obama's Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform. *Shooting from the Lip* portrays a statesman punching sacred cows, challenging the media, and grappling with some of the nation's most difficult challenges.

POLYVICTIMIZATION: CHILDREN'S EXPOSURE TO MULTIPLE TYPES OF VIOLENCE, CRIME, AND ABUSE*

David Finkelhor — University of New Hampshire
Heather Turner — University of New Hampshire
Sherry Hamby — Sewanee: The University of the South
Richard Ormrod — University of New Hampshire

Abstract

*A Message from OJJDP***:** Children are exposed to violence every day in their homes, schools, and communities. Such exposure can cause them significant physical, mental, and emotional harm with long-term effects that can last well into adulthood. The Attorney General launched Defending Childhood in September 2010 to unify the Department of Justice's efforts to address children's exposure to violence under one initiative. Through Defending Childhood, the Department is raising public awareness about the issue and supporting practitioners, researchers, and policymakers as they seek solutions to address it. A component of Defending Childhood, OJJDP's Safe Start initiative continues efforts begun in 1999 to enhance practice, research, training and technical assistance, and public education about children and violence. Under Safe Start, OJJDP conducted the National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence, the most comprehensive effort to date to measure the extent and nature of the violence that children endure and its consequences on their lives. This is the first study to ask children and caregivers about exposure to a range of violence, crime, and abuse in children's lives. As amply evidenced in this bulletin series, children's exposure to violence is pervasive and affects all ages. The research findings reported here and in the other bulletins in this series are critical to informing our efforts to protect children from its damaging effects.

**reprinted from https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/235504.pdf, Oct 2011.*

INTRODUCTION

All too often, children are victims of violence, crime, and abuse. This victimization may take the form of physical assault, child maltreatment, sexual abuse, or bullying. They may also witness such events in their homes, schools, and communities. Some children suffer several different kinds of such victimization even over a relatively brief timespan. These children and youth are at particularly high risk for lasting physical, mental, and emotional harm.

The National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence (NatSCEV) was the first comprehensive national survey to look at the entire spectrum of children's exposure to violence, crime, and abuse across all ages, settings, and timeframes. NatSCEV examined past-year and lifetime exposure to physical and emotional violence through both direct victimization and indirect exposure to violence (either as an eyewitness or through other knowledge).

A focus of NatSCEV was multiple and cumulative exposures to violence. A large proportion of children surveyed (38.7%) reported in the previous year more than one type of direct victimization (victimization directed toward the child, as opposed to an incident that the child witnessed, heard, or was otherwise exposed to). Of those who reported any direct victimization, nearly two-thirds (64.5%) reported more than one type. A significant number of children reported high levels of exposure to different types of violence in the past year: more than one in ten (10.9%) reported five or more direct exposures to different types of violence, and 1.4% reported ten or more direct victimizations.

Children who were exposed to even one type of violence, both within the past year and over their lifetimes, were at far greater risk of experiencing other types of violence. For example, a child who was physically assaulted in the past year would be five times as likely also to have been sexually victimized and more than four times as likely also to have been maltreated during that period. Similarly, a child who was physically assaulted during his or her lifetime would be more than six times as likely to have been sexually victimized and more than five times as likely to have been maltreated during his or her lifetime (Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, Hamby, and Kracke, 2009). This helps explain why victimizations cumulate. More attention needs to be paid to children who are exposed to multiple types of violence, crime, and abuse. Most research has looked only at individual forms of child victimization –such as sexual abuse or bullying– without investigating the other exposures these same children may face. A new emphasis on the study of what is being called "polyvictimization" offers to help teachers, counselors, medical professionals, psychologists, child welfare advocates, law enforcement, juvenile justice system personnel, and others who work with children identify the most endangered children and youth and protect them from additional harm.

This bulletin summarizes some of the key findings on polyvictimized youth, based on NatSCEV (see "History of the National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence") and the closely related Developmental Victimization Survey (DVS) (see "Methodology"). Among the key findings: 8% of all youth in the nationally representative NatSCEV sample had seven or more different kinds of victimization or exposures to violence, crime, and abuse

in the past year. These polyvictimized youth had a disproportionate share of the most serious kinds of victimizations, such as sexual victimization and parental maltreatment. They also had more life adversities and were more likely to manifest symptoms of psychological distress. Polyvictimization tended to persist over time. It was most likely to start near the beginning of grade school and the beginning of high school, and was associated with a cluster of four prior circumstances or pathways: living in a violent family, living in a distressed and chaotic family, living in a violent neighborhood, and having pre-existing psychological symptoms.

METHODOLOGY

National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence

The National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence (NatSCEV) is based on a cross-sectional national telephone survey[1] involving a target sample of 4,549 children and youth conducted between January and May 2008, including an oversample of 1,500 respondents from areas with large concentrations of black, Hispanic, and low-income populations. Participants included youth ages 10-17, who were interviewed about their own experiences, and the parents or other primary caregivers of children ages nine or younger, who provided information about these younger children (Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, and Hamby, 2009; Finkelhor, Turner, Ormrod, Hamby and Kracke, 2009).

Interviewers asked the children of their caregivers about their exposure to selected types of violence, crime, and abuse in the past year and over their lifetimes. In addition, interviewers asked follow-up questions about the perpetrator; the use of a weapon; injury; and whether multiple incidents of violence, crime, and abuse occurred together. A total of 51 victimization items were extracted in the following categories: assaults, bullying, sexual victimization, child maltreatment by an adult, and witnessed and indirect victimization.

Developmental Victimization Survey

The Developmental Victimization Survey (DVS) was based on a cross-sectional national telephone survey involving a target sample of 2,030 children and youth between December 2002 and February 2003. Participants included youth ages 10-17, who were interviewed about their own experience, and the parents or other caregivers of children ages 2-9, who provided information about these younger children (Finkelhor, Ormrod et al. 2005b).

Researchers also conducted two follow-up surveys of the same population, the first from December 2003 to May 2004 (approximately one year after the baseline survey) and the second from December 2005 to August 2006. A total of 989 respondents (49% of the original sample) took part in all three waves. Attrition was greater among younger children, non-whites, and lower socio-economic status families, but did not differ by initial level of victimization (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, and Holt, 2009).

All three waves of the DVS questioned the respondents about past-year victimizations, using identically worded questions. In addition, in wave 2 (the first follow-up survey), researchers asked respondents the same set of questions about lifetime victimization experiences prior to past-year data collection period for that wave.

Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire

In both surveys, the research team measured victimization with versions of the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (JVQ) (Finkelhor, Hamby, Ormrod, and Turner 2005; Finkelhor, Ormrod et al. 2005b). The basic questionnaire, used in DVS, contains questions about 34 different kinds of victimization that cover five general areas of concern: conventional crime, child maltreatment, peer and sibling victimizations, sexual victimization, and witnessing and indirect victimization. The researchers asked respondents who indicated that they had been victimized in any of these ways a series of follow-up questions about the frequency of the exposure, the identities of offenders, and whether injury occurred, among other things.[2] NatSCEV used an enhanced version of the JVQ (JVQ-R1) with 14 additional questions about further types of victimization, including an item about threatening and several items each about exposure to community violence, exposure to family violence, school violence and threats, and Internet victimization.[3]

Measurement of Distress

In both surveys, the researchers measured distress with items from the Trauma Symptom Checklist for Children (TSCC) for children ages 10-17 (Briere 1996), and the closely related Trauma Symptom Checklist for Young Children (TSCYC) for children younger than ten years old (Brier, et al. 2001). These checklists evaluate post-traumatic symptoms and other symptom clusters in children and adolescents, including the effects of child abuse (sexual, physical, and psychological) and neglect, other interpersonal violence, peer victimization, witnessing violence and other trauma to others, major accidents, and disaster.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF CHILDREN'S EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE

Under the leadership of then Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder in June 1999, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) created the Safe Start Initiative to prevent and reduce the impact of children's exposure to violence. As a part of this initiative,

[1] Because telephone interviews afford greater anonymity and privacy than in-person interviews, they may encourage those interviewed to be more forthcoming about such sensitive matters as being exposed to violence or being victims of crime (Acierno et al. 2003; Shannon et al. 2007).

[2] For a complete list of the questions in the JVQ, see appendix A to Finkelhor, Ormrod, and Turner, 2007c. For information about administration and scoring, see Hamby, et al. 2004.

[3] For a list of all NatSCEV questions, see appendix A to Finkelhor, Ormord, Turner, and Hamby, 2009.

and with a growing need to document the full extent of children's exposure to violence, OJJDP launched NatSCEV with the support of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

NatSCEV is the first national incidence and prevalence study to comprehensively examine the extent and nature of children's exposure to violence across all ages, settings, and timeframes. Conducted between January and May 2008, it measured the past-year and lifetime exposure to violence for children age 17 and younger across several major categories: conventional crime, child maltreatment, victimization by peers and siblings, sexual victimization, witnessing and indirect victimization (including exposure to community violence and family violence), school violence and threats, and Internet victimization. This survey marks the first comprehensive attempt to measure children's exposure to violence in the home, school, and community across all age groups from one month to age 17, and the first attempt to measure the cumulative exposure to violence over the child's lifetime. The survey asked children and their adult caregivers about not only the incidents of violence that children suffered and witnessed themselves, but also other related crime and threat exposures, such as theft or burglary from a child's household, being in a school that was the target of a credible bomb threat, and being in a war zone or an area where ethnic violence occurred.

The survey was developed under the direction of OJJDP and was designed and conducted by the Crimes Against Children Research Center of the University of New Hampshire. It provides comprehensive data on the full extent of violence in the daily lives of children. The primary purpose of NatSCEV is to document the incidence and prevalence of children's exposure to a broad array of violent experiences across a wide developmental spectrum. The research team asked follow-up questions about specific events, including where the exposure to violence occurred, whether injury resulted, how often the child was exposed to a specific type of violence, and the child's relationship to the perpetrator and, when the child witnessed violence, the victim. In addition, the survey documents differences in exposure to violence across gender, race, socioeconomic status, family structure, region, urban/rural residence, and developmental stage of the child; specifies how different forms of violent victimization "cluster" or co-occur; identifies individual, family, and community-level predictors of violence exposure among children; examines associations between levels/types of exposure to violence and children's mental and emotional health; and assesses the extent to which children disclose incidents of violence to various individuals and the nature and source of any assistance or treatment provided.

ADVERSITIES RELATED TO POLYVICTIMIZATION

A number of independent lines of thinking have pointed to the importance of examining polyvictimization in childhood. The research on cumulative adversity suggests that especially intense and long-lasting effects occur when problems aggregate, particularly in childhood (Dong et al. 2004; Rutter, 1983). Other research shows that victimizations are not randomly distributed but tend to cumulate for certain individuals and in certain environments (Tseloni and Pease, 2003). Observers have proposed mechanisms for understanding why such adversities may cumulate and some children are victimized repeatedly, including "ecological-transactional" models (Lynch and Cicchetti, 1998) and models that emphasize the impact of victimization on the formation of "cognitive schemas" (Perry, Hodges, and Egan, 2001) or on the "dysregulation" of emotions (Shields and Cicchetti, 1998). At the same time, traumatic stress theory –the dominant framework for understanding the impact of victimization– has evolved toward the notion that for some children victimization is not a single overwhelming event (like a sexual assault) but a condition like neglect or bullying (Finkelhor, Ormrod, and Turner, 2007a). This concept is sometimes referred to as "complex trauma" (Cook et al. 2003). Children who experience repeated victimizations and several types of victimizations may be at greater risk for suffering this complex trauma.

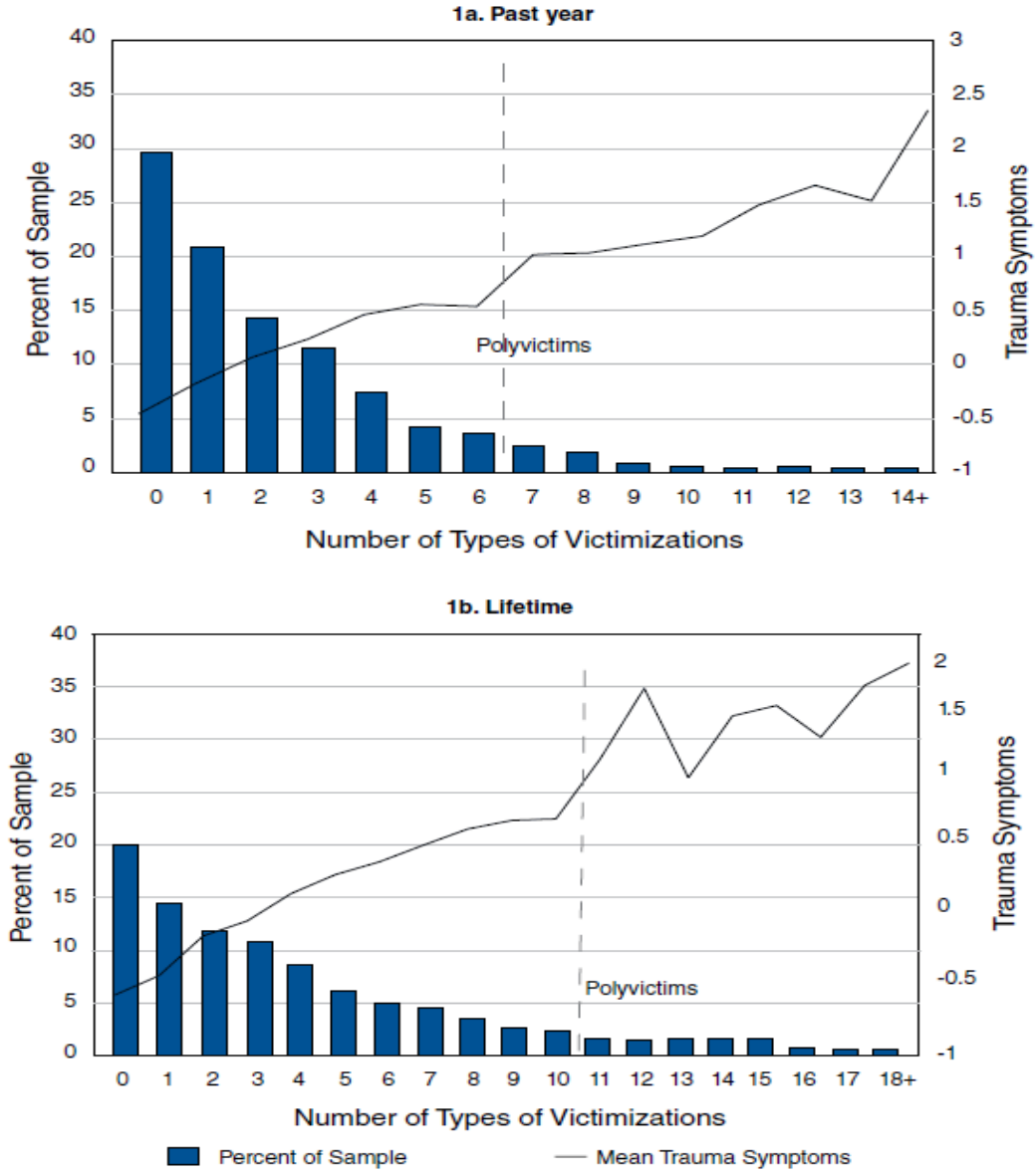
DETERMINING THE THRESHOLD FOR POLYVICTIMIZATION

Polyvictimization can be defined as having experienced multiple victimizations of different kinds, such as sexual abuse, physical abuse, bullying, and exposure to family violence. This definition emphasizes different kinds of victimization, rather than just multiple episodes of the same kind of victimization, because this appears to signal a more generalized vulnerability. The field has not yet developed a consensus about what the exact numerical threshold should be for a child to qualify as a polyvictim. The threshold used in research connected to NatSCEV designates approximately the most victimized 10% of the survey sample as polyvictims (Finkelhor, Ormrod, and Turner, 2009).

Much of the research on polyvictimization has been based on the Juvenile Victimization Questionnaire (JVQ), an instrument that asks about almost three dozen kinds of different victimization exposures (Finkelhor, Ormrod, and Turner, 2007b; Finkelhor, Ormrod et al. 2005a). The JVQ was the basis for the questions in both the DVS and NatSCEV. Both the JVQ and NatSCEV's JVQ-R1 asked children and youth about exposures to conventional crime, including property crime, child maltreatment, peer and sibling victimization, sexual victimization, and the witnessing of family and community violence.

NatSCEV found a significantly greater level of distress among children and youth who suffered seven or more kinds of victimization in a single year (Figure 1). This cutoff designates 8% of the sample and is used for exploratory purposes as the threshold for defining polyvictimization.

Figure 1: ***Relationship Between Multiple Types of Victimization and Number of Trauma Symptoms (Past Year Victimizations)***



Past-Year Versus Lifetime Exposures as a Measure of Polyvictimization

Some researchers have preferred to assess for polyvictimization in the context of a child's full lifetime experience rather than simply for a single year. When defining polyvictimization over the course of childhood, one must keep in mind that older youth will accumulate more victimizations than younger children simply because they have lived longer. One option when using lifetime measures of polyvictimization is to establish lower thresholds for younger children if a goal is to identify vulnerable children at an earlier age (Finkelhor, Ormrod, and Turner, 2009).

Some have wondered whether weighting more heavily some victimization experiences that are presumed to be more serious, such as sexual abuse, would be more advantageous when assessing vulnerability. Various schemes for weighting victimizations made little difference in predicting distress when working with past-year victimizations (Finkelhor, Ormrod et al. 2005a). In lifetime assessments, however, weighting the experiences of sexual assault and child maltreatment more heavily improved prediction of distress from victimization (Finkelhor, Ormrod, and Turner, 2009).

Past-Year and Lifetime Polyvictimization Rates among NatSCEV Respondents

In NatSCEV's representative sample of U.S. children, 49% of children and youth surveyed suffered two or more types of victimization (including both direct and indirect victimizations) in the past year. The largest number of different types of victimizations was 18. The median

number of past-year exposures to violence among victims was three. Figure 1a, which illustrates the relationship between past-year exposure to violence and the number of trauma symptoms, shows that distress scores rise significantly from the overall trend at the level of seven or more victimization types in the past year. These children and youth (about 8% of the sample) are designated as polyvictims.

A graph of the number of different victimizations over the child's lifetime (Figure 1b) shows a similar, if more extended distribution. The median number of lifetime exposures to violence among victims was three. The plot for distress symptoms shows an elevation above the linear trend at the level of 11 or more exposures, which designates 10% of the survey participants, totaling the percentage of all participants who had a given number of lifetime exposures.

The remainder of the bulletin will primarily discuss polyvictims as classified by their past-year experiences. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of these children would also qualify as lifetime polyvictims using the cutoff of 11 or more lifetime exposures to violence. This bulletin focuses on past-year polyvictims for two reasons: (1) the multiple exposures are closer in time to each other and to the survey for this group, and thus signify a high level of current vulnerability; and (2) this group has a less skewed age distribution, as lifetime calculations tend to over represent older youth who accumulate more exposures over time. (For an analysis of the experiences of children who qualify as polyvictims on the basis of lifetime experiences, see Turner, Finkelhor, and Ormrod, 2010.)

CHARACTERISTICS OF POLYVICTIMS

Among the characteristics that distinguish polyvictims from children who are less exposed to violence are the more serious nature of their victimizations; the greater range of victimizations they suffered; and their overrepresentation among certain demographic groups: boys, older children, children of medium socioeconomic status (SES), African American children, and children in single-parent, stepparent, and other adult caregiver families.

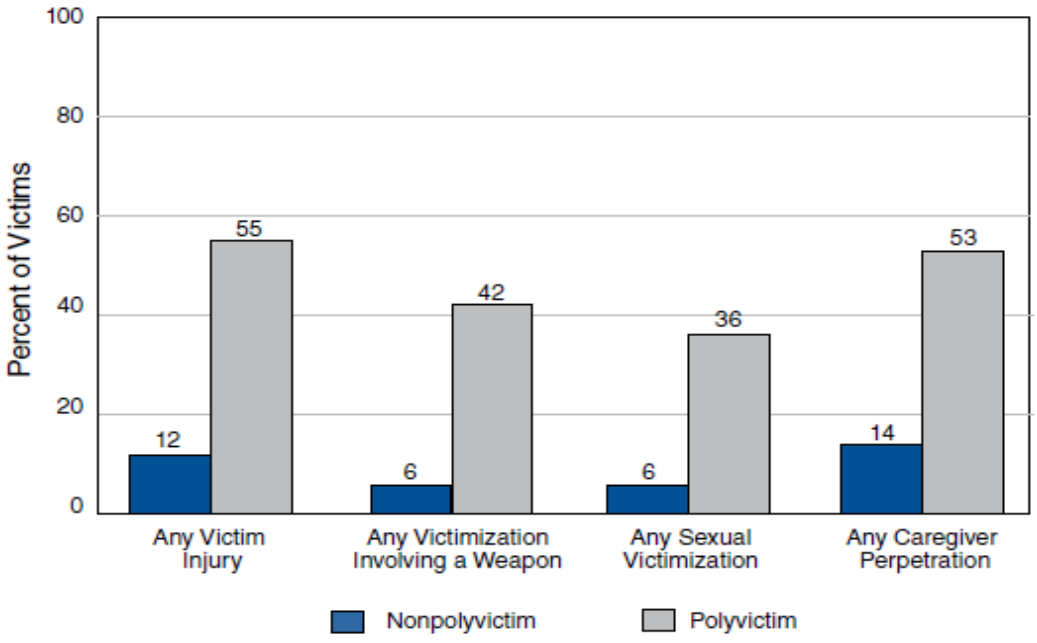
Incidence of Serious Victimizations among Polyvictims

Polyvictims not only have many victimizations, they also suffer more serious victimizations. As Figure 2 shows, in the past year, 55% of polyvictims had a victimization injury, 42% faced an assailant who carried a weapon or other harmful object, 36% experienced sexual victimization, and 53% had been victimized by a caretaker. These levels of serious victimization were four to six times greater than the levels for other victimized children.

Exposure to Multiple Domains of Victimization

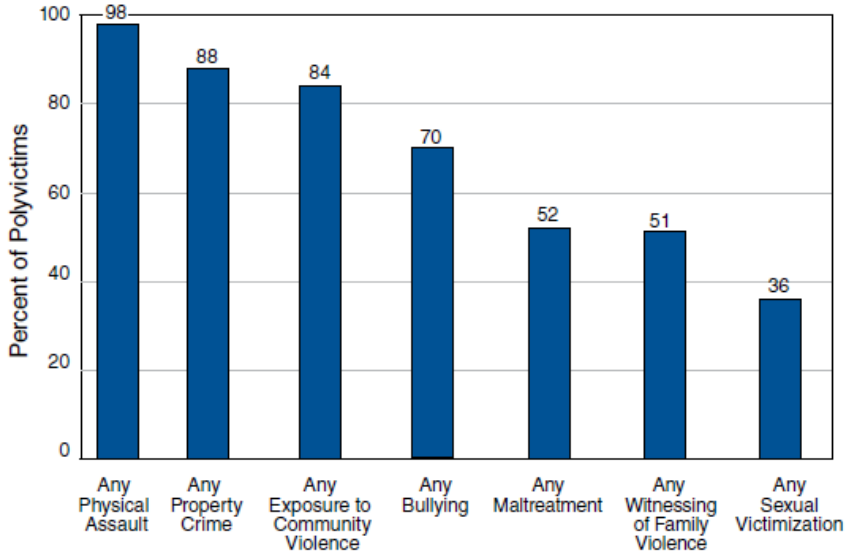
The polyvictims had also experienced victimization across a broad range of different types of victimization. Nearly three out of five polyvictims (58%) had victimizations in five or more "domains" (e.g., maltreatment, sexual victimization, bullying) (Figure 3). Such victimization exposure across so many domains

Figure 2: ***Seriousness of Polyvictims' Victimization Experiences***



Source: NatSCEV data for children age 2 and older, weighted.

Figure 3: *Polyvictims' Domains of Victimization*



may be what leaves these children so particularly distressed. There are relatively few areas of safety for them.

Demographic Characteristics of Polyvictims

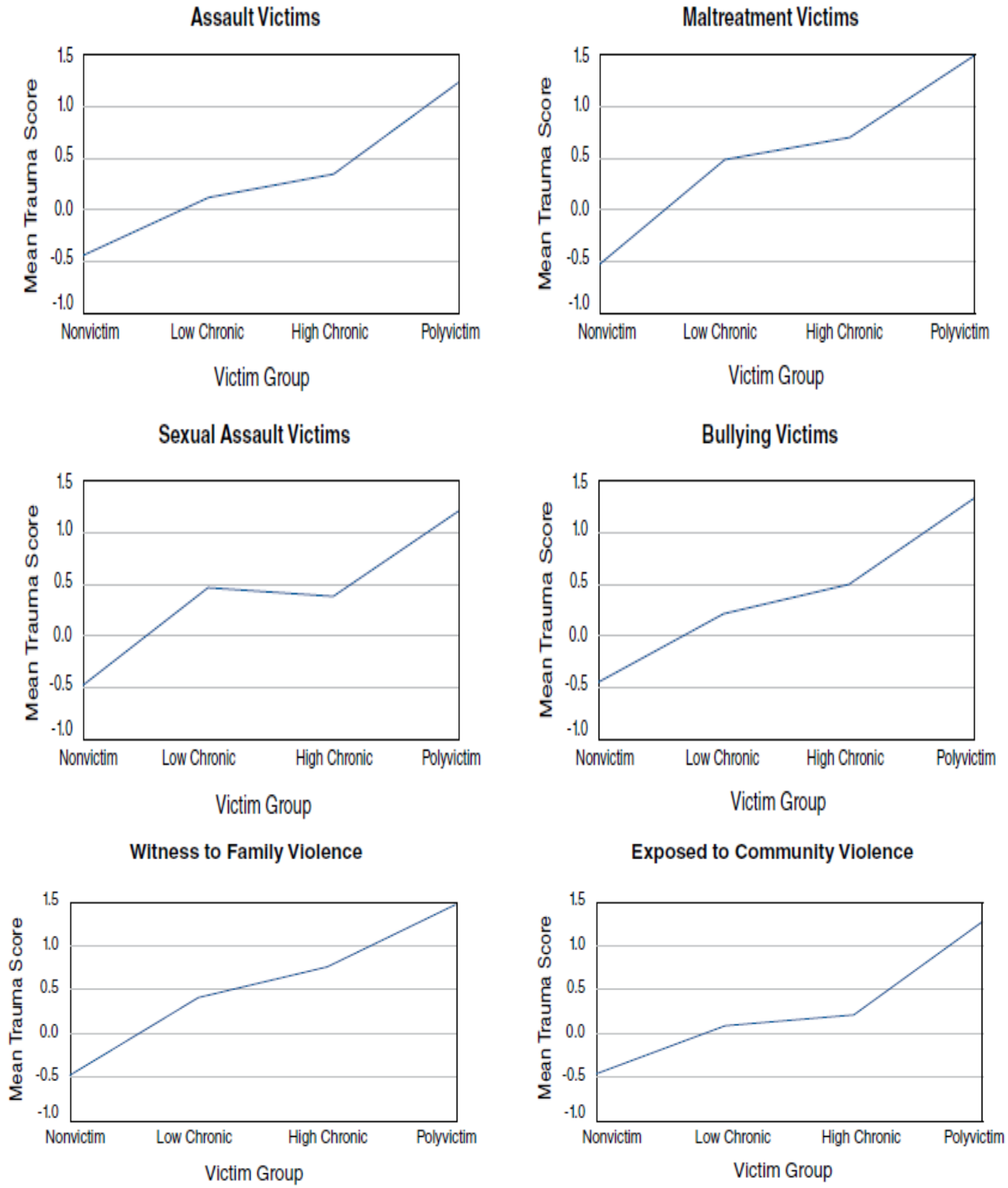
Polyvictims are somewhat more likely to be boys than girls: 54% of polyvictims were boys, whereas 46% of polyvictims were girls. They are also over represented among older youth (41% of polyvictims were in the 14-17 age group, comprising 13% of all youth surveyed in that age group) (see Table 1). NatSCEV found lower polyvictimization rates among both higher and lower SES families compared to families in the middle. It found no difference in polyvictimization rates in urban and rural areas. However, there were higher rates among African-Americans and lower rates among Hispanics. Youth living in single-parent and stepparent families had higher rates of polyvictimization.

Table 1: Past-Year Polyvictimization Rate by Demographic Characteristic (NatSCEV, ages 2-17)

Characteristic	Polyvictim (%)
Gender	
Female	7.5
Male	8.4
Age Group*	
2-5 years	5.2
6-9 years	4.0
10-13 years	9.5
14-17 years	13.0
Socioeconomic Status*	
Low	7.3
Middle	8.8
High	4.7
Race/Ethnicity*	
White, non-Hispanic	7.7
Black, non-Hispanic	12.8
Other race, non-Hispanic	7.9
Hispanic, any race	4.5
Family Structure	
Two-Parent family	5.2
Stepparent or Partner family	12.8
Single-Parent family	12.4
Other adult caregiver	13.9
City Residence (300,000+ population)	
Yes	8.3
No	7.8

Note: Values derived from weighted data. Differences in values for these characteristics are significant at * $p<0.05$

Figure 4: ***Trauma Symptom Scores Across Victim Groups***



Note: NatSCEV past-year data, weighted. Analysis of variance between groups includes gender, age, race/ethnicity, family structure, and socioeconomic status as covariates.

OTHER LIFETIME ADVERSITIES AND LEVELS OF DISTRESS AMONG POLYVICTIMS

A notable characteristic of polyvictimization is the far greater level of additional lifetime adversities and levels of distress these children experience. Polyvictims were more likely to have had other kinds of lifetime adversities such as illnesses, accidents, family unemployment, parental substance abuse, and mental illness (an average of 4.7 adversities v. 2.1 for nonpolyvictims).

Polyvictims were clearly experiencing high levels of distress as measured by a checklist of symptoms that included indicators of anxiety, depression, anger, and posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The symptom score for polyvictims was more than one standard deviation higher than for other victims and nonvictims. Further, polyvictims were well represented among distressed children. Among children who were in the top 10% of the distressed children, 30% could be classified as polyvictims.

Polyvictims were not only more distressed than other victims in general; they were also more distressed than those who experienced frequent victimization of a single type. Figure 4 shows symptom levels for four groups of children with different kinds of victimization profiles: (1) those who had experienced no victimization, (2) those who were exposed to less than the average frequency of one type of victimization (e.g., bullying), (3) those with a more than average frequency of one type of victimization (e.g., chronic bullying), and (4) those exposed to a specific type of victimization who were also polyvictims (meaning, for example, that they had been bullied and had also been exposed to victimizations of several other types). The polyvictims were considerably more distressed than the children who were victims of one type of chronic victimization but did not have additional different kinds of victimization.

As Figure 4 shows, this was true for virtually every individual form of victimization. Having multiple sexual victimizations, for example, was not associated with nearly as much distress as having any sexual victimization in combination with several other different kinds of victimization. This suggests that among children identified with a single kind of victimization (such as sexual assault) the ones with the most distress will generally be those with other kinds of victimization as well. This may be because these children have no or few environments in which they feel truly safe. It suggests that studies and intervention programs targeted at any particular kind of victimization, like bullying or exposure to family violence, need also to assess children for other kinds of victimization. Exposure to multiple types of victimization may be the most important feature underlying high levels of distress.

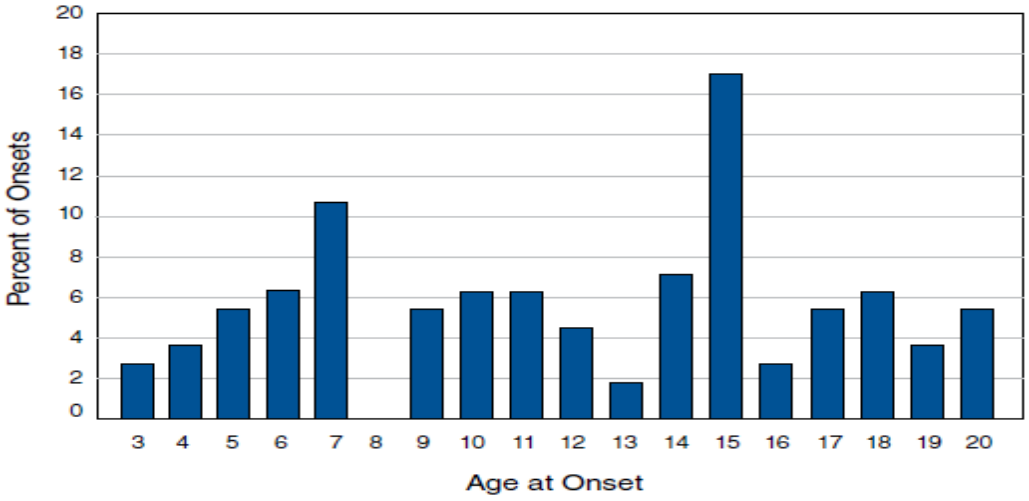
DEVELOPMENT AND PERSISTENCE OF POLYVICTIMIZATION

Given how serious polyvictimization appears to be, little is now known about how it develops and progresses. In the Developmental Victimization Survey (DVS) (Finkelhor, Ormrod, et al. 2005b), a similar but smaller national survey that preceded NatSCEV, researchers followed up with children three times during a four year period to learn more about such developmental patterns. They found that polyvictimization tended to persist. Of the children the researchers categorized as polyvictims prior to the first wave of the study, 55% were still polyvictims in one of the next two waves (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, and Holt, 2009). This suggests that many youth find it hard to escape polyvictimization.

Onset of Polyvictimization

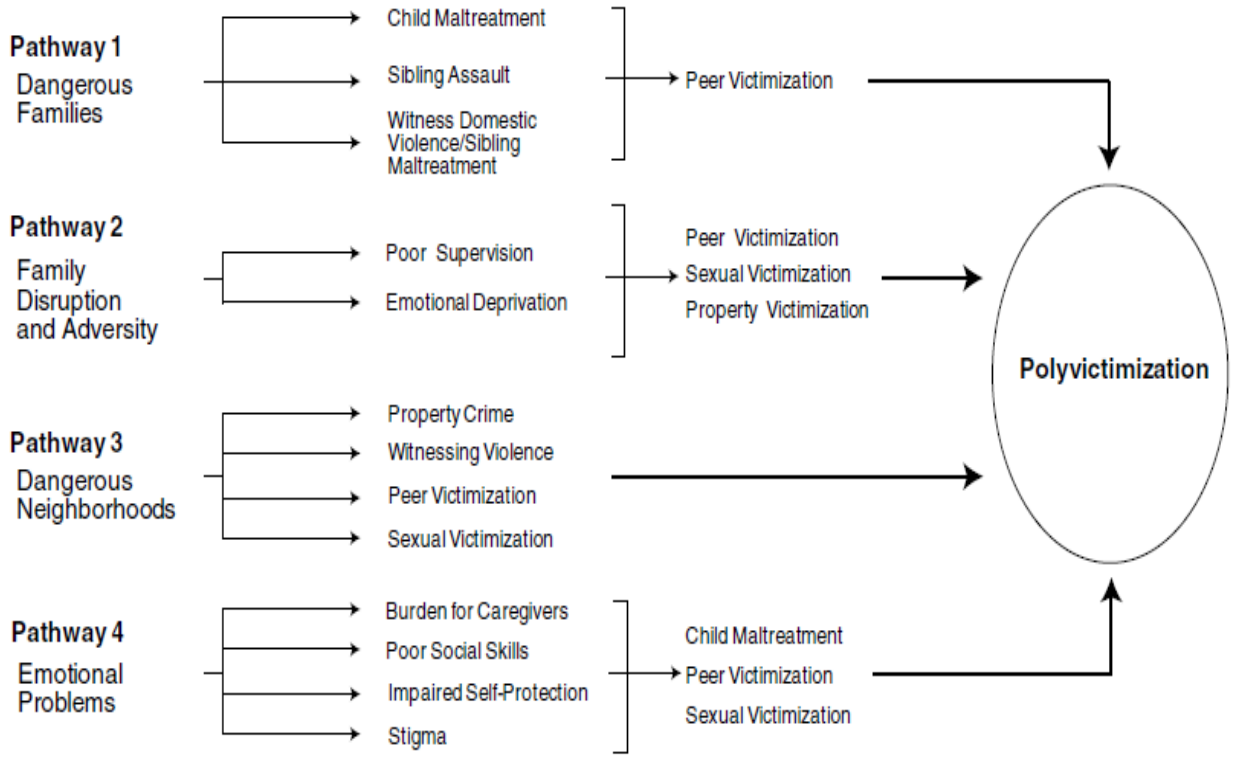
The DVS also looked at the characteristics of children

Figure 5: ***Polyvictimization Onset by Age***



Note: $\chi^2 = 46.8$, df = 17, $p < .001$, $n = 112$ for new polyvictims identified in Wave 2 of the Developmental Victimization Survey.

Figure 6: ***Conceptual Models of Pathways to Polyvictimization***



who became *new* polyvictims over the course of the follow-up period. Children ages 7 and 15 at the time they were interviewed were most likely to have become polyvictims for the first time during the previous year (i.e., during the year that generally corresponded to their first year of grade school or high school) (see Figure 5). It may be that some children are particularly vulnerable when they make the transition into a new school environment. It is a time when they have to deal with many new people and navigate new environments without knowing yet where the dangers are. Children who became new polyvictims during the course of the DVS tended to average more victimizations in the year prior to their onset than other children who were not polyvictims. However, no particular constellation of victimizations seemed to predict the onset of polyvictimization. In their year of onset, new polyvictims registered on average four different kinds of new victimizations and disproportionate increases in sexual victimizations, property victimizations, and physical assaults.

Pathways to Polyvictimization

Using the DVS, the researchers developed and tested a conceptual model that specifies four distinct pathways for children culminating in Polyvictimization (see Figure 6). These four pathways are: (a) living in a family that experiences considerable violence and conflict (dangerous families); (b) having a family beset withproblems around such things as money, employment, and substance abuse that might compromise a child's supervision or create unmet emotional needs (family disruption and adversity); (c) residing in or moving into a dangerous community (dangerous neighborhoods); and (d) being a child with preexisting emotional problems that increase risky behavior, engender antagonism, and compromise the capacity to protect oneself (emotional problems). The study confirmed that each of these appears to contribute independently to the onset of polyvictimization (Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, and Holt, 2009). Polyvictimization is more predictive for children ten and older.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS, POLICYMAKERS, AND RESEARCHERS

Awareness about polyvictimization has many potential implications for those who work with juvenile victims and what they can do to identify and intervene on behalf of children who are exposed to multiple forms of violence:

- **Assess for more victimizations.** Children need to be assessed for a broader range of victimizations. When children are identified as victims of sexual abuse or bullying, professionals who work with them need to find out what else is going on, as these children often experience other victimizations and adversities.
- **Priority for polyvictims.** Professionals who work with children need to pay particular attention to polyvictims because of their vulnerability to mental health, behavioral, school performance, and other problems. These children can be identified in

schools, in social welfare and mental health caseloads, and in the foster care and juvenile justice systems; and they warrant priority in victimization interventions. When child welfare and other professionals intervene on these children's behalf, they need to ensure that they are not minimizing polyvictims' victimization histories (e.g., treating them simply as victims of child abuse when they are also being bullied, or simply as victims of bullying when they are also being sexually abused). In addition, as studies have shown that bully victims (victims of violence who also bully others) have the worst outcomes and are more likely to have multiple victimizations, educators and other child welfare professionals who work with children who bully should recognize the need for more comprehensive assessments to identify them as potential polyvictims and for treatment that takes into account their multiple domains of victimization (Holt, Finkelhor, and Kaufman Kantor, 2007).

- **Polyvictim interventions.** Interventions need to be developed to encompass multiple victimizations. Therapies should not just focus on (for example) sexual abuse alone, but should be multi-faceted, addressing multiple types of victimizations, as many of the risk factors for one type of victimization are shared among multiple types of victimization. Therefore, prevention interventions that focus on addressing common underlying risk factors are likely to have the greatest benefit. Strategies for reducing stigma or traumatic reminders also need to be applied to the full range of victimization exposure.
- **Treat underlying vulnerabilities.** Professionals who conduct interventions with polyvictims must recognize that such children not only suffer from victimization trauma but may also be caught in an overall environment or individual-environmental-interactive conditions that perpetuate victimization. Therefore, intervention professionals must assess for these conditions and develop strategies –such as teaching parenting and guardianship skills to parents and other adult caregivers– that address them.
- **Broaden child protection.** Awareness of the importance of polyvictimization suggests that the traditional child protective services (CPS) approach might benefit from some broadening of its capacities. An intervention system that helps children only in regard to threats from family members may be too narrow. Although it is unrealistic to expand CPS to respond to reports of all forms of child victimization, children within the current CPS system may benefit if child protection workers are trained to assess children for exposure to multiple forms of victimization in the same way that police are trained to assess for multiple crimes. CPS systems could then design and implement service responses that are pertinent to the variety of threats children face. They have to be prepared to work with law enforcement, educators, and mental health professionals.
- **Interrupt onset sequences.** Because polyvictimization is associated with so much distress, it should be a priority to figure out how to interrupt the pathways into this condition. Early intervention and primary prevention are needed, along with awareness that dangerous and disrupted families, dangerous neighborhoods, and emotional problems can all be early warning indicators of current or future polyvictimization. Professionals who work with children need to help build the supervision and protection capacities of family members, legal guardians, caregivers, teachers, and other adults who may be in a position to intervene to help children, and thus stop the onset of and progression toward polyvictimization.

One strategy may be to target the transition to new schools, particularly elementary and high schools. It may be useful to sensitize teachers and other school staff to quickly identify children in these entering classes who may be victimized to ensure that prevention and intervention approaches that address multiple forms of victimization experiences and focus on the prevention of perpetration are in place for children during these important transitional phases.

The findings also suggest another strategy, to encourage teachers and child welfare professionals to be more aware of younger children with emotional distress symptoms. In addition to whatever mental health interventions these children might receive to address their victimization experiences and associated symptoms, these professionals can take advantage of the opportunity to refer children and their families to preventive interventions that can address individual, relationship, and community factors that predict perpetration and prevent repeated or additional forms of victimization experiences from occurring. Another implication is that school staff and child welfare workers should pay particular attention when children report sexual victimization, including sexual harassment by peers. These events may signal broader victimization vulnerability, and responding adults may need to extend their focus beyond the specific sexual report to include an assessment of other forms of exposure to victimization.

Acknowledgements

This bulletin was written by David Finkelhor, Ph.D., Director, Crimes Against Children Research Center, University of New Hampshire; Heather Turner, Ph.D., Professor, Crimes Against Children Research Center, University of New Hampshire; Sherry Hamby, Ph.D., Research Associate Professor, Department of Psychology, Sewanee: The University of the South; and Richard Ormrod, Ph.D., Research Professor, Crimes Against Children Research Center, University of New Hampshire.

OJJDP wishes to acknowledge the contributions of this bulletin of Melissa T. Merrick, Ph.D., Epidemiologist, Division of Violence Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Centers of Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). OJJDP also wishes to acknowledge the support of CDC for the National Survey of Children's Exposure to Violence and its partnership in the Safe Start initiative to create safe, stable, and nurturing environments for children and their families.

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THE MENTAL HEALTH OF VULNERABLE YOUTH AND THEIR TRANSITION TO ADULTHOOD: EXAMINING THE ROLE OF THE CHILD WELFARE, JUVENILE JUSTICE, AND RUNAWAY/HOMELESS SYSTEMS*

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Abstract

The Add Health study sample used in this study consisted of youth in grades 7th through 12th in Waves 1-3 (*n*=14,322). The study found that only 10% of the full sample had any contact with the three service systems examined. Of these youth, approximately one in five were involved with multiple service systems. Youth who had contact with a service system compared to those youth who were at low risk for such contact were more likely to be classified by the researchers as "troubled" youth, the "alcohol interference" youth profiles, and the "depressed" and "delinquent plus" profiles than those youth in the "non-troubled" youth profile. The study also found that youth with poorer mental health during the transition to adulthood faced difficulty on other young-adult experiences. Those youth in contact with a public service system had more difficult experiences when transitioning to adulthood than those youth at low risk for contact. In addition, the study found that adolescents who had any service system contact were significantly more likely to report receiving counseling, with 13.4% reporting counseling in the 12 months prior to Wave 3. Youth who reported spending at least one day in a mental health facility varied greatly by level of service system contact. Youth who had contact with multiple public service systems were more likely to have ever received mental health services in the four categories investigated. The strengths and limitations of the study methodology are discussed, along with discussions for future research.

* *reprinted from http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/09/YouthMentalHealth/Services/rb.shtml, August 2009*

INTRODUCTION

Adolescence and the transition to adulthood is a period marked by significant changes and new challenges. This transition is difficult for many adolescents as research has shown that approximately five to seven percent of young people fail to successfully transition to independent adulthood by the age of 25.

There is also still much to be learned about the mental health of adolescents as they transition into adulthood. For many adolescents, the presence of mental health disorders makes the successful transition to adulthood even more difficult. Youth who do not successfully transition impose significant social costs on society through criminal activity, loss of productivity, and the increased use of expensive social services. Despite the significance and prevalence of this issue, policymakers and researchers have not been particularly attentive to this population of young people as they transition to adulthood.

A population of particular interest is youth who have had contact with service systems. These youth tend to experience negative outcomes, such as behavior problems and academic failure. This study has as a particular focus on the mental health of vulnerable youth who have been in contact with service systems, including child welfare, juvenile justice, and runaway and homeless programs. Although these service systems are not generally viewed as mental health programs, many children and adolescents who have come in contact with these services either require, or have obtained mental health services through them.

This vulnerable population is a small group of adolescents who are hard to serve and who, without the proper intervention, may experience negative outcomes during adolescence and the transition to adulthood. Compounding this issue is the fact that many of these youth are being served by multiple service systems in largely uncoordinated systems of care. As a result, success in school and the workforce, the ability to achieve a supportive, independent living situation, and obtaining continuity of care for mental health needs during the transition to adulthood are particularly challenging.

KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study considered six key research questions.

1. What percentage of youth have contact with multiple service systems (i.e., child welfare, juvenile justice, and homeless/ runaway service systems)?
2. What is the mental health status of youth who came into contact with service systems or who were at risk of having contact with service systems prior to age 18 as they transition to adulthood? (This is in comparison to the mental health of youth without contact.)
3. How does the mental health of youth affect their experience as they transition to adulthood?

4. Do youth who have contact with service systems have different outcomes as they transition to adulthood, compared to youth at low risk for contact? (Here, outcomes refer to typical experiences which young adults go through as they enter early adulthood, such as maintaining employment, being in school, or obtaining a credit card.)
5. Does involvement with *any* public service system increase the likelihood of receiving mental health services?
6. Does involvement in *multiple* public service systems increase the likelihood of receiving mental health services?

METHODOLOGY

Data Source

Data for this project come from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health). The Add Health is a nationally representative study that was designed to examine the causes of health-related behaviors of adolescents in grades 7 through 12 and their outcomes in young adulthood (Udry, 2003). More specifically, the Add Health was designed to enable researchers to examine how social contexts, including families, peers, schools, neighborhoods, and communities, influence the health and risk behaviors of youth as well as their subsequent outcomes during their transition to adulthood (Harris et al., 2003).

A sample of 80 high schools and 52 middle schools across the United States was selected using systematic sampling methods and stratification to ensure that the sample was representative of U.S. schools with respect to U.S. region, urbanicity, school size, school type, and ethnicity (Harris et al., 2003). Study participants were interviewed in three Waves from 1996 to 2002. Wave 1 occurred in 1994, when youth were in grades 7 through 12. Wave 2, occurring in 1996, included all study participants except those who were in 12th grade at Wave 1. Wave 3 included all participants interviewed at Wave 1, and took place in 2001-2002 when study participants were 18-26 years of age.

Given the complex sampling design of the Add Health, the analytic sample for this current study was limited to participants who completed an interview at Waves 1 and 3 and who have a valid population weight for these Waves. Based on these criteria, the number of Wave 1 respondents lost to follow-up was 4,600. Therefore, the Full Sample includes the Wave 1-3 sample (*N*= 14,322). Limiting the data in this manner allows for weighted estimates of the associations of interest, capitalizing on the representativeness of the data.

Differences in demographic characteristics, mental health characteristics, and contact with the social service and juvenile justice systems were examined between the analytic sample and those lost to follow-up. Slightly more males, Hispanic and non-Hispanic Black respondents, youth who were living with a single parent or only one biological parent, and those who are foreign born were more likely to be lost to follow-up at Wave 3, as were respondents whose parents had a high school diploma or less, or who lived below the poverty line. It is important to note, however, that the vast majority (98%) of vulnerable youth who had come in contact with a social service or juvenile justice system was followed up over time, and few differences were found in the mental health characteristics between those in the analytic sample and individuals lost to follow-up.

Defining Contact with Service Systems

Although there are numerous systems with which vulnerable youth may come in contact, this study utilized three sources of service system contact: child welfare services (CWS), the juvenile justice system, and homeless shelters/group homes. Each construct is described briefly below.

- Child Welfare Services: Adolescents were considered to have contact with child welfare services if they lived with a foster parent or were removed from their home by child protective services (CPS) prior to age 18.
- The Juvenile Justice System: Adolescents were considered to have contact with the juvenile justice system if they were arrested prior to age 18.
- Homeless Shelters/Group Homes: Adolescents were considered to have contact with these services if they reported staying in either a homeless shelter or group home at any point prior to the Wave 3 interview.

Sample Distribution by Level of Risk

Our sample can be divided into three levels of risk of coming into contact with the service systems described above:

- System contact (*n*=1,380)
  - Youth with actual system contact made up 9.6% of the full sample.
- At-risk, but no contact (*n*=5,013)
  - Youth at risk of coming into contact with service systems, but who did not have contact, made up 35% of the full sample.
  - This includes youth who did not have contact with any service system, but did meet the at-risk criteria for at least one service system. For example, a youth at risk for child welfare contact may have been investigated by social services, but was not removed from the home. A youth at risk for juvenile justice system contact may have committed an illegal act, but was not arrested. Finally, a youth at risk for coming into contact with a homeless shelter or group home may have run away from home, but did not actually have contact with a homeless shelter or group home.

- Low risk and no contact (*n*=7,929)
  - Youth at low risk of coming into contact with service systems, but who did not have contact, made up 55.4% of the full sample.
  - This includes all other youth who did not have contact with any service system and were not at risk for contact, as defined above.

Measuring Contact with Service Systems

Youth's contact with the service systems was measured in three different ways: a dichotomous measure of contact, a summary measure of the total number of system contacts, and a three-level variable examining the type of system contact. Each is described in more detail below.

- Any System Contact: Adolescents were considered to have any system contact if they met the contact criteria for any of the service systems. This is a dichotomous measure (yes/no) of those who had any service system contact.
- Number of System Contacts: This is a summary measure, ranging from zero contacts to two or more contacts, that indicates the number of service systems youth had contact with.
- Type of System Contact: This was a 3-level variable looking at the type of system contact youth had, identified as child welfare services, juvenile justice system, or homeless shelters/ group homes. It is important to note, however, that this measure is not mutually exclusive because youth could have been involved with more than one service system.

Type of Contact by Level of Risk

Here we describe the breakdown of each type of service system by level of risk. As mentioned previously, the full sample can be divided into three levels of risk: 1) System contact; 2) At-risk, but no contact; and 3) Low risk and no contact. Additionally, the three service systems examined in this study are child welfare services, juvenile justice system, and homeless shelter/group homes.

Child Welfare Services

- System contact (*n*=480; 3.1%)
- At-risk, but no contact (*n*=622; 4.3%)
  - Youth whose families were investigated by social services, but that were not removed from the home.
- Low risk and no contact (*n*=13,220; 92.3%)
  - Youth whose families were not investigated by social services.

Juvenile Justice

- System contact (*n*=608; 5.1%)
- At-risk, but no contact (*n*=4,811; 33.6%)
  - Youth who reported committing at least one illegal act at Waves 1 or 2, but were not arrested.
- Low risk and no contact (*n*=8,903; 62.2%)
  - Youth who did not commit an illegal act.

Homeless Shelter/Group Home

- System contact (*n*=493; 3.7%)
- At-risk, but no contact (*n*=2,135; 14.9%)
  - Youth who reported running away from home, but did not have contact with a homeless shelter or group home.
- Low risk and no contact (n=11,694; 81.7%)
  - Youth who did not report running away from home or residing in a homeless shelter or group home.

Defining Mental Health Issues of Adolescents and Young Adults

This study utilized information on five mental health issues particularly relevant to the population of vulnerable youth, and available within the Add Health dataset. These include: depressive symptoms, suicide ideation and attempts, delinquency (as an approximation of conduct disorder), alcohol use, and illicit drug use. All measures of mental health were drawn from Wave 3 of the survey. Depressive symptoms were measured using the CES-D depressive symptom scale, asking youth to report about symptoms over the last twelve months. Suicide ideation and attempts were measured by asking youth whether they had thought about committing suicide and, if so, whether they had made a suicide attempt. Delinquency was used here as an approximation of conduct disorder and was measured by asking youth to report on nine items related to stealing, selling drugs, and trespassing on private property. Alcohol use and illicit drug use (including marijuana) were measured based on the extent to which they interfered with activities of daily life. For this study, depressive symptoms and suicide ideation and attempts were combined to create a single indicator of depressive symptoms.

Defining Mental Health Service Utilization

We examined the utilization of two types of mental health services: psychological or emotional counseling; and drug or alcohol abuse treatment. At each Wave youth were asked to report whether they had received psychological or emotional counseling, and at Wave 3 youth were asked whether they had spent a day in a facility for treatment of a mental illness. In addition, at each Wave youth were asked whether they had been involved in a drug or alcohol abuse treatment program, and at Wave 3 youth were asked specifically about involvement in a 12-step recovery group or program.

ANALYSIS

Profile Analyses for the Full Sample

This study used latent class analysis (LCA) in Mplus to examine mental health profiles among our sample. LCA places individuals with similar mental health characteristics into homogeneous groups, or profiles. Indicators included depressive symptoms, alcohol

interference, drug interference, and delinquency, all of which were obtained at Wave 3, when youth were ages 18-26. We used dichotomous measures reporting any vs. none.

In the analyses of the full sample, LCA resulted in the creation of five profiles of mental health and related behaviors for youth during the transition to adulthood:

1. Non-troubled youth;
2. Depressed youth;
3. Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth;
4. Alcohol Interference youth; and
5. Troubled youth.

Below we describe the analyses of the 5-profile solution for the *Any vs. None* mental health and related behaviors variables for the full sample. Figure 1 graphically displays the profiles of the mental health and related behaviors for the full sample.

Non-troubled youth are represented by the green line along the bottom of the figure. Non-troubled youth comprised 31.7% of the sample and consisted of youth who were, on average, not experiencing depressive symptoms, and not engaging in delinquent or life-interfering substance use. Depressed youth are represented by the pink line. Depressed youth made up 23.8% of the sample and consisted of youth who were, on average, exhibiting depressive symptoms (71.2%), but had no other major issues. Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth are represented by the yellow line. Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth comprised 11.1% of the sample and consisted of youth who were, on average, exhibiting depressive symptoms (78.2%), were engaging in delinquent behaviors (61.4%), and reported daily interference from alcohol (33.9%) and drugs (18.0%). Since some of these youth also reported daily interference from alcohol and drugs, they are called "Depressed and Delinquent Plus." Alcohol interference youth are represented by the teal line. Alcohol Interference youth comprised 17.6% of the sample and consisted of youth who were, on average, reporting alcohol daily interference (65.3%) and about a third reported depressive symptoms (32.5%). Troubled youth are represented by the dark blue line and were elevated on all four dimensions. Troubled youth comprised 15.7% of the sample and consisted of youth who, on average, were exhibiting depressive symptoms (35.8%), delinquent behaviors (83.4%), and reported daily interference from alcohol (80.8%) and drugs (41.5%).

Figure 1. ***Five-class profile analyses for youth exhibiting any vs. none of the mental health and related behaviors by most likely class membership***

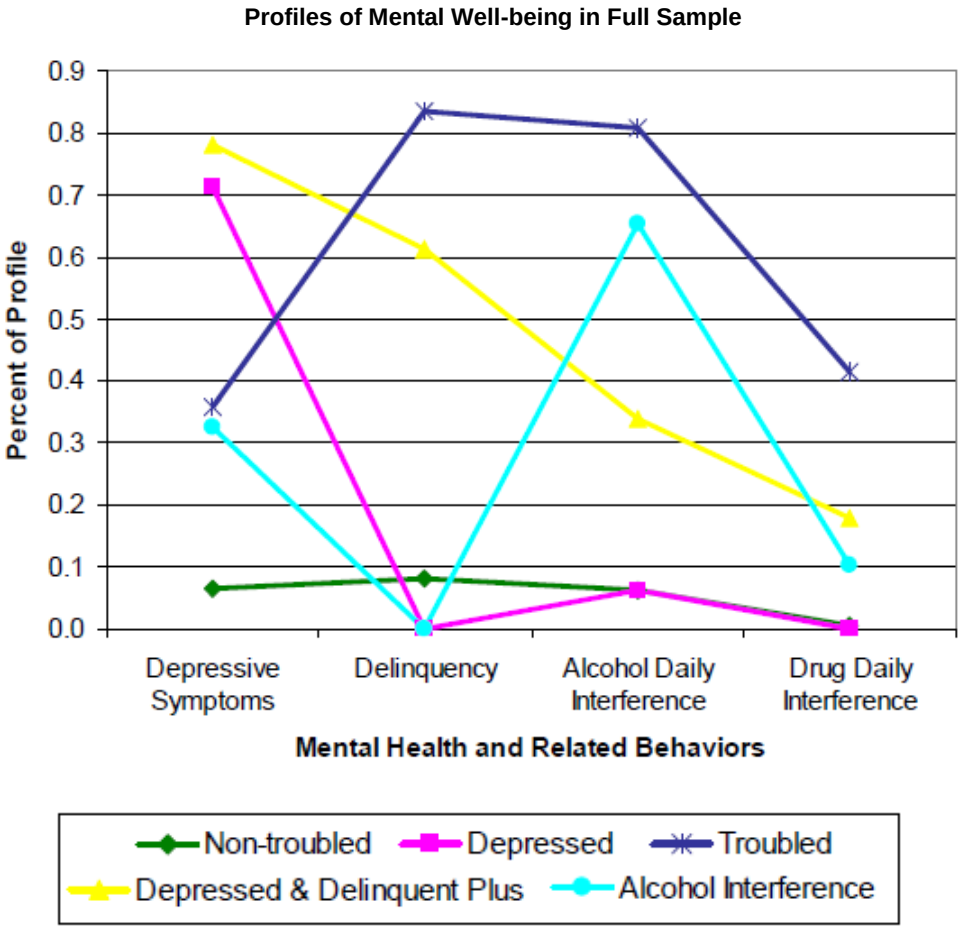


Table 1. ***Probabilities of Mental Health and Related Behaviors by Profile in Full Sample***

	Non-Troubled Youth	Depressed Youth	Depressed & Delinquent Plus Youth	Alcohol Interference Youth	Troubled Youth
Percent of Sample	**31.7%**	**23.8%**	**11.1%**	**17.6%**	**15.7%**
Size	**N=3,815**	**N=2,863**	**N=1,337**	**N=2,115**	**N=1,892**
Mental Health and Related Behaviors	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**
Depressive Symptoms	6.5%	71.2%	78.2%	32.5%	35.8%
Delinquency	8.1%	0.0%	61.4%	0.0%	83.4%
Alcohol Daily Interference	6.1%	6.1%	33.9%	65.3%	80.8%
Drug Daily Interference	0.5%	0.0%	18.0%	10.3%	41.5%

Table 1 provides another way of visualizing the probabilities of mental health and related behaviors of the five profiles in the full sample.

Profile Analyses for the Service System Sample

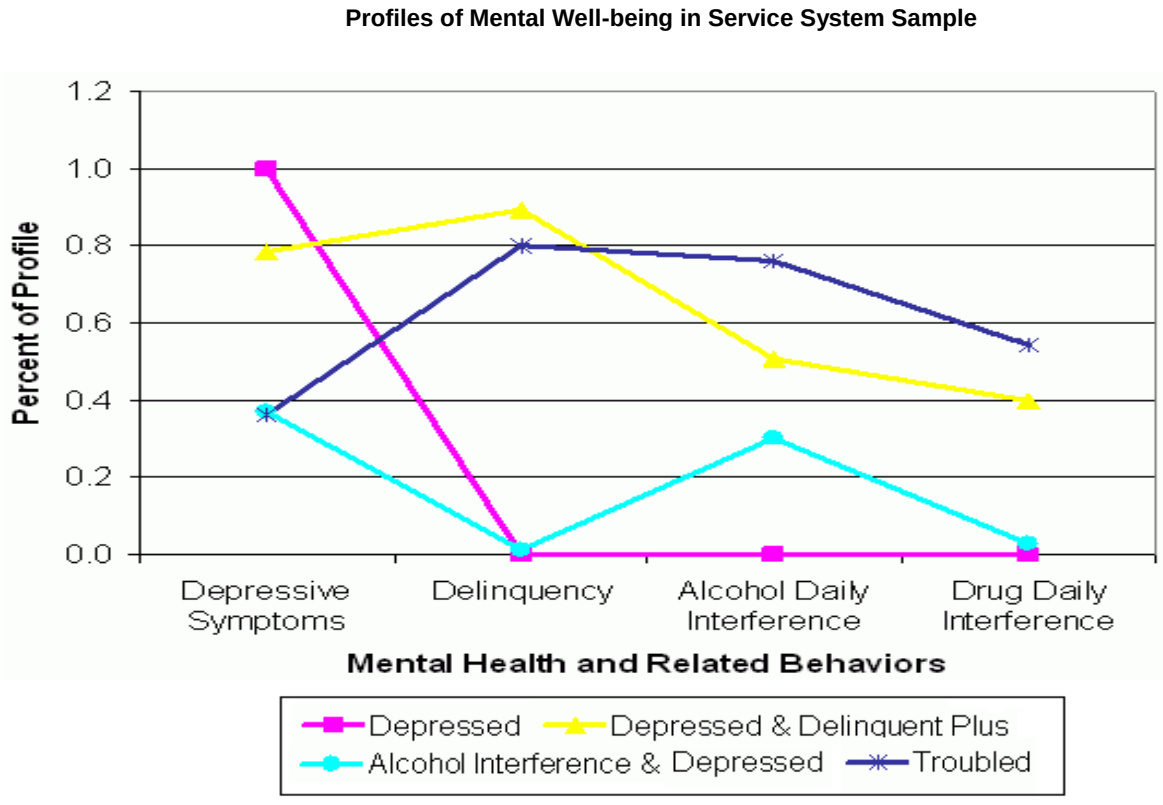
Using the same indicators of mental health and related behaviors, we also ran latent class analysis (LCA) on the service system sample alone.

This sample includes youth who have had contact with a service system (*N*=1,380). LCA resulted in the creation of four profiles of mental health and related behaviors for youth during the transition to adulthood:

1. Depressed youth;
2. Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth;
3. Alcohol Interference and Depressed youth; and
4. Troubled youth.

It is important to note that a Non-Troubled profile did not emerge in the service system only sample. Below we describe the analyses of the 4-profile solution for the *Any vs. None* mental health and related behaviors variables for the service system sample. Figure 2 graphically displays the profiles of the mental health and related behaviors for the service system sample.

Figure 2. ***Four-class profile analyses for youth exhibiting any vs. none of the mental health and related behaviors by most likely class membership***



Depressed youth are represented by the pink line. Depressed youth comprised 8% of the sample and included youth who were, on average, exhibiting depressive symptoms (100%), and no other behaviors. Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth are represented by the yellow line. Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth comprised 30.7% of the sample and consisted of youth who were, on average, exhibiting depressive symptoms (78.6%), were engaging in delinquent behaviors (89.3%), and reported daily interference from alcohol (50.7%) and drugs (39.9%). Since some of these youth also reported daily interference from alcohol and drugs, they are called "Depressed and Delinquent Plus." Alcohol Interference and Depressed youth are represented by the teal line. Alcohol Interference and Depressed youth comprised 34.9% of the sample and consisted of youth who were, on average, reporting alcohol daily interference (30.4%) and depressive symptoms (37.1%). Troubled youth are represented by the dark blue line and were elevated on all four dimensions. Troubled youth comprised 26.3% of the sample and consisted of youth who, on average, were exhibiting depressive symptoms (36.1%), delinquent behaviors (80.2%), and reported daily interference from alcohol (76.2%) and drugs (54.3%).

Table 2 provides another way of visualizing the probabilities of mental health and related behaviors of the four profiles in the service system sample.

Profile Analyses for the Combined Service System and At-risk Sample

Finally, we conducted profile analyses for a subgroup comprised of both the service system and at-risk samples. These analyses enabled us to examine the mental health profiles of a group of more vulnerable youth relative to the full sample. Using the same indicators of mental health and related behaviors, we ran latent class analysis (LCA) on the combined service system and at-risk sample. This sample includes youth who have had contact with a service system and those at-risk for contact, *N*=6,393. LCA resulted in the creation of five profiles of mental health and related behaviors for youth during the transition to adulthood:

1. Depressed and Delinquent youth;
2. Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth;
3. Depressed youth with Alcohol Interference;
4. Alcohol Interference youth; and
5. Troubled youth.

It is important to note that a Non-Troubled profile did not emerge in the combined service system and at-risk sample and that a new profile, Depressed and Delinquent youth, emerged. Furthermore, with this sample, two profiles emerge that have a high likelihood of experiencing multiple issues: the Troubled profile and the Depressed and Delinquent Plus profiles. Although the percent of youth experiencing each mental health issue in the Depressed and Delinquent Plus is as high or higher than the Troubled youth, the profile names remain consistent with the profile patterns from the previous samples in order to maintain consistency.

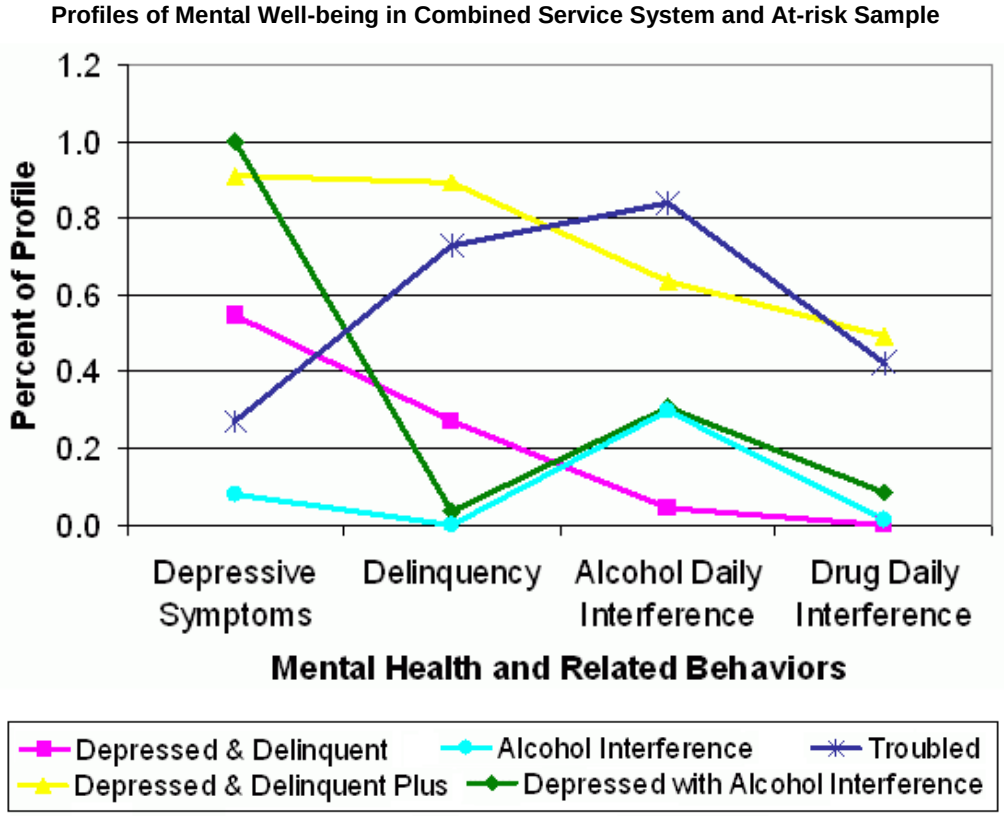
Below we describe the analyses of the 5-profile solution for the *Any vs. None* mental health and related behaviors variables for the service system and at-risk sample. Figure 3 graphically displays the profiles of the mental health and related behaviors for the combined service system and at-risk sample. In examining the service system only sample and the combined service system and at-risk sample, we found a similar pattern from the full sample. The profile patterns hold true or similar across the three different samples.

Depressed and Delinquent youth are represented by the pink line. Depressed and Delinquent youth comprised 21.5% of the sample and included youth who were, on average, exhibiting depressive symptoms (54.7%), delinquent behaviors (27%), and a small percentage reported alcohol daily interference (4.6%). Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth are represented by the yellow line. Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth comprised 14.7% of the sample and consisted of youth who were, on average, exhibiting depressive symptoms (91.0%), were engaging in delinquent behaviors (89.4%), and reported daily interference from alcohol (63.7%) and drugs (49.4%). Since some of these youth also reported daily interference from alcohol and drugs, they are called

Table 2. ***Probabilities of Mental Health and Related Behaviors By Profile in Service System Sample***

	Depressed & Delinquent Plus Youth	**Alcohol Interference & Depressed Youth**	**Troubled Youth**	**Depressed Youth**
Percent of Sample	**30.7%**	**34.9%**	**26.3%**	**8.0%**
Size	**N=325**	**N=370**	**N=279**	**N=85**
Mental Health and Related Behaviors	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**
Depressive Symptoms	78.6%	37.1%	36.1%	100.0%
Delinquency	89.3%	1.3%	80.2%	0.0%
Alcohol Daily Interference	50.7%	30.4%	76.2%	0.0%
Drug Daily Interference	39.9%	2.9%	54.3%	0.0%

Figure 3. ***Five-class profile analyses for youth exhibiting any vs. none of the mental health and related behaviors by most likely class membership***



"Depressed and Delinquent Plus." Depressed youth with Alcohol Interference are represented by the green line. Depressed youth with Alcohol Interference comprised 13% of the sample and consisted of youth who were, on average, reporting depressive symptoms (100%) and alcohol daily interference (30.7%) Alcohol Interference youth are represented by the teal line. Alcohol Interference youth comprised 25% of the sample and consisted of youth who were, on average, reporting daily interference from alcohol (29.9%), and only a minor amount reported depressive symptoms (7.8%). Troubled youth are represented by the dark blue line and were elevated on all four dimensions. Troubled youth comprised 25.8% of the sample and consisted of youth who, on average, were exhibiting depressive symptoms (27.1%), delinquent behaviors (73.1%), and reported daily interference from alcohol (83.9%) and drugs (42.1%).

Table 3 provides another way of visualizing the probabilities of mental health and related behaviors of the five profiles in the combined service system and at-risk sample.

Table 3. ***Probabilities of Mental Health and Related Behaviors By Profile in Combined Service System and At-risk Sample***

	Depressed & Delinquent Youth	**Depressed & Delinquent Plus Youth**	**Depressed Youth with Alcohol Interference**	**Alcohol Interference Youth**	**Troubled Youth**
Percent of Sample	**21.5%**	**14.7%**	**13.0%**	**25.0%**	**25.8%**
Size	**N=1,137**	**N=776**	**N=689**	**N=1,322**	**N=1,365**
Mental Health and Related Behaviors	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**
Depressive Symptoms	54.7%	91.0%	100.0%	7.8%	27.1%
Delinquency	27.0%	89.4%	3.5%	0.1%	73.1%
Alcohol Daily Interference	4.6%	63.7%	30.7%	29.9%	83.9%
Drug Daily Interference	0.0%	49.4%	8.3%	1.3%	42.1%

Additional Analyses

In addition to the profile analyses, we also conducted multivariate regression models to examine the concurrent relationship between the mental health profiles at Wave 3 with young adult outcomes at Wave 3, such as disconnection (i.e., not in school and not employed), receipt of public assistance, and credit card debt. We ran these multivariate regression models predicting to young adult outcomes with the full sample, service system sample, and the combined service system and at-risk sample. In addition, we examined the longitudinal relationship between these young adult outcomes and service system contact. All multivariate models included a detailed set of covariates including adolescent characteristics, family environment, peer influence and support, school environment, and county environment.

KEY FINDINGS

Below, we review the key findings from the study. More detailed information and further results will be available in the technical report. In order to facilitate discussion of the key findings, it is helpful to refer back to the six key research questions presented earlier.

Question 1: What percentage of youth have contact with multiple service systems?

Findings: Only 10% of the full sample had any contact with a service system. Of the youth who had any contact with a service system, roughly one in five had involvement with multiple service systems (i.e., two or more contacts). See Table 4.

Question 2: What is the mental health status of youth who come into contact with service systems or who are at risk of having contact with service systems as they transition to adulthood?

Findings: Based on the full sample, we found that youth who had contact with a service system compared to those youth who were at low-risk for contact were more likely to be in the Troubled youth profile, the Alcohol Interference youth profiles, the Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth profile, and the Depressed youth profile than in the Non-troubled youth profile. In addition, youth who were at- risk for contact with a service system compared to those youth who were at low-risk for contact were more likely to be in the Troubled youth profile, and the Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth profile than in the Non-troubled youth profile. See Table 5.

Question 3: How does the mental health of youth affect their experience as they transition to adulthood?

Findings: Youth with poorer mental health during the transition to adulthood faced difficulty on other young adult experiences. The following tables present results from the full sample, though it is important to note that the findings from the service system sample and the combined service system and at-risk sample were very similar. For example, Depressed youth were 30% more

Table 4. ***Frequency and Percentage of Service System Contact in Full Sample***

	Frequency, (%)
Full Sample	**N=14,322**
Any System Contact	
Yes	1,380 (10.2%)
No	13,000 (89.8%)
Number of System Contacts	
0	13,000 (89.8%)
1	1,099 (8.2%)
2+	281 (2.0%)

Table 5. ***Profile Classification Based on Level of Risk***

	Non-Troubled Youth	**Depressed Youth**	**Depressed & Delinquent Plus Youth**	**Alcohol Interference Youth**	**Troubled Youth**
Percent of Sample	**31.7%**	**23.8%**	**11.1%**	**17.6%**	**15.7%**
Size	***N*=3,815**	***N*=2,863**	***N*=1,337**	***N*=2,115**	***N*=1,892**
Service System Contact	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**	**%**
Service System Contact	8.6%	20.0% *	21.2% ***	12.5% **	37.8% ***
At-risk for Contact	19.1%	18.3%	12.6% ***	21.1% **	28.9% ***

Note: Significance testing compared the non-troubled profile to the other mental health profiles. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

likely to be disconnected (i.e., not in school and not employed) than Non-Troubled youth during the transition to adulthood. See Table 6.

In addition, depressed youth were 40% more likely to receive public assistance than Non-Troubled youth during the transition to adulthood. In contrast, Alcohol Interference youth and Troubled youth were 40% less likely to receive public assistance than Non-Troubled youth. See Table 7. Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth, Alcohol Interference youth, and Troubled youth reported more sexual partners than Non-Troubled youth.

Therefore, mental health was related to the number of sexual partners, whereas contact with service systems was not. See Table 8.

In addition, Alcohol Interference youth were 30% more likely than the Non-Troubled youth to have a credit Troubled youth. In addition, the Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth were 30% less likely to have a credit card and debt than the Non-Troubled youth. See Table 9.

Question 4: Do youth who have contact with service systems have different outcomes as they transition to adulthood, compared to youth at low risk for contact?

Findings from the Full Sample: Those youth in contact with a public service system had harder experiences when transitioning to adulthood than those youth at low risk for contact. Tables 10 through 17 present results from the full sample, the service system sample, and the combined service system and at-risk sample. For example, youth who had been in contact with a service system were 80% more likely to be disconnected than youth at low risk for contact. Similarly, youth who were at-

Table 6. ***Logistic Regression Model Predicting Disconnection at Wave 3 for Full Sample***

	Full Sample *N*=14,322	
Profile Classification	**OR**	
Non-troubled youth	ref.	
Depressed youth	1.3	***
Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth	1.2	
Alcohol Interference youth	0.9	
Troubled youth	1.1	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 7. ***Logistic Regression Model Predicting Receipt of Public Assistance at Wave 3 for Full Sample***

	Full Sample *N*=14,322	
Profile Classification	**OR**	
Non-troubled youth	ref.	
Depressed youth	1.4	*
Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth	1.3	
Alcohol Interference youth	0.6	*
Troubled youth	0.6	**

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 8. ***OLS Regression Model Predicting Number of Sexual Partners in Past 12 Months at Wave 3 for Full Sample***

	Full Sample *N*=14,322		
Profile Classification	**B**		**SE**
Non-troubled youth	ref.		ref.
Depressed youth	0.0		(0.1)
Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth	0.8	***	(0.2)
Alcohol Interference youth	0.5	***	(0.2)
Troubled youth	1.1	***	(0.1)

B=Beta, SE=standard error *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 9. ***Multinomial Regression Model Predicting Credit Card Debt at Wave 3 for Full Sample***

Full Sample *N*=14,322	**No credit card, no debt**	**No credit card, has debt**	**Credit card, no debt**		**Credit card, has debt**	
Profile Classification	**OR**	**OR**	**OR**		**OR**	
Non-troubled youth	ref.	ref.	ref.		ref.	
Depressed youth	ref.	0.8	0.8	*	0.9	
Depressed and Delinquent Plus youth	ref.	1.1	0.8		0.7	*
Alcohol Interference youth	ref.	1.0	1.0		1.3	**
Troubled youth	ref.	1.1	0.7	**	1.0	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 10. ***Logistic Regression Model Predicting Disconnection at Wave 3 for Full Sample***

	Full Sample *N*=14,322	
Service System Contact	**OR**	
Service System Contact	1.8	***
At-risk for Contact	1.3	*
Low Risk for Contact	ref.	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 11. ***Logistic Regression Model Predicting Receipt of Public Assistance at Wave 3 for Full Sample***

	Full Sample *N*=14,322	
Service System Contact	**OR**	
Service System Contact	2.0	***
At-risk for Contact	1.3	
Low Risk for Contact	ref.	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 12. ***Multinomial Regression Model Predicting Credit Card Debt at Wave 3 for Full Sample***

Full Sample *N*=14,322	**No credit card, no debt**	**No credit card, has debt**	**Credit card, no debt**		**Credit card, has debt**	
Service System Contact	**OR**	**OR**	**OR**		**OR**	
Service System Contact	ref.	0.9	0.7	*	0.7	***
At-risk for Contact	ref.	0.9	0.9		0.9	
Low Risk for Contact	ref.	ref.	ref.		ref.	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 13. ***Logistic Regression Model Predicting Attainment of High School Diploma at Wave 3 for Service System Sample***

	Service System Sample *N*=1,380	
Service System Contact	**OR**	
One Contact with a Service System	1.6	*
Two or More Contacts with Service Systems	ref.	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

risk for contact, but had not had contact with a service system were 30% more likely to be disconnected than youth at low risk for contact. See Table 10. Youth who had been in contact with a service system were twice as likely to receive public assistance as youth at low risk for contact. See Table 11. Youth who had contact with a service system were 30% less likely to have a credit card, regardless of debt, compared to youth who were at low risk for contact with the service systems. See Table 12.

Findings from the Service System Sample: Youth who had one contact with a service system were 60% more likely to attain a high school diploma than youth who had two or more contacts. See Table 13.

In addition, youth who had one contact with a service system were 70% more likely to have attained a high school diploma and be in post-secondary school than youth who had two or more contacts. This outcome refers to those students who attained a high school diploma and are now enrolled in post-secondary school, such as college, vocational training, or trade school. See Table 14.

Findings from the Combined Service System and At-risk Sample: Youth who had not had contact with a service system and youth with one contact were 150% and 60%, respectively, more likely to attain a high school diploma than youth who had two or more contacts. (Table 15.) In addition, youth who had not had contact with a service system and youth with one contact were 100% and 60%, respectively, more likely to attain a high school diploma and be in post-secondary school than youth who had two or more contacts. This outcome is referring to those students who attained a high school diploma and are now enrolled in post-secondary school, such as college, vocational training, or trade school. (Table 16.) In addition, youth who had not had contact with a service system were 40% less likely to be disconnected than youth who had two or more contacts. (Table 17.)

Table 14. ***Logistic Regression Model Prediction Attainment of High School Diploma and Being in Post-Secondary School at Wave 3 for Service System Sample***

	Service System Sample *N*=1,380	
Service System Contact	**OR**	
One Contact with a Service System	1.7	**
Two or More Contacts with Service Systems	ref.	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 15. ***Logistic Regression Model Predicting Attainment of High School Diploma at Wave 3 for the Combined Service System and At-risk Sample***

	Combined Service System & At-risk Sample *N*=6,393	
Service System Contact	**OR**	
No Contact with Service Systems	2.5	***
One Contact with Service Systems	1.6	*
Two or More Contacts with Service Systems	ref.	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 16. ***Logistic Regression Model Predicting Attainment of High School Diploma and Being in Post-Secondary School at Wave 3 for the Combined Service System and At-risk Sample***

	Combined Service System & At-risk Sample *N*=6,393	
Service System Contact	**OR**	
No Contact with Service Systems	2.0	**
One Contact with Service Systems	1.6	*
Two or More Contacts with Service Systems	ref.	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 17. ***Logistic Regression Model Predicting Disconnection at Wave 3 for the Combined Service System and At-risk Sample***

	Combined Service System & At-risk Sample *N*=6,393	
Service System Contact	**OR**	
No Contact with Service Systems	0.6	**
One Contact with Service Systems	0.8	
Two or More Contacts with Service Systems	ref.	

OR=odds ratio *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 18. ***Receipt of Mental Health Services by Level of Risk***

	Service System Contact *N*=1,380	**At-risk for Contact *N*=5,013**	**Low Risk for Contact *N*=7,929**
Characteristics (Yes)	**Frequency (%)**	**Frequency (%)**	**Frequency (%)**
Psychological/emotional Counseling, Wave 3	185 (13.4%)	363 (7.2%)	462 (6.6%)
Ever spent a day in a mental health facility, Wave 3	101 (7.3%)	98 (2.0%)	78 (0.9%)
Drug/alcohol abuse treatment, Wave 3	117 (7.0%)	129 (3.2%)	113 (1.7%)
Currently attending a 12-step program, Wave 3	100 (7.3%)	115 (2.2%)	67 (0.8%)

Table 19. ***Receipt of Mental Health Services by Number of Service System Contacts***

	No Contact *N*=12,942	**1 Contact *N*=1,099**	**2+ Contacts *N*=281**
Characteristics (Yes)	**Frequency (%)**	**Frequency (%)**	**Frequency (%)**
Psychological/emotional Counseling, Wave 3	825 (6.8%)	141 (12.7%)	44 (16.4%)
Ever spent a day in a mental health facility, Wave 3	176 (1.3%)	65 (6.5%)	36 (10.3%)
Drug/alcohol abuse treatment, Wave 3	242 (2.3%)	82 (5.5%)	35 (13.2%)
Currently attending a 12-step program, Wave 3	182 (1.3%)	76 (6.3%)	24 (11.4%)

Question 5: For youth, does involvement with any public service system increase the likelihood of receiving mental health services?

Findings: Adolescents who had any service system contact were significantly more likely to report receiving counseling, with 13.4% reporting counseling in the 12 months prior to Wave 3. Of the youth at-risk for service system contact, 7.2% reported receiving counseling at Wave 3, while youth at low risk had the lowest rates of counseling at 6.6% at Wave 3. It is not known from these analyses whether youth who had a mental health need were more likely to receive counseling.

Youth who reported spending at least one day in a mental health facility varied greatly by level of service system contact. Over 7% of youth who had any contact with a service system reported spending a day in a mental health facility compared to 2% of those at-risk and close to 1% of those at low risk. Similar patterns are seen for drug abuse treatment and whether the youth was currently attending a 12-step program. When examined by service system contact, 7% of youth who had any service system contact reported undergoing treatment, compared to 3.2% of those at-risk, and 1.7% of those at low risk. See Table 18.

Question 6: Does involvement in multiple public service systems increase the likelihood of receiving mental health services?

Findings: Youth who had contact with multiple public service systems were more likely to have ever received mental health services in the four categories we investigated (i.e., (1) receiving psychological/emotional counseling, (2) having spent a day in a mental health facility, (3) receiving drug/alcohol abuse treatment, and (4) currently attending a 12-step program). The proportion of individuals receiving mental health services also increased as the number of service system contacts increased. (Table 19.)

CONCLUSION

Summary of Key Findings and Implications

This study found that only a small proportion of the full sample, approximately 10%, had contact with at least one service system. In addition, youth who were in contact with service systems were more likely to report having ever received mental health services; yet, these youth had poor mental health. In fact, the Non-troubled mental health and related behaviors profile did not emerge for either the service system sample or the combined service system and at-risk sample. This suggests that enhanced mental health services may help these at-risk youth.

Youth who had contact with multiple service systems did not experience better outcomes related to the transition to adulthood. This suggests that communication and information sharing across service systems may improve the services that these youth receive. Information on the dosage and quality of the services youth receive is needed to better understand why these youth have poor outcomes. In addition, more research and longitudinal data is needed to examine the pathways through which services system contact may influence young adult outcomes.

There is also a sizable group of youth who are at risk for contact but have not been in contact with one of the service systems (about 35% of the full sample). These youth experienced poor mental health and poor outcomes during the transition to adulthood. Therefore, better screening procedures may help to identify and to provide assistance to these at risk youth.

Strengths and Limitations

This study has multiple strengths and limitations. One strength is that the study utilized a nationally representative sample of adolescents to examine the mental health of adolescents during the transition to adulthood. By using a nationally representative sample of adolescents, we were able to compare the mental health of youth who had contact with a service system with the mental health of youth who were designated at risk for contact with a service system, as well as youth who were at low risk for contact with a service system. A second strength of this study is that we examined the naturally occurring patterns of mental health and related behaviors (i.e., depressive symptoms, conduct, and drug and alcohol life interference) of youth during the transition to adulthood. Most of the previous research has examined each mental health domain in isolation. A third strength of the study is that we examined the relationship between service system contact and multiple outcomes during the transition to adulthood, net of a host of socio-demographic, family, school, and community characteristics.

Two key limitations of the study are that the measures of service system contact are self-reported and retrospective. It is possible that adolescents may under report their contact with a service system. For instance, youth who have been removed from their home by child welfare, but placed with a family member may not report that they have had contact with the child welfare system.

In addition, many of the measures of service system contact collected information on whether the adolescent had ever had involvement with the system. To create the measures of service system contact, we utilized information from all three rounds of data. As such, we were not able to determine the direction of causality. For instance, we found an association between service system contact and the use of mental health services. However, since both measures captured information across the rounds, we do not know if increased service system contact helped to gain access to mental health services or if being in mental health services initiated contact with a service system.

Furthermore, the measures of service system contact in this study do not capture the intensity or number of contacts the youth had with each system. For instance, a youth who only had contact with the child welfare system once was coded the same as a youth who may have had contact with the child welfare system multiple times. Capturing this level of contact was not possible within this dataset. In addition, we were not able to capture the nature of the contacts with the service system. Specifically, we could not measure anything about the quality of services that the youth received from the service systems.

Directions for Future Research

Listed below are directions for future research that may help to expand upon the findings discussed in this study of the mental health of vulnerable youth as they transition to adulthood. The analyses should be carried forward to Wave 4 of the Add Health in order to examine longer term effects of service system contact. In addition, the use of evidence-based practices, meaning practices based on methods that are shown to be effective, should be examined in order to enhance youth development for this population. For instance, several studies have demonstrated that practices such as long term mentors and engaging youth in program development and delivery enhance outcomes for at-risk youth.

Furthermore, we should explore how to identify a sequence of programs that are developmentally appropriate for this at-risk population as they age. The needs of these youth differ depending on their age. More work is needed to explore how to provide developmentally appropriate supports for each age group. For instance, school age children need social-emotional and homework support, whereas youth during the transition to adulthood need employment and social-network support.

Effective interventions for vulnerable youth with large effect sizes also need to be identified. Research based on experimental evaluations has demonstrated effective interventions for adolescents with large effect sizes such as Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care and Multisystemic Therapy (Child Trends, 2003, 2004). For instance, Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care has shown to decrease rates of incarceration, arrests, and

drug use among adolescent youth with severe criminal behaviors by providing them with the skills and structure to modify their behavior (Child Trends, 2004). In addition, Multisystemic Therapy has shown to improve family correlates of anti-social behavior and decrease post-treatment criminal activity in a population of serious juvenile delinquents by incorporating youths' families into an action-oriented and present-focused therapeutic method (Child Trends, 2003). Although these programs have shown to be effective, it is important to remember that they are based on small samples and that larger, nationally representative samples should be evaluated. Finally, more research is needed to develop and identify effective interventions to improve outcomes for vulnerable youth as they transition to adulthood.

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BULLYING IN SCHOOLS: AN OVERVIEW *

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Abstract

Researchers from the National Center for School Engagement conducted a quantitative study to examine the impact of bullying on student engagement, attendance, and achievement and two qualitative studies to explore instructional, interpersonal, and structural factors at school that affect the connection between bullying and school attendance. The researchers found that a caring school community, in which students are challenged academically and supported by the adults, can serve as a powerful antidote to the process by which victimization distances students from learning and contributes to myriad other problems, including truancy and academic failure.

Due to financial considerations, OJJDP elected not to proceed with publication of the remaining titles in the Bullying in Schools series. For further information about this research, refer to the final grant report at http://www.ncjrs.gov/app/publications/abstract.aspx?ID=256074.

* *reprinted from http://www.ojjdp.gov/pubs/234205.pdf, Dec 2011.*

INTRODUCTION

The harmful effects of bullying cannot be overstated. Reports of bullying in the 1990s show that, in extreme cases, victims may face shooting or severe beatings and may even turn to suicide (Rigby and Slee 1999). These reports have triggered public action, such that more than 20 states currently have laws that require schools to provide education and services directed toward the prevention and cessation of bullying.

A well-known meta-analysis of school-based anti-bullying programs, conducted by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, found that these programs result in a 17-23% reduction in bullying (Ttofi, Farrington, and Baldry 2008). Ttofi and colleagues report that anti-bullying programs are less effective in the United States than in Europe in reducing the incidence and prevalence of bullying in schools that operate the bullying reduction programs. In response, the current study investigates how American schools can support victimized children and encourage them to graduate and thrive.

To determine the causes of bullying in schools and to inform the development of effective intervention strategies, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention funded a series of studies in 2007 at the National Center for School Engagement. The research focused on the connection between different types and frequencies of bullying, truancy, and student achievement, and whether students' engagement in school mediates these factors.

The researchers completed three studies. The first was a quantitative analysis of students that would support the development of a predictive model to explain the relationships among bullying (referred to in the study as peer victimization), school attendance, school engagement, and academic achievement. The second study was a qualitative study in which researchers interviewed victims about their experiences to gain insight into how bullying in school affects attendance. The third study was a qualitative analysis of teachers' experiences in working to ameliorate the impact of bullying in schools.

In this bulletin, the authors compare the results of these studies with the results of the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention report (Ttofi, Farrington, and Baldry 2008), which is currently viewed as one of the most comprehensive studies on anti-bullying programs worldwide. Ttofi and her colleagues conducted a meta-analysis– *Effectiveness of Programmes to Reduce School Bullying: A Systematic Review* –that reviewed evaluations of 59 school-based anti-bullying programs in various countries, including the United States. In addition to their comparisons with the Swedish study, the authors recommend strategies and programs to combat bullying in schools that are based on the findings from the three studies described here and a literature review.

STUDY OVERVIEW AND MAIN FINDINGS

Following is an overview of each study and findings from the overall research project.

Quantitative Study: School Engagement is a Protective Factor for Victims

This study examined how different types of peer victimization (i.e., bullying) impact school attendance. The underlying premise of this study was that truancy serves as a gateway to numerous negative outcomes for today's youth –dropping out of school, using drugs, engaging in criminal activity, and more.

The authors conducted a short-term longitudinal study in which they surveyed 1,000 students in the fall and the spring of their sixth-grade year. The survey participants answered two sets of questions: one set pertained to whether the students were behaviorally, cognitively, and emotionally engaged in school; a second set pertained to whether students experienced specific kinds of bullying by

their peers. The authors used structural equation modeling (a statistical technique to estimate cause-and-effect relationships between various factors) to determine the connections between being victimized, being engaged in school, school attendance, and school achievement (measured by grade point average).

Although prior research suggests that student victimization has a significant impact on attendance (Banks 1997; Fried and Fried 1996; Hoover and Oliver 1996), the findings from this study suggest that these relationships are weak, at least for the sixth-grade student sample used for data analysis. The study, however, is limited because it is a quantitative analysis that examined only sixth-grade students in a suburban Denver school district. In this study, although bullying does not directly relate to truancy or to school achievement, the authors observed a statistically significant relationship between bullying and school attendance when mediated by the factor of school engagement. In other words, if bullying results in the victim becoming less engaged in school, that victim is more likely to cease attending and achieving. If the victim can remain or become engaged in school, his or her attendance and achievement will be less affected.

First Qualitative Study: Schools Can Mitigate the Ill Effects of Bullying

Researchers conducted two qualitative studies to determine what factors cause some bullied students to remain in school and cause others to drop out or become delinquent.

The first qualitative study examined what keeps bullied students engaged in school and away from negative behaviors such as truancy and criminal activity. The authors employed a retrospective study that randomly surveyed two groups of youth about their experiences with bullying in grade school. The survey sample consisted of:

- A group of 35 high-achieving, advanced placement students in a suburban high school.
- A group of 65 young men incarcerated for a variety of crimes.

Researchers interviewed participants from both groups with the highest cumulative scores on the bullying scale about their victimization, their general experiences with school, and what they perceived as having brought them to this point in their lives. The researchers then analyzed the transcripts.

The data describe how schools help and hurt victims and what schools should do to support victimized students. Schools help bullying victims by engaging them in academics and/or in extracurricular activities and by providing them with caring adults who support them and model positive behavior. Schools hurt bullied students when they change the school structure –from more engaging learning environments at the elementary level to less engaging environments at the middle and high school levels. These changes tend to distance the students from caring adults, dilute effective behavioral supervision, and change instruction from a differentiated, interactive pedagogy focused on individual student needs to a mass instructional pattern of 50-minute periods with six different teachers who teach 150 students per day.

A changing school structure often results in a failure to intervene in bullying (or to assist or support victims) when it first occurs. These changes may also make victims feel even more isolated from the rest of the school community. This happens because the large numbers of students in secondary schools can create an impersonal climate of anonymity that provides no time in the daily schedule for students to connect with adults and other students in the kinds of social interactions that would foster opportunities for them to discuss their victimization experiences.

The interview data also highlighted what victims need from their schools–

- A place of refuge where they can feel safe, appreciated, and challenged in a constructive way.
- Responsible adults who can support and sustain them and provide them examples of appropriate behavior.
- A sense of future possibility to persuade them that staying in school, despite the bullying, promises better things to come.

These factors allow bullied students to overcome the effects of bullying. In contrast, the study participants agreed that superficial anti-bullying programs, grafted onto existing curriculums to fulfill a school district's responsibility to address bullying concerns, are an ineffective way to combat bullying.

Second Qualitative Study: What Teachers Say About Bullying in Their Schools

The third study involved the adults to whom bullying victims look to support and sustain them in the school setting– the teachers. In this study, 11 teachers of kindergarten through 12th-grade students shared their observations about bullying in the school setting and described their opinions on what schools do to mitigate or exacerbate its effects.

As part of their graduate-level coursework, the teachers submitted papers proposing an intervention plan or a research design to address bullying within their schools. They presented these plans in focus groups and through structured interviews with a researcher who worked to capture the essence of their ideas. According to the teachers, most students observe power differences and negative, domineering behaviors in the outside world, in the media, or at home. Students emulate these behaviors in the school setting and use their power to intimidate others by physical or verbal means. This abuse of power can be exploited on victims in the form of bullying. The sense of isolation that many students feel at school only increases their vulnerability to being bullied by their more powerful peers.

A music teacher explained how power differences between students in school can lead to bullying, suggesting that students feel the need to "find something in their life at which they feel superior." She said, "When students do not have something in their lives that makes

them feel good, I think they turn to more negative ways to feel that sense of power, like bullying, drugs, and/or gangs." Students observe how people misuse their power to dominate situations in the outside world, so they use bullying to seek a personal sense of power in their own lives.

The teachers suggested that the antidote to these problems is to foster a sense of community in school. To create community, teachers recommended that students should be taught how to care. First, students should be engaged in schoolwork, extracurricular activities, and planning for their futures as a means to teach them how to care for themselves. Second, students should be taught how to care for others. Teachers should model caring behavior, and schools should offer opportunities for students to mentor other students. Finally, students should be taught how to care for their community. Community service projects are an excellent way to teach students how to care for the world around them. An added benefit of such projects is that they often remove students from existing classroom-based power relationships and place them in unfamiliar environments where all students feel vulnerable. These mutually supportive collaborations may allow bullies and victims to see themselves and their classmates in a new light.[1]

The teachers also described two ways in which caring and community building are hindered. The first involved school administrators who "sweep bullying under the rug" (i.e., ignoring it or downplaying its significance). The second involved school districts' attempts to address bullying issues by requiring educators to teach a prefabricated curriculum. The teachers viewed these approaches as ineffective substitutes for much-needed district and administration support and professional development.

STUDY IMPLICATIONS

The implications of the studies outlined above can best be understood when contrasted with the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention's report. The report, titled *Effectiveness of Programmes to Reduce School Bullying: A Systematic Review*, can be considered noteworthy because of the sample size and the rigorous study-selection procedures employed.

Swedish researchers Ttofi and colleagues conducted a systematic review and meta-analysis of existing evaluations of anti-bullying programs. The study included only evaluations that compared experimental and control groups and relied on student self-reports for data; the researchers excluded evaluations that did not meet these criteria.

Ttofi and colleagues reported that the programs reduced bullying overall and were most effective for older children. They recommend that the programs target children age 11 and older. They suggest that the following actions encouraged program success: educating parents, communicating with parents, improving playground supervision, showing educational videos, and providing effective disciplinary methods, classroom rules, and classroom management.

Although the authors of this bulletin generally agree with Ttofi and colleagues' findings, the Swedish researchers operate from the assumption –one that many in the fields of bullying prevention and the social sciences share– that a problem can be most effectively addressed when its parameters can be cleanly measured and when experimental and control comparisons are clear. The "important" design elements of the programs covered in the Swedish report focused on variables, including management, rules, supervision, parent training, conferences, showing videos, and self-reports from older children– all factors that can be measured scientifically.

THE PERVASIVENESS OF BULLYING: DINNER WITH DIGNITARIES

A "Stop Bullying Summit" was convened in Denver, CO, in June 2006. The night before the summit, the sponsoring organizations (The Colorado Trust, Creating Caring Communities, and The Partnership for Families & Children) hosted a dinner that brought together 40 academicians and practitioners (teachers, school administrators, law enforcement, and bullying-prevention specialists) for a discussion about issues of note. The moderator asked the attendees a series of questions to kick off the discussion.

The first question asked how many of the attendees had gone to grade school. All attendees raised their hands. The next query asked how many went to college– again, the response was overwhelming. When asked about graduate degrees, all but a handful responded in the affirmative.

Then, the moderator proffered a definition of bullying that many researchers accept (Smith et al. 2002):

- Intentional harm-doing, which can take a number of forms, including:
  - Physical victimization (contact or mean gestures).
  - Verbal victimization (name-calling or taunts).
  - Indirect victimization (such as intentional exclusion from a group).
  - Cyberbullying.
- Carried out repeatedly over time.
- Within an interpersonal relationship characterized by an imbalance of power.

The moderator then asked how many attendees bullied others or faced bullying when they were in grade school.

Out of this well-educated, highly accomplished group of adults, nearly everyone raised his or her hand. Bullying is a common experience for all people and not simply for "high-risk" populations typically identified among low-income disenfranchised groups.

The authors of this bulletin provide a more complex picture of bullying and its correlates. Bullying is a complicated issue that is neither consistently defined in schools nor easily quantified. Therefore, although researchers can learn much from the scientific meta-analyses (like the Swedish study), they can also learn from qualitative research and case studies that do not lend themselves to traditional experimental design research. For example, interest in anti-bullying efforts grew out of school shootings (such as Columbine) and suicides. Events of this sort would not be statistically significant in any quantitative study of school bullying. If statistical studies cannot accurately account for serious events, identify the needs of young children who may not recognize certain events as bullying, or report the effects of programs with elements that are not easily quantifiable, they need to be supplemented with qualitative studies that can add important context to the more optimal ways to reduce victimization in schools.

For anti-bullying programs to provide long-term outcomes –not simply decrease victim numbers but help victims remain crime free as adults– researchers must look beyond narrow programs that produce statistically significant numbers, toward broader (and possibly less measurable) efforts that make a difference in the lives of the victims. Likewise, schools must continue to reach out to all bullying victims, using methods catered to the community's specialized needs, not just programs that conform to a measurable standard.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The authors make the following recommendations for anti-bullying programs in the United States. These recommendations are based on their findings and an extensive literature review:[2]

- Increase student engagement.
- Model caring behavior for students.
- Offer mentoring programs.
- Provide students with opportunities for service learning as a means of improving school engagement.
- Address the difficult transition between elementary and middle school (from a single classroom teacher to teams of teachers with periods and class changes in a large school) (Lohaus et al. 2004).

Increase Student Engagement

Bullied children who remain engaged in school attend class more frequently and achieve more. Challenging academics, extracurricular activities, understanding teachers and coaches, and a focus on the future help keep victimized children engaged in their education (Bausell 2011). Schools, administrations, and districts that wish to stave off the negative effects of bullying must redouble their efforts to engage each student in school. Typical school engagement strategies include (Karcher 2005):

- Providing school-based mentorship options for students.
- Providing a caring adult for every student through an advisory program or similar arrangement.
- Carefully monitoring attendance, calling home each time a student is absent, and allowing students the ability to make up missed work with support from a teacher.
- Adopting and implementing the National School Climate Standards from the National School Climate Council (2010).
- Promoting and fostering parent and community engagement, including afterschool and summer programs.

Model Caring Behavior

Human relationships populate students' lives outside the school setting: in their parents' workplaces, in families, in video games, on TV, and in the movies. In contrast, school provides a controlled environment where children can experience caring adults who can exercise power in a non-abusive, mentoring way. These adults can demonstrate that leadership, not abuse, is the appropriate way to use their positions of authority constructively. Schools should offer training programs on how to model appropriate caring and leadership behavior for teachers and administrators. This training should be consistent with the school engagement strategies mentioned above and incorporated into licensure programs and continuing professional development activities.

Offer Mentoring Programs

Of the students interviewed for this study, those who felt that they had one or more adults to turn to tended to do well, even during the worst bullying. When those individuals did not exist or disappeared, the lives of the victimized children took a downward turn. Some looked elsewhere for support and, in certain cases, gangs became the most viable option. The authors recommend that schools make mentoring part of the job description of every adult in the school. (A sole school counselor with an excessive student load cannot provide effective mentorship.) Each student should know the specific adult in school to whom he or she can go for support, regardless of the issue, and that adult should be open and available. Substantial literature and research support for school-based mentoring exists (Cavell and Smith 2005; Herrera et al. 2007; King et al. 2002; Tierney, Grossman, and Resch 1995).

Students should also be given opportunities to mentor and lead other students to help them understand power-based relationships between students, faculty, or others.

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[1] For more information about community service and other afterschool programs that may help prevent bullying, visit http://www.stopbullying.gov/community/tip_sheets/youth_programs.pdf.

[2] For more background information on these recommendations, see *Bullying in Schools: A Critical Analysis of the Literature*, in this series.

This allows them to practice being in a position of strength and to learn to use that authority in caring, productive, and enriching ways. Such opportunities can occur in the classroom, in cooperative learning situations, or as part of community service programs. Karcher (2005) comments on the effect of peer mentoring for students in summarizing the research on cross-age mentoring, suggesting that "small single-site randomized studies have revealed consistently positive findings." He reports that the outcomes of these studies are consistent with adult-to-youth mentoring programs in school, suggesting that peer mentoring may improve youth's school connectedness, attitudes toward peers, self-efficacy, academic achievement, social skills, and behavior problems.

Provide Opportunities for Community Service

Community service provides an optimum venue for mentoring to occur. It allows students to break out of the hierarchical student relationships within the classroom, demonstrate new strengths, collaborate, mentor others, and show leadership in ways that the classroom does not afford. Teachers report that such service helps community building and counteracts the isolation and pain of bullying.

Address the Difficult Transition between Elementary and Middle School

For many youth, the transition from elementary to middle school is rough. Youth report that they lost a bond with their single classroom teacher, their class sizes ballooned, the instruction became more lecture and test based and less interactive, and they spent more time in hallways and other unsupervised places. The opportunities for isolation, alienation, and disengagement increased, and any school-based havens from being bullied disappeared. The authors recommend that schools explore the possibility of facilitating this difficult transition, for example, by creating K-8 schools or other transition programs to better acclimate students to the new educational environment.

Start Prevention Programs Early

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention report demonstrates that current programs targeting older students provide a larger decrease in bullying than programs for younger children. However, the authors of this bulletin caution schools not to interpret those findings as evidence to limit anti-bullying efforts to older students. The youth interviewed in the OJJDP-funded studies reported here all experienced traumatic, victimizing behavior in school when they were very young. They reported thinking that they were weak, worthless, somehow at fault, and always at risk. One study participant confessed that he started bringing weapons to school and joined a gang at the age of eight in an effort to protect himself. An anti-bullying program aimed at older children would have completely missed this student. Another young study participant pled for early intervention:

> *When they see [bullying] in the first, second, and third, fourth grade, even in fifth grade, they need to stop it; otherwise, it will just keep going and evolve into something more dangerous. They need to catch it [early] and try to stop it or they're going to, like, ruin someone's life.*

The teachers who took part in the second qualitative study agreed with this sentiment. Participating early elementary teachers described the effectiveness of mentoring activities between regular students and special education students and discussed how these activities increase collaboration and reduce abuse among classmates. The authors recommend that schools provide teachers and administrators with the training to recognize bullying and handle incidents, especially in the early grades. Schools may wish to begin by adopting and

LIFE BEYOND VICTIMIZATION: ANNA* THE SURVIVOR

The following account illustrates the concepts discussed in this bulletin. The authors attended a brown-bag luncheon that was sponsored by a nonprofit foundation, where a high school girl, Anna, was one of the speakers. Family life had been difficult for Anna; she had faced abuse and endured the death of loved ones. She grew up with a single parent. Anna told the attendees the tale of the demeaning bullying that she suffered at the hands of her peers throughout middle and high school. She was ostracized, restricted to only certain bathroom stalls to avoid "contaminating" the others, slurred and degraded in hallway graffiti, and pushed or shoved on her way to school. The bullying was constant and unrelenting. She recounted that she felt driven, on occasion, to demonstrate that she was not entirely powerless, so she bullied those weaker than herself–hoping she would thereby escape her own victimization. She pondered suicide and wanted to harm her tormentors. Anna found little help from the adults in her school. Teachers and counselors ignored her situation unless Anna directly asked them to address it. Even then, they carelessly made her private travails public, which only made matters worse. Her mother tried to help, but the school staff would not listen to her.

Even so, Anna told us, she was able to turn her life around. She confided in a Girl Scout leader, who began to take a continuing interest in her. Her mother supported her at home. She found two friends–a disabled girl, who was also a victim of bullying, and a popular girl, who saw Anna for the valuable person she was. Anna also pushed herself to get involved in school activities such as the student council, the prom committee, and grassroots bullying-prevention efforts. She began to stand up for herself and for others, and as she gained confidence, the victimization subsided. Today, Anna is a survivor who is doing quite well for herself. She has become confident and assertive and has engaged in school more. She is on track for graduation.

**Name has been changed to protect the minor's identity*.

implementing the National School Climate Standards (National School Climate Council 2010). Specific ideas for handling bullying incidents can be found in resource books for school staff, such as the Bully Proofing Your School series (Bonds and Stoker 2000; Garrity et al. 1994) and the Handbook of Bullying in Schools (Jimerson, Swearer, and Espelage 2010).

Resist the Temptation to Use Prefabricated Curriculums

Too many teachers in the second qualitative study related stories of how busy administrators, hoping to eradicate bullying with minimal effort, handed canned anti-bullying materials to teachers and provided no training on how to implement anti-bullying programs. Anti-bullying programs should combine skill-building approaches with consistent school-wide policies and practices that involve students, parents, and the community in setting social norms. As a result of their studies, the authors suggest that engaging students in schoolwork, using the engagement strategies suggested above, will help avoid and reduce victimization and bullying.

CONCLUSION

Research has shown that bullying is a complex social and emotional phenomenon that affects victims in many different ways. The authors began this study with the hypothesis that bullying and truancy were directly related. However, evidence showed that bullying is not simply a matter of correlates among variables. Complex problems cannot be solved with simple, formulaic solutions. Rather, results showed that victimization can distance students from learning. Schools can overcome this negative effect if they adopt strategies that engage students in their work, creating positive learning environments that produce academic achievement.

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Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology: Sociologists convey discoveries, ideas and research findings to students, colleagues and lay readers interested in social processes. Policy objectives: readability, creativity, diversity, and economy. **READABILITY** demands persuasive, interesting and lucid writing understandable to the literate layperson. It is lively enough to sustain interest and sufficiently supported with evidence and logic to convince the skeptical reader. **CREATIVITY** demands inventive, innovated and venturesome approaches to problems, propositions, questions, structures, data sets, theory and social phenomena. Strange creatures are welcome if their outlines are clear. **DIVERSITY** calls for a persistent spread of material in all areas of sociology and social sciences, giving voice to all fields, positions and technologies. Cross-cultural studies and manuscripts from foreign authors are most welcome.

Preparation Checklist for ASA Manuscripts

This checklist is intended to help you prepare your manuscript for publication in ASA journals. It covers some details of presentation and style that will be checked in copy editing if your manuscript is accepted for publication. Paying attention to these details now may save you time in the production process when time can get tight, so please address all items on this list. If you have any questions not answered here, refer to the *American Sociological Association Style Guide* (2d ed.), available from the ASA Executive Office, 1307 New York Avenue NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036 ($5 for ASA members; $10 for nonmembers).

MANUSCRIPT FORMAT

- ☐ All pages must be typed or printed (12-point type size preferred), **double-spaced** (including footnotes and references) on 8½ by 11 inch white paper.
- ☐ **Margins** must be at least 1-1/4 inches on all four sides to allow room for Editor's notes.
- ☐ **Page limit** for submission is twenty-five (25) pages excluding references, notes or figures. Tables should be integrated into the text.
- ☐ Please do not hyphenate words in your submission. Hyphenation will be added as needed in the journal.

TITLE PAGE

- ☐ Include the full title of the article, the author(s)'s name(s) and institution(s) (listed vertically if there is more than one author), a running head (60 characters or less), the approximate word count for the manuscript, and a title footnote.
- ☐ An asterisk (*) by the title refers to the title footnote at the bottom of the title page. The title footnote includes the name and address of the corresponding author, credits, acknowledgements, and/or grant numbers.

ABSTRACT

- ☐ View the abstract as your written "invitation" to your readers to read your entire article. The abstract appears on a separate page headed by the title. It should be **brief** (one paragraph of 150 to 200 words), **descriptive** (a summary of the most important contributions in your paper), and **accessible** (jargon-free and clear to the general reader). A good test of the quality of your abstract is to ask yourself if it could serve as a press release about your research.

TEXT

- ☐ ***Content.*** As you make changes in your text, read it objectively from your reader's point of view. **Use terminology consistently** throughout your text. Referring to a variable by one name at one time and by another name later or in your tables can confuse your readers. And remember, **"active" writing** ["I discovered that..."] is more concise, accurate, and interesting than "passive" writing ["It was discovered that..."].
- ☐ ***Subheadings.*** Generally, three levels of subheadings are sufficient to indicate the organization of the content. See recent journal issues for subheading formats.
- ☐ ***Text citations***. Include the last name of the author and year of publication. Include page numbers when you quote directly from a work or refer to specific passages. Cite only those that provide evidence for your assertions or that guide readers to important sources on your topic. Examples follow:
  - If author's name is in the text, follow the name with the year of publication in parentheses–"…Duncan (1959)"; if author's name is not in the text, enclose both the last name and year in parentheses–"…(Gouldner 1963)."
  - Pagination follows the year of publication after a colon–"… (Ramirez and Weiss 1979: 239-40)."
  - Give both last names for joint authors–"… (Martin and Bailey 1988)."
  - For works with three authors, list all last names in the first citation in the text; thereafter use "et al."–"… (Carr, Smith, and Jones 1962)"; and later, –"… (Carr et al. 1962)." For more than three authors, use "et al." throughout.
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  - For unpublished materials, use "forthcoming" to indicate material scheduled for publication. For dissertations and unpublished papers, cite the date. If no date, use "n.d." in place of the date–"… Smith (forthcoming) and Jones (n.d.)."
  - For machine-readable data files, cite authorship and date–"… (Institute for Survey Research 1976)."
- ☐ ***Equations.*** Equations in the text should be typed or printed. Use consecutive Arabic numerals in parentheses at the right margin to identify important equations. Align all expressions and clearly mark compound subscripts and superscripts. Please clarify all unusual characters or symbols. Use italic type for variables in equations and in the text; use bold type for vectors.
- ☐ ***Numerical Values.*** Use a preceding zero for numbers less than zero. Ex: $p<0.06$

FOOTNOTES/ENDNOTES

- ☐ **Use footnotes/endnotes only when necessary**. Notes, in general, and long notes, in particular, distract the reader and are expensive to print. As alternatives, consider (a) stating in the text that information is available from the author, or (b) adding an appendix.

- ☐ Begin each note with the superscript numeral to which it is keyed in the text. Notes can (a) explain or amplify text, or (b) cite materials of limited availability.
- ☐ Notes should be typed or printed, **double-spaced**, either as footnotes at the bottom of the page or in a separate "ENDNOTES" section following the references.

REFERENCE LIST

- ☐ All references cited in the text must be listed in the reference list, and vice versa. Double check spelling and publication details–**ASA journals are not responsible for the accuracy of your reference list**.
- ☐ List references in **alphabetical order** by authors' last names. Include full names of all authors' use first name initials only if the author used initials in the original publication.
- ☐ For multiple authorship, only the name of the first author is inverted (e.g., "Jones, Arthur B., Colin D. Smith, and Barrie Thorne").
- ☐ For two or more references by the same author(s), list them in order of the year of publication. Use six hyphens and a period (------.) in place of the name when the authorship is the same as in the preceding citation.
- ☐ To list two or more works by the same author(s) from the same year, distinguish them by adding letters (a, b, c, etc.) to the year or to "Forthcoming" (e.g., 1992a, Forthcoming a). List in alphabetical order by title.

A few examples follow. See recent journal issues for further examples:

Books

Bernard, Claude. [1865] 1957. *An Introduction to the Study of Experimental Medicine.* Translated by H.C. Greene. NY: Dover.

Mason, Karen O. 1974. *Women's Labor Force Participation and Fertility.* Research Triangle Park, NC: National Institutes of Health.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1960. *Characteristics of Population.* Vol. 1. Washington, D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Periodicals

Conger, Rand D. Forthcoming. "The Effects of Positive Feedback on Direction and Amount of Verbalization in a Social Setting." *Sociological Perspectives.*

Goodman, Leo A. 1947a. "The Analysis of Systems of Qualitative Variables When Some of the Variables Are Unobservable. Part I- A Modified Latent Structure Approach." *American Journal of Sociology* 79:1179-1259.

------. 1947b. "Exploratory Latent Structure Analysis Using Both Identifiable and Unidentifiable Models.' *Biometrika* 61:215-31.

Collections

Clausen, John A. 1972. "The Life Course of Individuals." Pp. 457-514 in *Aging and Society,* vol. 3, *A Sociology of Age Stratification*, edited by M. W. Riley, M. Johnson, and A. Foner. New York: Russell Sage.

Elder, Glen H. 1975. "Age Differentiation and the Life Course." Pp. 165-90 in *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 1, edited by A. Inkeles, J. Coleman, and N. Smelser. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews.

Dissertations

Charles, Maria. 1990. "Occupational Sex Segregation: A Log-Linear Analysis of Patterns in 25 Industrial Countries." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Stanford University, Stanford, CA.

Machine Readable Data File

American Institute of Public Opinion. 1976. *Gallup Public Opinion Poll* #965 [MRDF]. Princeton, NJ: American Institute of Public Opinion [producer]. New Haven, CT: Roper Public Opinion Research Center, Yale University [distributor].

Foreign Language Books, Journals and Articles

Kardelj, Edvard. 1960. *Razvoj Slovenackog Nacionalnog Pitanja* (Development of the Slovenian national question). Beograd, Yugoslavia: Kultura.

BIOGRAPHY

- ☐ Include a short biography (five or six lines) for each author. Each biography should include the author's name, title, department, institution, and a brief description of current research interests, publications, or awards.

APPENDICES, FIGURES, and TABLES

Include appendices, figures, and tables only when they are critical to the reader's understanding. As an alternative, consider inserting a statement in the text stating that the information is available from the author.

Tables

Number tables consecutively throughout the text. Type or print each table on a separate page at the end of your paper. Insert a note in the text to indicate table placement (e.g., "TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE"").

- ☐ Each table must include a descriptive title and headings for all columns and rows (see recent journal issues for examples).
- ☐ Do not submit a picture or image of your table. Have the table in an editable format so it can be resized as needed for the journal while remaining legible.
- ☐ For clarity, always use the same variable names in your tables as you use in your text. Standard errors, standard deviations, *t*-statistics, and so on, should appear in parentheses under the means or coefficients in the tables.

- ☐ Gather general notes to tables as "*Note:*" or "*Notes:*" at the bottom of the table; use a, b, c, etc., for table footnotes.
- ☐ Use asterisks *, **, and/or *** to indicate significance at the $p<0.05$, $p<0.01$, and $p<0.001$ levels, respectively; note if tests are one-tailed or two-tailed. Generally, only those results significant at the $p<0.10$ level or better should be indicated as significant in tables or text.

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- ☐ Appendices appear at the end of your article and should be labeled "Appendix A", "Appendix B", etc.

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- ☐ When you have completed the final changes to your manuscript, run your computer spellchecker to correct misspelled words. You can also use the spellchecker to cross-check author names cited in your text with author names in the reference list.

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The editors wish to specially acknowledge:

Heather Williamson for her professional & timely liaison work on behalf of University Printing Services, and ***Stephanie Spence*** for her Adobe finesse.