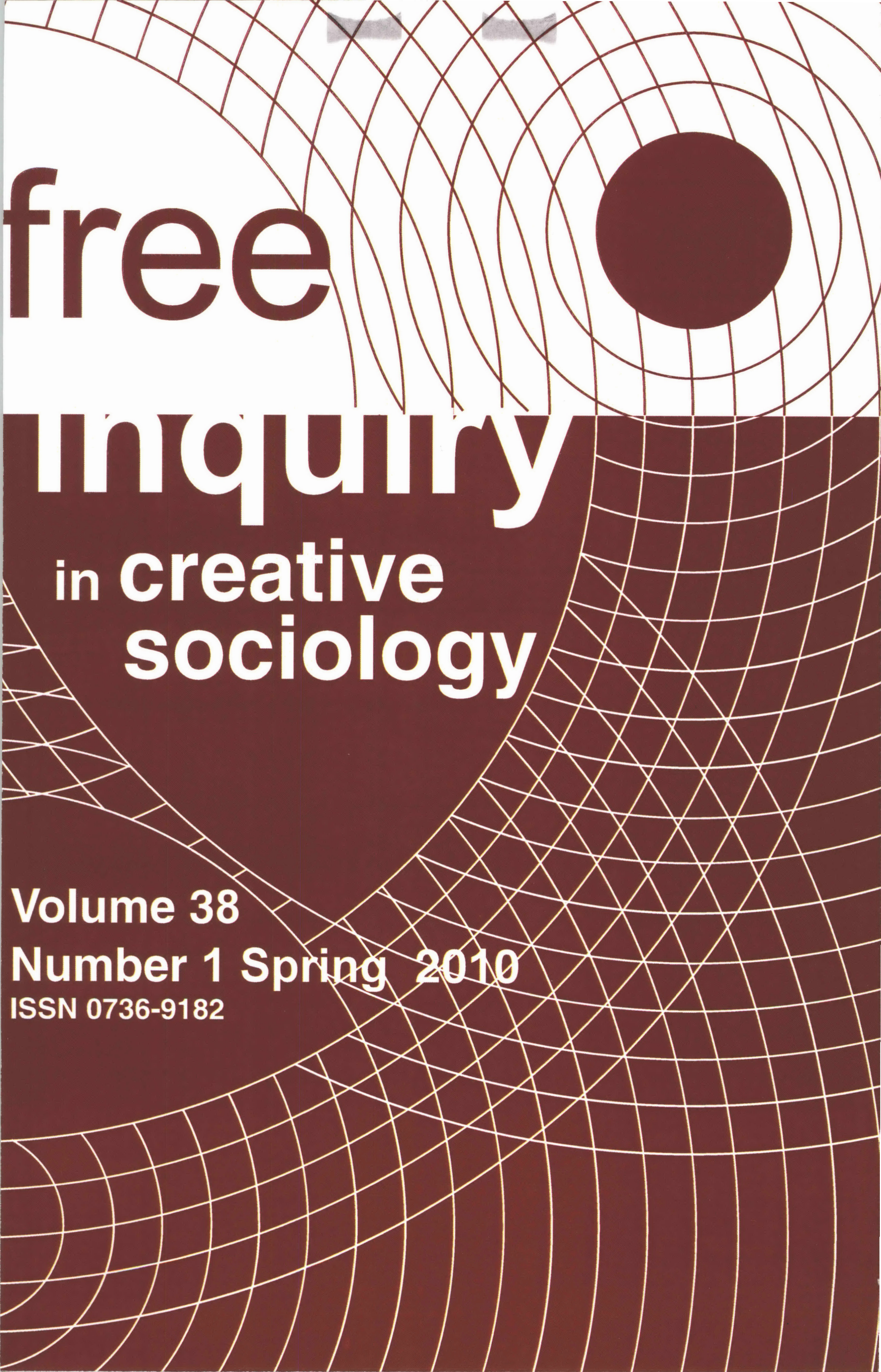

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Statewide Implementation of an Intervention Program: Comprehensive Home-Based Services

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This article discusses the process, structure, and outcome of an innovative intervention program implemented on a statewide basis in the south central United States. Findings from the first-year program audits are presented. Evaluation findings from an independent evaluation team are shared, as well as programmatic changes made over the course of the program. The article concludes with the use of technology and observations for future service program development and implementation.

Keywords: family preservation, reunification, program development, program implementation, information management

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The implementation of a public, large-scale child welfare program is no small task. Despite sound planning and development, implementing a new service program involves addressing a plethora of challenges. On the positive side, the beginning of a new program often imbues its staff, consumers, and advocates with anticipation, excitement, and hope. Alternately, program implementation is many times fraught with any number of minor annoyances to major problems that can forestall its inception. A successful program will maximize the former and effectively manage the latter.

This article discusses the process, structure, and outcome of an innovative intervention program implemented on a statewide basis in the south central United States. Findings from the first-year program audits are presented. Evaluation findings are shared, as well as the programmatic changes made as a result. The article concludes with lessons learned for future service program development and implementation.

History

In the Fall of 1997, the first author, a former child welfare programs administrator for the State of Oklahoma, convened a work group consisting of representatives from the Department of Human Services' (DHS) Division of Children and Family Services (DCFS) State Office, Field Operations, and its six Area Offices to discuss the need and potential scope for a new home-based intervention program to be implemented statewide. The child welfare system in Oklahoma is administered by the State via six Area

Offices that oversee services to the state's 77 counties.

At the culmination of the second work group meeting, the participants suggested the convener take the lead in designing a comprehensive, integrative approach to home-based services for at-risk children and their families given an overview presentation they had been provided. Comprehensive Home-Based Services (CHBS) was developed in early January 1998 and shared with every work group member, as well as with each of the DCFS, Field Operations, and Area Directors with the understanding the written document would not be disclosed to any potential private contractor to avert any semblance of conflict of interest or legal liability due to the perceived unfair advantage of one possible vendor over another before an invitation to bid (ITB) was formally announced (Herrerías, 1998).

The CHBS' program description became the subject of many factional discussions in the public agency. In general, child welfare staff did not agree with private providers having more control or a greater role relative to assessing and intervening with DHS' families. Up to that point, Oklahoma's child welfare system only minimally contracted out any services. While a number of wraparound programs (e.g., home visitation, tutoring, counseling, parent education) had been out sourced under a prior five-year contract called the Oklahoma Children's Initiative (OCI), the services provided under OCI were not comprehensive, well documented, or outcome oriented. The former approach was more purposeful than accidental as the intention was to help motivate a sufficiently large number of potential service providers to respond to the Request for Proposal (RFP), which eventually became the contract. Hence the contract language was written somewhat loosely and made accountability a more illusive concept (L. Arnold, personal communication; F. Hill, personal communication; J. Murray, personal communication).

Although a wide array of services had been provided under the OCI contract, the lack of structure and unique manner each provider delivered the services rendered conducting a meaningful evaluation infeasible. Further, each unit of service was individually counted rather than aggregated for every child that was served. For example, if tutoring was being provided to a sibling group of three over a timeframe of four months, the number of clients served was reported as 48 (3 clients x 4 sessions per month x 4 months) rather than the number of clients served. In the end, it was not possible to accurately or reliably determine how many children and families had received services that were costing the State between $4 to $6 million annually.

A more comprehensive service with added structure, consistency, and accountability was needed to establish a higher standard of practice, as well as more responsible stewardship of the State's money. The new program met that need and laid the foundation for implementing the first statewide standardized program of its kind in the U.S. (Herrerías, 1998). Eight contracts were awarded totaling $7.2 million effective July 1, 1998 as a result of a competitive invitation to bid published March 27, 1998 by the State of Oklahoma for what was called *Oklahoma Children's Services (OCS)*. Comprehensive Home-Based Services (CHBS) was 80 percent of OCS' monies. Independent Living Services

(ILS) comprised the remainder of the funds and is excluded from this article.

Focus Of The Program

The goal of CHBS is to help preserve, strengthen, and/or restore the integrity of the family unit. The conceptual basis of the CHBS approach is family-focused, child-centered in-home services where the child (ages 0-18 years), family, and community are a part of a dynamic system. The program is comprehensive in that it explores the key areas of safety, social functioning, health, education, mental health, employment/vocational training, and recreation with every client family. Service duration is six months, and extensions may be approved under extenuating circumstances for an additional six months.

There are three components of home-based services in CHBS: preventive, remedial, and reunification. A referral for service is made by the public Child Welfare (CW) worker. There are three criteria under which service may be provided:

1. Child is currently in his/her own home and is determined to be at imminent risk of removal due to abuse or neglect (preventive).

2. Child is currently in a kinship or adoptive home where compelling issues or acting-out behaviors may likely cause placement disruption and recidivism to a more restrictive placement (remedial).

3. Child is currently in out-of-home placement where the goal is to return to his/her own-home within 30-90 days of the referral for service (reunification).

Program Structure

Service Providers

Six private, local social service organizations;—five were non-profit, entities were awarded eight contracts to serve the entire State. While DHS divides Oklahoma into six service areas, the two largest metropolitan areas (Oklahoma City and Tulsa) were designated separate service areas for contractual purposes and to help more effectively manage an anticipated high volume of service needs. Through the use of subcontracts, providers were able to serve eligible children and their families statewide. The author designed and provided [mandatory] three-day training to 140 participants that included program directors, supervisors and case managers. This was to ensure that everyone was given the same information to help facilitate program implementation.

Contract case managers (CCMs) are expected to work a flexible 40-hour schedule that frequently includes some evening or weekend hours to better meet the needs of the client system. The title of CCM is used to distinguish between public CW and contracted staffs. Caseload size varies from four to ten families dependent upon the complexity, stage (e.g., beginning, middle, or ending) of the CCM/client working relationship, or geographic distances between client families. The CCM and client must have a minimum of two hours in face-to-face contact weekly with half of all contacts taking place in the client's home. The standard to be met is 39 hours in any 13-week quarter.

Process and Documentation

The CHBS' timetable for service delivery and its documentation requirements include:

1. **Intake Staffing,** which is accomplished within five working days following the referral for service and involves the referring CW worker, the CCM, and the CCM's supervisor. The meeting usually takes place in the client's home, where the three staff reviews the risk-related issues that prompted the client's referral for services, encourage the client's active participation in the discussion, provide contact information for the three workers, and generally set the tone for future services. It is key to obtain the client's cooperation as a precursor to engaging families in child welfare services (Altman, 2003, 2008; Kemp, Marcenko, Hoagwood & Vesneski, 2009).
2. **Multi-level Assessment,** which is completed on all families referred for services within 30 days of service commencement. The assessment includes:
    a. *Family Inventory of Needs Determination (FIND)* that assesses strengths and needs of the parent or primary caretaker, as well as yields a resource assessment for each child in the family. The FIND represents a biopsychosocial assessment that is also used as a client engagement tool (Herrerías, 1998).
    b. *Parent's Attitude toward Child (PAC),* a pencil-and-paper self-report that measures the degree of a problem in the parent's relationship with his or her child (Herrerías, 1993).
    c. *Generalized Contentment Scale (GCS),* a pencil-and-paper self-report that measures the degree of a problem with nonpsychotic depression (Hudson, 1982).
    d. *Index of Drug Involvement (IDI),* a pencil-and-paper self-report that measures the degree of a problem with the use of alcohol or drugs (Hudson, 1982).
    e. *Child and Adolescent Strengths Assessment (CASA),* a pencil-and-paper evaluation that is completed by the CCM based on the parent's observation of his or her child (Lyons, Kisiel & West, 1997).
3. **Family Intervention Plan (FIP)** that represents the treatment plan written by the CCM in conjunction with the clients involved within 45 days of the commencement of service. This document projects what will be addressed during the course of service. The CCM employs an empowerment case management perspective that encourages the family's active involvement in the identification of needs, the non-risk-related goals and measurement of those goals, potential obstacles to goal attainment, and strategies for minimizing obstacles toward achieving goals (Herrerías, 1998).
4. **Quarterly Report (QR)** that is completed by the CCM at 90-day intervals from commencement of CHBS over the course of service. The QR is a retrospective analysis that determines to what extent the treatment plan was accomplished (Herrerías, 1998).
5. **Final Report (FR)** that is similar to the QR with the exception that it is completed at the termination of service. The FR summarizes the intervention and its outcomes. Most importantly, the FR determines whether the client successfully met the risk-related goals that prompted

the initial service referral. The FR also lists every outside referral or community resource utilized by family members. Copies of the FIP, QR, and FR are provided to clients (Herrerías, 1998).

6. **Special Funding** is available in the amount of up to $400 for each client family for the purchase of concrete goods or services that are deemed necessary to help preserve, remediate, or reunify the family. Informal resources are accessed first, with special funds being utilized as a last resort, depending upon the situation. Not all families may require the use of special funds (Herrerías, 1998).
7. **Client Satisfaction Survey (CSS)** that is provided to every client age 12 years and older for completion and mailing in a postage-paid, addressed mailer to the CHBS' programs administrator (Herrerías, 1998).

Other CHBS program requirements include the CCM completing a critical incident report (CIR) and notifying CW via telephone and in writing within 48 hours of a reportable incident. A reportable incident may include serious illness, hospitalization, or death of a client family member; any type of injury sustained by a child requiring medical attention; parental abandonment; refusal of CHBS'; and unannounced residential move with no forwarding address. Another requirement is the timely completion of all daily progress notes within five days of contact with the client or CCM's concrete effort on behalf of the client (e.g., contacts child welfare worker for discussion about client or obtains a resource for the client), or other client-related event. Yet another requirement is that CCMs are formally supervised at least one hour on a biweekly basis accompanied by a written summary by the supervisor. Moreover, each CHBS supervisor is required to write a monthly case review on every open case under his or her supervision.

Issues Covered by the Program

The structured interventions for clients include providing or facilitating the provision of one or more support or supplemental services to include parenting education and skills development; supportive counseling; crisis intervention and teaching the family how to use the problem-solving model as a way to help resolve or avert future challenges; self-esteem building activities; substance abuse assessment, education, and referral; budgeting and financial management; household management and preventive home maintenance; preventive health (e.g., medical, dental, eye care); preventive mental health; educational/vocational assessment and planning; resource generation, identification, and referral; developing linkages with other support systems; parent/family and child reunification from out-of-home placement; and/or advocacy. Services are provided as needed.

One of the requirements under the six service contracts required that providers submit a Monthly Service Utilization Report (MSUR) containing client's name; DHS identification number; date of birth; racial/ethnic background; number of children; reason for referral; date of referral; dates of intake staffing; completed quarterly and/or final reports; amount of special funds utilized; ending date of service; and to what extent the client had successfully addressed the risk-related issues that prompted the service referral. It was a daunting task to verify the accuracy of these data elements and request corrected data.

The first year for the DCFS program staff was largely spent making program or reporting refinements, converting the paper forms into machine-readable Scantron™ forms, and preparing for the first program audit of each service provider to determine the extent of program implementation. Needless to say, while the program was implemented almost immediately following the training provided to the vendors and their subcontractors, the challenges, frustrations, and 'kinks' kept everyone working overtime.

Program Infrastructure

The implementation of CHBS required DCFS program staff gives attention to numerous issues needing to be completed within a timeframe of six months before the start of the new State fiscal year. These different tasks represented an intensive effort to ensure everything was accomplished timely and that the necessary infrastructure to support the new program was in place. Major tasks accomplished to facilitate program implementation included:

1. Developing all of the standardized documents to be used in conjunction with the program needed to be developed. This effort resulted in 14 original forms ranging in length from 1 to 20 pages.
2. Developing a process for making, documenting, and approving referrals of families for service. Oklahoma DHS CW workers would identify potential families needing CHBS and complete a referral form showing child and family identifying information, the nature of the referral (e.g., preventive, maintaining placement, or reunification), and the reasons precipitating the request for services. A Child Welfare supervisor provides first level approval and then forwards to the relevant contract provider serving his/her county.
3. Designing the OCS-1 referral form along with written instructions to staff. This official form needed to be reviewed by the appropriate office to ensure compliance with the Department's Administrative Procedures Act before being approved for use.
4. Writing the *policy bulletin* to the Field Offices throughout the State that briefly explained the new program and the process for making service referrals. The OCS-1 referral form was provided as an attachment.
5. Writing new policy to reflect the incorporation of CHBS into the Department's service array. The numerous pages of policy were integrated throughout the various sections in the State's Child Welfare manual. First, the Administrative Services Unit reviewed the material for clarity, correctness, and consistency with existing policy. Second, new and/or revised policy needed to be approved by the DHS Commission, the Department's governing body, at its monthly meeting.
6. Writing and compiling training curriculum plus handout materials for private service providers. Binders containing training outlines and accompanying handouts were produced for 140 staff from provider agencies. The training was conducted in a central location over four-days. Information about the

service program and its documentation were provided during three days to program directors, supervisors, and contract case managers. Data concerning financial documentation, reimbursement procedures, and invoicing were provided to relevant fiscal and administrative staff in one 6-hour training session.

7. Writing the Invitation-To-Bid, that also served as the contract. This required close coordination with the Department's Finance Division, as well as the State's Office of Central Services to ensure legalities were appropriately attended to and accurately conveyed in the contract document. The ITB was 62 pages in length exclusive of attachments (Herrerías, 1998).
8. Visiting DHS CW county offices by the author and two staff in order to orient CW staff to the new program initiative, the client referral process, and contact people whom they would call for assistance.

Program Audits

Approximately one year following program implementation, the authors and four staff members visited each of the principal contract providers in order to conduct a program audit of their respective service area. Since each of the contract providers, in turn, subcontracted with any number of others, client's records were transported to the principal provider's location. Ten percent of the client's records were randomly selected for the audit. Case managers' and supervisors' personnel records were also audited to ensure compliance with contractual requirements regarding background checks, level of education, and annually required professional development.

While each of the service providers met the contract requirements at the 100% level in a number of the program elements, all fell short of the overall 85% standard compliance rate. The CCMs were out of compliance with the number hours of service they were expected to provide their clients, the incorporation of risk-related goals in the intervention plans, and record of CW staffing of the cases. It was discussed there was a possibility that in their haste, they could have missed documenting some of their contacts. It was reiterated that documentation is of critical importance to demonstrate the work is accomplished. Another area of low compliance was timeliness of reporting. There is a strict schedule of when the intervention plan is completed following the multilevel assessment, followed by the quarterly and final reports. These were frequently done late. Accompanying these reports are the clinical scales that are to be repeated at set intervals to determine changes in behavior and crucial to assessing treatment efficacy.

The worst offender was a service provider who made a decision, without consulting with DHS, to complete the FIP (intervention plan) in advance of the FIND (family assessment) because it was expedient in terms of obtaining third party reimbursement. This was unacceptable and that organization came close to losing its multimillion dollar contract.

Compliance ranged from service provider to service provider. Some focused more attention to detail than others. Some had more technological sophistication than others, which helped mitigate lack of compliance. Only one organization had a compliance rate above 50%. They also had the lowest employee turnover. The first year compliance rates are shown below:

Program Audit Compliance Rates

Organization A	57.9%	Organization E	28.5%
Organization B	39.4%	Organization F	21.4%
Organization C	27.5%	Organization G	17.8%
Organization D	22.2%	Organization H	24.4%

Compliance rates were not computed for subsequent program audits as the conduct of the audits was changed following the first year from objective to subjective measurement. It was rationalized that if service providers were found to be out of compliance then they could not technically keep their contracts. There were not other service providers with the available resources to bid for the contract in the affected service areas. If the principal providers did not have their contracts then children and families would not be served in the respective service areas. This was not acceptable; therefore, the determination of compliance was changed to one of identifying strengths and weaknesses.

Evaluation of Program Outcomes

An independent evaluation team (IET) from the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center was contracted to help develop the plan for evaluation of CHBS. Part of the initial plan was to convert each of the assessment tools into Scantron™ forms to develop an extensive database. Until this was accomplished, the DHS programs administrator was the recipient of the assessment forms completed by CCMs and the client families. This constituted a significant undertaking on the part of providers' staff who had to duplicate every form, on the author who was the recipient of the voluminous paper, and on the IET as it attempted to store the paperwork until the specially formatted forms were printed in order to transfer the data into an acceptable form prior to data entry. The intent was to preserve the data in order to inform program refinements, identify potentially problematic areas, and enhance service delivery.The IET conducted thorough annual evaluations for the years 1999-2005.

Bonner et al. (2000) found an 89% success rate one year after the FIND was completed of 2,089 families. The number of caregivers who have received CHBS was slightly more than 10% that were confirmed as perpetrators after 800 days that the FIND was completed. They also found that families that had met all of their treatment goals were less likely to have subsequent referrals (13%), whereas those that met none to few goals had 50% subsequent referrals.

Hecht et al. (2001) found an 85% success rate 1300 days after completion of the FIND of 2,704 families. The number of caregivers receiving CHBS was 16.7% that were confirmed as perpetrators. Those that had been referred for child maltreatment, however, had an over 50% rate of subsequent report. Families that received Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) had a higher recidivism rate (39%) than non-TANF (28%). In cases where children had been reunified with their families, there was a 70% subsequent referral rate to children's protective services two years pursuant to reunification. This can be explained as CW sending their most difficult cases to OCS for a last chance effort at reunification. In fact, the reunification service is supposed to be reserved for those families who have the best chance for reunification. It is not intended to put the child at risk.

Hecht et al. (2003) found an 8% recidivism rate at 720 days after completion of the FIND of 2,869 families. Of those families referred for child maltreatment, their recidivism rate was 54%. In terms of the families that were reunified with their children, their recidivism rate 720 days after completion of the FIND was 22%.

Hecht et al. (2005) indicated that 4,244 families were served during the 2003-2005 contract period that were mostly female, Caucasian, and single, who had not completed high school, and unemployed. Fifty-nine percent were referred for individual treatment given findings from the Beck Depression Index. The GAGE showed potential abuse for about 11%. There was a confirmed report of child abuse 810 days after completion of the FIND of 26%. Twenty-five percent of reunification cases had a maltreatment report during the CHBS service period. The IET found that the number of prior reports was a significant predictor of future ones.

Program Changes

Clinical Measures

There were a number of changes made to the program pursuant to the program audits and external evaluation. These changes had to do with changing several of the clinical measurement instruments in 2002. The GCS was replaced with the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) (Beck, Steer, & Brown, 1996). The CASA was replaced with the Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach, 1991, Hecht et al., 2005). The IDI was replaced with the Diagnostic Inventory Schedule (DIS) Alcohol and Drug Modules (Hecht et al., 2005), and the PAC was replaced by the Child Well-Being Scale (Hecht et al., 2005). The Family Resource Scale (Hecht et al., 2005) was added in 2003. In 2004, the Diagnostic Inventory Schedule (DIS) and Drug Modules was replaced by the CAGE (Hecht et al., 2005; Mayfield, McLeod, & Hall, 1974).

The program audits were found to be labor intensive and reduced in scope from a numerical rating for each major area to whether there is compliance or noncompliance with the spirit and intent of the language in the contract. For example, instead of determining a numerical rating for the FIND (strengths and needs of the caretaker{s} and child{ren}) the evaluator writes specific comments regarding the family's composition, its history, strengths, concerns and whether there are adequate comments to develop a FIP (treatment plan). These comments are written based on the evaluator's review of the data captured from the family by the CCM. When there are inadequate comments to develop a FIP, based upon whether an evaluator finds a sufficient number in his or her case sample, there is a DCFS team decision to require or not require a written corrective response. The staff's personnel records continues to be monitored, they are mailed or transported to DCFS, as is the quality and timeliness of documentation and the content of the reporting. The change in determining compliance was more subjective than objective. Even so, there was not a steady improvement—it appeared to vary from year to year.

Use Of Technology

A significant change occurred in 2000 when an electronic computer network referred to as eKIDS was developed to connect contractors to the DHS statewide child welfare computer network without contractors having access to CW confidential files. The first author conceived the idea of eKIDS as a filing cabinet that contract providers could input data to which CW workers would have simultaneous access. This effectively put an end to the paperwork service providers were forwarding to the program administrator, Child Welfare, and, in turn, the IET. With the exception of original signature pages, the files were now paperless. A by-product of this meant future audits could be conducted from the DHS State Office at a significant cost saving in travel dollars, personnel, and time. Beginning in 2000, an evaluation team no longer made onsite visits to complete the evaluation protocol—it is completed in the evaluator's office via eKIDS.

Concluding Observations

Implementing a complex, large scale child welfare program with a statewide scope was an enormous task that was surprisingly and thoroughly handled with the assistance of highly competent, dedicated staff. Clearly this process contains details that far exceed the allotted time or space to describe. Copies of most of the assessment instruments, as well as the written program description were provided to the workshop participants during the initial training session.

One of the most important results of this program implementation has been the truly valuable data that will help inform future service provision, client intervention, and the justification for increased funding. Just having an accurate number of the children and families served is more than was available in years past. During the contract's first year, 1,769 families comprising 4,040 children received CHBS statewide. Almost 60 percent of the services were preventive in nature, followed by family reunification in 26 percent of the cases. The reasons for referral for CHBS were neglect (30.7%), drug and alcohol abuse (22.1%), physical abuse (21.8%), environmental neglect (17.5%), and sexual abuse (7.9%). At once the most concerning and informative data learned relates to mental health challenges. Almost 31 percent of primary caretakers indicated having a history of "mental health problems." Nearly 19 percent of primary caretakers take psychiatric medication. Of the children who were specifically identified on the referral for service, 22 percent of them have a history of mental health problems, and 10 percent take psychiatric medication. Thirteen percent of the children were identified as having some form of physical challenge.

Most service providers are exclusively focused on providing the needed programs and services to their clients. Others may dread the mounting paperwork requirements and demands for added and increasingly more specific documentation. In order to better inform and improve the quality and effectiveness of assessment and intervention of at-risk children and their families, mechanisms must be built into every program that help maximize the collection of meaningful data without sacrificing the necessary attention, services, or intervention warranted by those being served. Moreover, better specification of different interventions employed is imperative to help identify the most effective aspects of treatment. Systematic data collection is only reliable and useful if those gathering the information are committed to doing so in a consistent, clear, and comprehensive manner. It is shortsighted to solely rely on outcomes to the exclusion of having a sound understanding of *what* yields desired results—if for no other reason than to more effectively ensure the increase of more positive outcomes for at-risk children and their families.

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A Historical And Theoretical Look At Ritual Abuse Laws Part III: Applying An Integrated Conflict Model Analysis To The California McMartin Case

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Abstract

This article further examines the social construction of ritual abuse statutes within the Integrated Conflict Model perspective. With content analysis findings based on a qualitative, historical phenomenological interpretation, this piece examines the formation of ritual abuse laws in California. Examining circumstances surrounding the satanic panic that took place in the mid-1980s to early 1990s, the article reviews the McMartin Preschool case. It supports previous research indicating the formation of ritual abuse laws involves structural foundations, public perceptions of crime, triggering events, and counter-triggering events.

On May 12, 1983, Judy Johnson dropped her son Billy off at McMartin Preschool. It was his first day at the Manhattan Beach,California, establishment. Three months later, Billy told his mother that his anus itched. She took Billy to the doctor and later contacted the local police department claiming someone at the school sexually assaulted him. Shortly after, police arrested McMartin employee Ray Buckey, the grandson of the preschool's founder Virginia McMartin and son of administrator Peggy McMartin Buckey. Judy claimed Ray sodomized Billy while pushing his head into a toilet bowl. Information from Billy also indicated Mr. Buckey sometimes dressed up like a satanic priest wearing capes and participating with other employees in ritualistic animal mutilation. The following year, the McMartin Preschool closed its doors after interviews of students indicated 360 cases of sexual abuse. The police raided multiple preschools in California over concerns about widespread satanic rituals taking place in daycare centers. By May 1984, prosecutors indicted owners and employees of McMartin Preschool on 208 counts of child victimization (Eberle & Eberle 1993). The drama related to the case lasted for nearly a decade. It capped itself off with new ritual abuse legislation in 1995 (Noblitt & Noblitt 2008).

Often relating to satanic practices, ritual abuse is any symbolic, repeated illegal behavior that fulfills cultural, social, religious, sexual, or psychological needs. Laws associated with ritual abuse include acts of child torture, unlawful underage marriages, forced interaction with the deceased, and the explicit mutilation of the deceased (Hodges 2008). As indicated by California's ritual abuse law, which no longer is in effect, a person would receive a three-year extension to their sentence in certain child abuse cases.This included situations involving simulated torture, sacrifice of any mammal, or forced ingestion of human or animal urine or feces. It also involved circumstances where abusers externally applied flesh or blood to a child or placed a child into a coffin or similar structure containing the remains of dead animals or humans (1995).

This article uses the circumstances surrounding the McMartin case to examine the social construction of California's short-lived ritual abuse law. It starts by discussing theoretical ideas behind constructionist and Integrated

Conflict Model of law formation perspectives. The article then reviews the methodology used to research the McMartin case. Finally, it provides findings supporting the idea that ritual abuse law in California was the consequence of structural foundations, public perception of ritual abuse and demands for information and punishment, triggering events, and counter-triggering events.

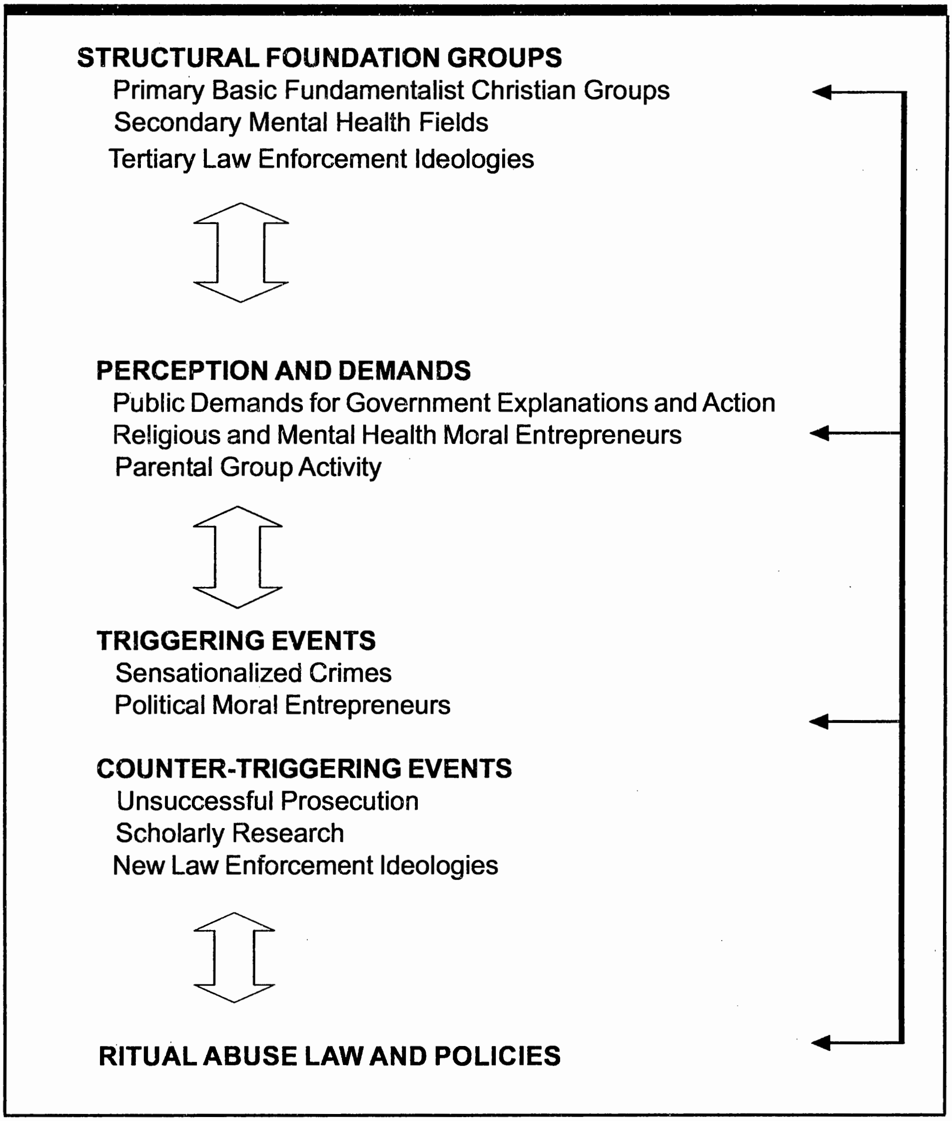
CONSTRUCTIONISM AND THE INTEGRATED CONFLICT MODEL

Part I and Part II of this series offer detailed discussions of constructionist thought and the Integrated Conflict Model of law formation (see Hodges 2008; Hodges & Ulsperger 2008). However, a brief review is important.

Constructionist views imply that humans create and maintain reality through interaction. Traditional sociology implies this is a three-stage process. First, humans interact and create something. Second, other people accept the thing created. Third, over time multiple people internalize the thing created into a concrete fact existing beyond human origins. The idea of socially constructed reality applies to everyday knowledge that orders our lives, whether it concerns time, money, or religion (Berger & Luckmann 1967).

The Integrative Conflict Model extends this idea, implying laws are socially constructed realities. However, it specifically argues that three factors facilitate the creation of law. They include structural foundations, perceptions of crime and demands for information and punishment, and triggering events. Structural foundations focus on issues such as levels of heterogeneity, inequality, and economic conditions of society, as well as core values and ideological assumptions of people in power that influence views of criminal behavior. Perceptions of crime and demands for information and punishment involve media exposure about allegations surrounding an issue or event. The point is that media exposure has the potential to create an elevated sense of public awareness. Once the public is more attuned to a specific issue, they will demand that government officials do something about it. This involves enforcing laws that already exist or creating new ones if necessary. Triggering events produce an intense demand for action and public policy. They can occur simultaneously including aspects of election year politics, sensationalized crimes, and appellate court decisions. The aforementioned media exposure sets the stage for action, but the triggering events set the legislative process into motion. They create a critical mass between various social structures and their ideologies, prompting a reality construction battle between interest groups (for specific details and examples see Galliher & Cross 1983; Hodges & Ulsperger 2005; McGarrell & Castellano 1991; Ulsperger 2003). In this article, we apply the three core concepts of the integrated conflict perspective, but also focus on a fourth concept, counter-triggering events (see Figure 1). As discussed in earlier articles in this series, counter-triggering events involve law enforcement and academic reports that serve to neutralize conflict surrounding the issue of concern, in this case ritualistic abuse. They promote the repeal of legislation after structural conditions and perceptions of a particular crime change (Hodges 2008; Hodges & Ulsperger 2008).

Figure 1. The Integrative Conflict Model and the McMartin Case



**NOTE: Factors do not have to occur sequentially (see Hodges & Ulsperger 2008)*

METHODS

This research involves content analysis findings based on qualitative, historical phenomenological interpretation of events surrounding ritual abuse law in California. We used a variety of sources to analyze the circumstances revolving around the McMartin case (for a timeline of events see Figure 2). These sources of data range between 1993 and 2004. Based on our previous work concerning ritual abuse law in Idaho (Hodges & Ulsperger 2008), we were aware of several sources on the topic. These included newspaper and magazine articles from the time, peer-review journal articles, and legal documents. The limited number we were familiar with was not adequate. We subsequently carried out several searches through library and Internet search engines such as WorldCat, LexisNexis, ProQuest Direct, and JSTOR using search terms such as "McMartin case" and "California ritual abuse."

For each source found, we then thoroughly examined references discovering even more sources. This

Figure 2. The McMartin Case Timeline

1983	In May, Judy Johnson files a police report aleging that actions related to satanic rituals let to her son Bill being sodomized at McMartin Preschool in Manhattan Beach, California. Ray Buckey and others are charged. By November, mental health professionals diagnose 360 students as sexually abused.
1984	Owners close the McMartin Preschool after 28 years in business. Television reports highlight the massive abuse sacandal and raids take place at several Los Angeles daycare centers. The L.A. Times reports McMartin children were photographed nude. In June, police hold Ray Buckey without bail. Seven McMartin teachers face charges.
1985	Parents dig up the school grounds looking for secret rooms not finding any. Judy Johnson experiences a psychotic episode leading to hospitalization.
1986	Judy Johnson dies from alcohol poisoning before getting to testify. Prosecutors drop charges on all but two defendants. They begin to publicly express doubt.
1989	The courts release Ray Buckey on bail after he spent five years in jail.
1990	A jury acquits Peggy Buckey on all counts. The jury is hung in relation to Ray Buckey. Prosecutors retry him, but the jury is hung again. They decide not to have a third trial.
1991	McMartin Preschool is torn down.
1992	FBI reports problems with satanic abuse claims.
1995	With the support of Senator Newton Russell, California put new ritual abuse laws in place.
1997	The law falls into abeyance as the satanic panic dies down.

process continued until we had what we felt was an exhaustive list of newspaper and magazine articles, peer reviewed journal articles, books, and government documents directly related to the McMartin case.

With our sources, we looked for sentence, paragraph, and page sequences that related to each of our four aspects of the Integrated Conflict Model. As we found examples for each aspect, we held them to the side in order to interpret and formulate our findings. We should emphasize that both researchers read and reread large samples of documents separately in the early phases of the project. We then jointly discussed our perspectives on the categorization. Shared discussions produced a high level of agreement in our categorization process creating a valid level of intercoder reliability. We then applied a deep reading to all of the sources while coding content along the way.

Once we finished coding and classifying issues related to the McMartin case, we each once more reread samples of our literary sources looking for inconsistency in each other's coding. We concluded that our final ideas of structural foundations, public perceptions and demands for punishment, triggering events, and counter-triggering events corresponded with the original sources examined (for more on this process see Hodder 1994).

FINDINGS

The circumstances surrounding the McMartin case provided an ideal blend of ingredients leading to the passage of ritual abuse law in California. The case clearly reveals the importance of structural foundation populations, public perceptions and demands for punishment, triggering events, and counter-triggering events.

Structural Foundations

Structural foundations leading to the passage of California's ritual abuse law involve three main groups, which we label primary, secondary, and tertiary. The primary group involves collectives with traditional Christian belief systems. They frame issues related to child abuse and satanic rituals based on fundamentalist ideas of good and evil. The secondary involves a relatively small body of mental health experts. They frame actions of ritual abuse in terms of psychological theories related to issues such as multiple personality disorder. The third concerns a shift in law enforcement values to occult concerns.

With primary structural groups, from the sources studied for this research, it appears that in the early 1980s, Christian groups across the country started producing a large amount of literature stirring up suspicions of child abuse links to satanic rituals. One group, the New York City Interfaith Coalition of Concern about Cults, copyrighted and distributed to believers a list on the "Ritualistic Cults Methods to Induce Children's Involvement." They encouraged followers to become familiar with the list implying that the use of children in satanic ceremonies was on the rise. In a related move, Reverend Earl Minton of the Christian Catholic Church of Zion issued a manuscript on the topic of *Occultism and Satanism*. It was widely circulated among Christian groups. It aided the growing frenzy linking cults and the abuse of kids (De Young 2004). Ironically, literature produced by a variety of secular outlets, including pornographic magazines, supported the scare associated with ritual abuse claims produced by Christian publications. In 1986, while the McMartin trials were ongoing, a widely publicized article in *Penthouse* implied physical evidence existed to back up the claims of abused children from the preschool (Norris & Potter 1986). As other media reports on the McMartin case did, the graphic descriptions included in the *Penthouse* story fed off of the imagination and fears of the reading public.

With secondary structural groups, anxiety over ritual abuse elevated when mental health experts started providing their expertise through newspaper and television interviews. With the McMartin case, the mental health professional predisposition for some psychologists was to believe in survivor stories. However, at the same time they attribute the effects of ritual abuse experiences to personality disorders, often created by repressed memories discovered through hypnosis and diagnosed in the American Psychiatric Associations Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of mental disorders. Debates surrounding repressed memories are still current today. However, their use in the McMartin case indirectly supported the concerns of Christian fundamentalist populations, while providing scientific reasons and evidence fostering the perception of a true problem that policymakers needed to deal with legally (Eberle & Eberle 1993).

With tertiary groups, it is relevant to note that in the early 1980s, police departments began focusing on occult related crimes like never before. Police publications argued that the rise of occult activity had serious implications for the criminal justice system. Police training started to focus on occult subculture music styles, dressing trends, and occult ideologies. It emphasized that that the public was erroneously failing to perceive occult-based crime related to church desecration, rape, and murder as a serious problem, but it was. Moreover, increased arrests related to these crimes would be necessary (Olson-Raymer 1989).

Public Perceptions and Demands for Information and Punishment

With the previously discussed structural factors in place, the public started to take notice of ritual abuse issues wanting more information and perpetrators to face punishment. As the McMartin case played out, the public witnessed a series of interest group battles on the legitimacy of ritual abuse issues.

Legal scholars questioned the reality of the satanic scare and accounts of young witnesses under the influence of controlling adults. Key to their argument was the point that people were worked up into a satanic frenzy when no courts anywhere had found a satanic cult ritualistically responsible for killing children in the United States (Eberle & Eberle 1993). The public did not buy into legal arguments and the power of groups determined to establish the existence of widespread ritual abuse continued to grow.

Religious and mental health self proclaimed "experts" on Satanism and ritual abuse held seminars on the topic responding to public outcry for more information. Whether these experts were altruistically acting to inform the public, or acting as moral entrepreneurs looking out for their own self-interests, remains a debate.

With religion, consider Mike Warnke. In the wake of the McMartin trials, he was a self-styled ex-high priest of a satanic group who converted to Christianity. His church, Warnke Ministries, held seminars and encouraged participants to purchase tapes and publications that unraveled the dark secrets of Satanism (Warnke 1986). With mental health, people like Brentwood, California, clinical psychologist Catherine Gould elevated their status and made headlines for compiling reports with a checklist of factors the general public could use to establish the presence of satanic ritual abuse (1986). At the same time, reports on ritual abuse claims by mental health professionals created a "halo effect."

The halo effect implies that if a mental health profession produces information related to irrational claims, the public tends to believe the claims must be true (see Hodges & Ulsperger 2005). This is vital to the process of the social construction of ritual abuse law. Mental health experts were the first professional group to give anti-cult groups support from a respected social institution. Moreover, ritual abuse allegations from children fit well with popular multiple personality disorder and repressed memory ideas accepted by the mental health field and the lay public during the time of the Satanism scare (Fredrickson 1992).

Parents of ritually abused children were quick to form groups demanding the government do more about ritual abuse. Consider the group "Believe the Children." Leslie Floberg, who argued people at the McMartin Preschool ritually abused her three-year old son, helped to form the group. She was dissatisfied with the efforts by the local police department and became the president of the 300-member group of parents calling for more government action. Our findings indicate Catherine Gould, the clinical psychologist mentioned earlier, helped Believe the Children create training materials for distribution (Kam 1987; Eberle & Eberle 1993).

Triggering Events

The main triggering events that aided in the passage of California's ritual abuse laws were the existence of the McMartin case and the specific actions of key politicians. The idea of ritual abuse was not a hot topic for California citizens until the McMartin case worked them into delirium. However, we believe California ritual abuse legislation would have never existed without the efforts of Senator Newton Russell.

In 1993, two short years after the McMartin Preschool was demolished and the public still had major concerns on ritual abuse, Russell started crafting legislation to sharpen the punishments associated with child abuse if ritual abuse existed. Despite a lack of proof relating to ritual abuse cases, including the McMartin case, he garnered the support of the Attorney General's office, which created a report on the "realities" of ritual abuse in California. The report indicated the overwhelming support for the legislation by mental health professionals (Sauer 1994). Russell was privy to the public outrage related to the McMartin case and others like it. He capitalized on it and many citizens ended up viewing him as a true crime fighter for pushing through legislation others would not. His bill on ritual abuse made it through the legislature easier than expected. Even those who did not want to acknowledge any legitimacy of ritual abuse claims, such as those in the

McMartin case, seemed to believe that the new law could hurt (Hart 1995). In other words, they took the position of better safe than sorry.

Counter-triggering Events

California's new ritual abuse law was only in place for two years. Lawmakers repealed it in 1997. It did not take long for the fever surrounding ritual abuse and the McMartin case to lose its shine. By 1997, juries acquitted all people accused in the McMartin trials. Court costs associated with the McMartin Preschool extravaganza sucked around $15 million from the California taxpayers pockets. All that the public had was hyperbolic stories of child witnesses never proven. There was a bad taste in citizens' mouths, and trained professionals, who often supported the hype surrounding the satanic scare and McMartin case, were changing their tune (Eberle & Eberle 1993).

Scholars in the medical profession argued members of the mental health profession should have taken a more objective stance on ritual abuse claims. They pointed out that the mental health field wanted to support its ideas associated with repressed memories and personality disorder more than they wanted to discover the truth of what really happened behind the McMartin Preschool's doors. In addition, they argued that psychologists and psychiatrists associated with the case failed to realize the interview techniques used with children should not be the same as those used with adults. Simply put, children, maybe more so than adults, do sometimes make things up and exaggerate details of their everyday lives, especially when interviewers provide suggestive details (see Garven, Wood, Malpass, & Shaw 1998). In other fields, a variety of scholarly pieces on ritual abuse emerged toward the end of the McMartin debacle. These included Richardson, Best, and Bromley's (1991) sociological analysis of the satanic scare and Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (1994) work on moral panics. Recent research includes Noblitt and Noblitt's (2008) work on the legal, psychological, social, and political dynamics of ritual abuse.

Even the criminal justice field scaled back on its firm stance that satanic ritual abuse was an undeniable reality. The most notable information related to this involves Kenneth Lanning's work. He initially bought into the hype of ritual abuse, but after being involved in several high profile cases, he changed his mind. While working for the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Behavioral Sciences Unit, he wrote an updated investigator's guide to satanic ritual killings (1992). In the report, he urged fellow law enforcement to realize that many ritual abuse claims are exaggerated. He argued many of them take away attention from circumstances involving real child abuse. It was a view adopted by many in law enforcement by the late 1990s (De Young 1997).

CONCLUSION

Building on the Integrated Conflict Model of law formation, this analysis examined processes contributing to ritual abuse legislation in the state of California. Backing up our findings in Part I and Part II of this series (Hodges 2008; Hodges & Ulsperger 2008), we found that the social construction of legislation has ties to certain population structures that lay the foundation for new law. We also found that those structural factors facilitated a public demand for information and punishment related to horrific events covered in the media and debated by interest groups. Moreover, this research indicates triggering events, such as the McMartin case and the actions of important political figures can be the tipping points in passage of ritual abuse laws. Our findings build on previous research (Taylor, Walton, & Young 1973; Galliher & Cross 1982, 1983; Cross 1991; McGarrell & Castellano 1991; Ulsperger 2003; Hodges and Ulsperger 2005; Hodges and Ulsperger 2008) because they are one of the first to discuss counter-triggering events. Other work using the Integrative Conflict Model fails to mention the ability of academic and governmental publications in neutralizing the panic associated with scenarios leading to new legislation and leading to the repeal of laws quickly after enactment.

In the future, we believe analysts should use other methods to study the development of ritual abuse law. In addition, they should extend the analysis of law formation and ritual abuse to include events and legislation in countries other than the United States. As De Young (1999) argues, it is possible that moral panics such as those involving perceived satanic abuse reach beyond our borders and influence global trends.

The ritual abuse debate in California is not over. A few years ago, Ellen Lacter, a psychologist and member of the California Association of Play Therapy, argued in a newsletter that the ritual abuse problem is a real issue that citizens still need to accept and do something about. In the newsletter, Lacter states (2002):

> Over the past eight years, I have become increasingly involved in the problem of ritualistic abuse, as a treating psychologist researcher, and victim advocate. I have conducted in-depth interviews with numerous survivors and experts. Reluctantly and with much sadness, I have been forced to recognize this problem as widespread.... My clinical experience, and interviews with many other survivors and experts, indicate that Satanism and witchcraft are the two most common belief systems in North America associated with the perpetration of sexual and physical abuse of children (2002:1).

Will the public listen to the words of people like Lacter and demand that policy makers put new laws in place to deal with a once again overlooked social problem? We will probably have to have another McMartin case to find out.

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ABOUT THE FICS SOCIOLOGICAL PRACTICE

Like the FICS Teaching Sociology, the FICS Sociological Practice is another international journal published electronically in English, with an emphasis on sociological practice. Sociological practice refers to the wide range of roles, practices, functions, and activities in which sociologists are currently engaged. Therefore, the general editor is interested in manuscripts discussing sociologists' experiences at work and their applications of sociological knowledge and understandings. This electronic section will provide a forum in which to present and discuss sociological and interdisciplinary applications of social theories and practices. Contributors should use their full names and institutional affiliations when submitting manuscripts. The editors prefer texts of 10-15 double-spaced pages. Accepted manuscripts will be indexed and abstracted in the usual print journals and bibliographical searching tools, as well as in those specific to electronic media.

"Encouraging Obesity: A Capitalist Pursuit"

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Abstract

This paper examines capitalism as it has influenced the obesity epidemic, largely by determining how fat and not-fat people respond to consumer choices offered by profit-seeking industries and service providers. After a brief address of the social meaning of size and the discrimination faced by fat people, I will describe the goods and services for purchase that both encourage and discourage fatness, all directed toward increased profits. A far more subtle social force encouraging size-related purchases is the normalization of large body size as advanced by the fat-acceptance movement and by a visible increase in the number of fat people in the US and other societies. A paradox is evident in the contradictory social messages brought on by the corporate provision of economically profitable goods and services that encourage obesity, making obesity seem socially acceptable, in contrast to the very real and enduring social barriers encountered by the people-of-size. The conclusion questions the normalization (acceptance) of fat and offers avenues by which the fat majority can influence the economic market.

The study of social aesthetics is an alternative way to consider social inequality. Social aesthetics, as I use the term, refers to the public reaction to physical appearance. This reaction shares much with other forms of social inequality, as seen in classism, racism, and sexism. Indeed, physical appearance overlaps strongly with minority statuses such that women face more stringent expectations for bodily thinness, youth, and beauty than do men and are treated more harshly by the economic and dating-marriage market for failing to live up to socially imposed beauty standards (Wann 1998; Etcoff 1999; Wolf 2002). Likewise, non-whites are compared unfavorably with whites in terms of physical attractiveness and often undergo cosmetic changes to surgically widen Asian eyes and alter the shape of the ethnic nose, whiten dark skin, and straighten hair texture (Kaw 1994; Gilman 1999, 2005; Blum 2003; Edwards et al. 2004; Herring et al. 2004; Hunter 2004). The poor face financial hurdles such as inability to afford dental care and are thus stigmatized for their physical appearance (Hudson, et al. 2007).

Much of the social penalty paid for not being socially-deemed attractive is economic, with those who are plain or unattractive being denied employment as well as access to social networks such as the dating and marriage markets but also educational opportunities, club memberships, and the like (Berry 2007; 2008). Nowhere is this inequality made more visible than in the social treatment of people-of-size (Millman 1980; Rothblum et al. 1990; Bordo 1995; Goodman 1995; Stearns 1997; Roehling 1999; Goldberg 2000; Solovay 2000; Braziel and LeBesco 2001; Freed 2003). The present analysis attends more specifically to the economic exploitation of fat people (the preferred term of the fat-acceptance movement) by corporate profit-seekers.

The purposes of this paper are to raise awareness about a topic that most members of the public may be unaware (size-ism) and to raise questions about the functionality of normalizing obesity. As to the former, there is a growing but still scarce academic address of the social and physical barriers faced by people-of-size such as access to equal opportunities mentioned above as well as actual physical obstacles that disallow access to buildings and modes of transportation. As to the latter, we may question whether normalization (acceptance of obesity) is a good idea, socially and personally speaking, given health concerns and the continuing social barriers faced by fat people.

AMBIGUITY ABOUT SIZE

There are two forms of ambiguity surrounding the social and economic encouragement of obesity. One form of ambiguity is public sentiment, with a large segment of the public, though fat themselves, being repulsed by fat people and fearful of becoming fat(ter). Many recognize that body size is, in large part, genetic and that weight loss is difficult. Yet, there remains the erroneous but strongly-held view that fat is not only aesthetically unappealing, but that fat represents moral weakness, poor character, sheer laziness, and gluttony (Stearns 1997).

A second form of ambiguity is that some profit-makers (such as makers of plus-size clothing) seem to be on the side of fat people while others (such as the pharmaceutical and medical industries) seem to want to reduce obesity through weight loss drugs and surgery (Grady 2000; Solovay 2000; Egan 2002; Erman 2002; Gimlin 2002; ; Kolata et al. 2002; Bellafonte 2003; Pressler 2003a, 2003b; Scheiber 2003; D'Amato 2005; Freudenheim 2005; Tommasini 2005; Revill 2006). On a superficial level, one might think that capitalism encourages size diversity or fills a market-driven need and a profit-making desire since it provides for the sale of large-size items and services to accommodate fat people's needs. But capitalism also encourages size repression since it provides items and services that promise to reduce size and instill shame. Thus, confusingly, we are encouraged to buy fat-related products (plus-size clothing) and services (plus-size resorts), thus allowing us to feel okay about being fat, while, at the same time, we are encouraged to lose weight. Since profit is the motive, it does not matter to the industries and service providers whether weight gain is encouraged or discouraged, since money is made either way. To sum it up, capitalism profits from the sale of seatbelt extenders as well as diet pills. While this is a win-win situation for the profit-seekers (clothing and furniture manufacturers, pharmaceutical corporations, and other entities seeking profit from fat), and much of the public seems to accept such profit-seeking as a matter of economic fact, this win-win profit-seeking nonetheless reflects the ambiguity of the public's feeling about fat. As well summarized by the economist Paul Krugman (2005: 17), "fat is a fiscal issue" since the profit motive determines the size of our bodies and, simultaneously, the goods and services accommodating our increased size.

GLOBALIZED PROFITS

Major influences in globalized obesity are seen in the profits made by food industries exporting their high-fat food to poor countries with populations that are not evolutionarily capable of metabolizing such food, endangering peoples (Micronesians, Mexicans, and others) whose cultural histories cannot accommodate the excess fat in their diets (Shell 2000). An additional influence in globalized obesity is the increase in the sedentary lifestyle, decreased physical activity (by choice and by denial of exercise opportunities such as safe streets), the abundance of high-fat fast food, and restaurant servings of large proportions (Critser 2003; Goode 2003).

At the same time that this pattern of fattening is occurring globally, we find an increase in size-tolerance movements, particularly in the US and Europe, such as the National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance (www.naafa.org), the more localized organizations such as SeaFATtle (www.seafattle.org), and the International Size Acceptance Association (www.size-acceptance.org). In short, there are signs that we encourage increased body size at the same time that we profess alarm about it. At this juncture in time, it may serve the public to recognize the conflicting goals we emit about the growing acceptance and continuing rejection of fat.

THE SOCIAL MEANING OF SIZE AND SIZE-ISM

The fat are a statistical majority, with approximately one-third of the US population being obese and an additional one-third being overweight (Nagourney 2006; www.cdc.gov); yet they are a power minority. Numbers are less important than social power (as measured primarily by economic power and occupational prestige);witness the same phenomenon as applied to women who are a statistical majority while remaining a power minority with less earning power. Gaining social power requires a significant segment of the population, whether they are of the minority (women, fat, non-white, gay, disabled, and so on) category or not, adhering to the notion of equality for all; that is, a major segment of a public must come to view the minority (statistical minority or power minority) as equal.

While the fat-acceptance movement is becoming broadly known as a grassroots force to be reckoned with, while laws are changing to prohibit discrimination against size, and while a growing awareness that fat is not as volitional as long-held, we are stuck with widespread if narrowing prejudice against the fat. The U.S. and other societies have a long history of fat prejudice, as well-documented by Bordo (1995), Stearns (1997), Wann (1998), Roehling (1999), Solovay (2000), Braziel and LeBesco (2001); and Huff (2001). And while it is true that public views on fat have run the gamut from reverence to revulsion, definitions of fat and not-fat have changed over time (per insurance charts, a growing sophistication of medical criteria, etc.) and cross-cultural views on fat vary widely, it is doubtful that the US and most of the world will revert to a time when fatness was seen in a positive light, for instance, as a sign of good health and prosperity.

THINGS TO BUY

The products made available for purchase by fat people include plus-size clothing, plus-size furniture, diet supplements, seatbelt extenders, plus-size caskets, and so on. The services provided to fat people include multiple airline seats, size-friendly resorts, plastic surgery (gastric bypasses, liposuction, and removal of loose skin), and gym memberships (Berry 2005). Food producers deserve a place of their own in the pantheon of fat-marketed products to buy and will be awarded a separate section below.

Of the plus-size clothing offerings, it

would seem a good thing that ample-size clothing is now offered for purchase and that much of this clothing is as chic as smaller-size clothing (Frater 2005). Recent larger-sized clothes offerings are deliberately not drab and not intended to hide the body, and are presently one of the fastest growing segments in apparel (Erman 2002). Plus-size apparel sales have risen about 14 percent compared to 5.6 percent for all women's clothing sales increases (Bellafante 2003).

Bear in mind, however, that plus-size clothing is often offered at a higher cost than smaller-size clothing. Check your mail-order clothing catalogs and you will find that "women's" sizes (sizes 1x-3x) are priced as much as $10 more per item than the identical "misses" sizes. The explanation for the increased charge is that there are more materials involved in the manufacturing of bigger clothes. If that logic were valid, petite and small-sized clothing would cost less than medium-sized clothing. Another indicator of discrimination is the fact that a lot of large-size clothing is nearly always located in separate sections of department stores and often exiled to online shopping, indicating a continuing exclusion from the mainstream shopping experience and an instilled sense of shame for the wearers of such clothes (D'Amato 2005).

We also have available larger hangers upon which to hang our bigger clothes, bigger bedding, office chairs built with heavy-gauge steel and high-tension support, automobiles with extra inches of elbow room in the interiors, and extra-large coffins that can hold up to 700 pounds (Scheiber 2003; Pressler 2003). Another entrepreneurial venture is "size-friendly" resorts. Freedom Paradise, one such resort in Mexico, offers plus-size armless chairs, wide steps with railings in swimming pools, walk-in showers rather than bathtubs, stronger hammocks, and a staff that has been trained to be sensitive to size issues (Chakravorty 2003).

These all seem to be good things, supportive of the reality that fat people exist and have the money to buy the things they need in the sizes they need. And if these products and services cost a bit more, so what? That's economic reality. Well, there is reality and then there is usury. Take the airline industry, for example. Most airlines accommodate fat passengers as well as they can, loaning them seatbelt extenders, moving them to a place on the airplane where there are two seats together to accommodate the larger body (see Frater 2005 for a guide of fat-friendly airlines). But one, Southwest Airlines, has been especially noted for its size-ist policies. Even if a fat person can fit between the armrests, can wrap the seatbelt around the waist, and not lap over into the neighboring seat, the fat passenger may be charged for an extra seat. The decision is arbitrarily made and highly discretionary, suggesting a profit motive (Dilley 2002; British Broadcasting Company 2002; Ellin 2005).

THE FOOD INDUSTRY

A troubling global development refers to the profit motive of food industries as visited not just upon the U.S. but also other cultures. The food that we eat in the U.S. and the food that we export to other cultures is cheaply produced and high in fat content (such as Spam). Such food has caused looming health hazards on our own culture and on cultures that, physiologically, can not handle the change in diet, notably people in transition, such as Micronesians, Native Americans, aboriginal Australians, and Polynesians. Such people are subject to dramatically altered and altering environments regarding food sources and availability, migration patterns, and economic instability (Shell 2001).

Clearly, there is a great deal of money to be made by selling fast food to Asians and importing high-sugar, high-fat food to Micronesians. Better yet, from the profit-motive point of view, we can manufacture food more cheaply by using ingredients (like high fructose corn syrup and palm oil) that are unhealthy to consume and that dangerously increase our body weight, forsaking the traditional and more-expensive-to-produce ingredients like cane sugar and vegetable oil. In the 1970s, food scientists developed a method by which to make a sweetener called high fructose corn syrup (HFCS), made from corn. Importantly, HFCS is six times sweeter than sugar and the cost of producing this HFCS is markedly less than that of ordinary sugar. Moreover, HFCS ensures a long shelf-life, allowing high-caloric junk foods (as found in vending machines) to be kept fresh-tasting for a long time with no need to replace them frequently (thus saving money). Soda companies went from a 50/50 blend of sugar and HFCS to 100 percent HFCS because it's cheaper, never mind that it is health-hazardous, skewing the metabolism toward fat storage (Critser 2003).

Likewise, palm oil, aka "tree lard," unlike vegetable oil, is chemically similar to beef tallow and is a highly saturated fat. It is also incredibly cheap to produce. Palm oil, transformed into a viable commercial fat in the 1970s, is widespread in usage today in the manufacture of convenience and fast foods (French fries, margarine, pastries). As with HFCS, it has the added advantage of keeping products "fresh" for a long time thus ending the need to replenish supermarket shelves and junk food machines. Regardless of the disadvantage for health and size, price was the determinant in palm oil's use: the concern at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, which was thoroughly behind the development of HFCS and palm oil, was "pure farm economics" (Critser 2003: 10-11). The same goes for partially hydrogenated vegetable oils, used in fried food preparation (fried chicken, French fries) and food processing (tortilla chips, margarine, pies, microwave popcorn). Though aware of the health hazards, many restaurants continue to use partially hydrogenated oils (instead of vegetable, canola, and olive oils) as a money-saver: it doesn't spoil and it can be used repeatedly (Johnson 2006).

Another good way to make a buck in the food industry is to increase portion size, variously called "supersizing" or "value marketing." Value marketing became an effective tool to increase sales and profits at fast food and other restaurants and at movie theater which offers huge bags of popcorn at a small price (Critser 2003). Not surprisingly, it was found that if people were offered more food at a low price, they would buy it. So portion sizes increased, prices were lowered, food manufacturers made a lot of money, and people became fatter (Goode 2003).

Public schools rely on profit-oriented food corporations (Pizza Hut, Coca Cola, candy companies, etc.) to provide educational materials (for instance books) in exchange for the opportunity to sell high-fat food in the schools. Due to budget cuts, schools can not afford basic needs, like books. Enter McDonalds and other purveyors of high-fat foods, risking school children's health in exchange for profit (Critser 2003).

SECONDARY SERVICES AND PRODUCTS

By-products or products that are purchased *for* fat people include plus-size medical equipment (stretchers, blood pressure cuffs, and mobile toilets that do not collapse under the weight of large bodies). For example, medical equipment manufacturers have super-sized stretchers, with thick aluminum frames, bulkier connectors and extra spine supports to create stretchers with a capacity of 650 pounds (Associated Press 2003). These secondary fat-relevant products are manufactured for purchase by those who are involved with fat people in some service-provider way; thus, these goods and services are purchased by individuals and organizations targeting services toward fat people.

Residential diet programs are an excellent example of secondary services and products for sale to fat people. Durham, North Carolina is the diet capital of the world, the hometown of the Rice Diet, the Duke Diet, and Structure House. These diet programs themselves are quite expensive, as witnessed by Jean Renfro Anspaugh's intriguing ethnography of her experience at the Rice House (Anspaugh 2001). But the diet programs are just the starting point for the money to be made in local Durham. Dieters in Durham pump more than $51 million per year into the local economy. The secondary spending, beyond the diet center fees, includes new sneakers (when the dieters' feet shrink), new eyeglasses (when their diabetes and thus their vision improves), to plastic surgery (when their bodies shrink and the excess skin is removed). Plastic surgery alone can cost $25,000 for skin removal. Plus, the dieters pay rent, set up temporary workplaces, and some purchase permanent housing (Saul 2005).

MEDICAL AND PHARMACEUTICAL PROFITS

Some fat people are willing to undergo fat-reduction treatment in the form of diet pill prescriptions and fat-reducing surgeries (gastric bypasses, liposuction, plastic surgery to remove the abdominal "apron" and other loose skin after weight loss, etc.; see, for example, Kuczynski 2006). Another high-profit treatment is the inpatient weight reduction programs requiring long-term hospitalization for "drastic" weight loss, to reduce hundreds of pounds.

Pharmaceutical companies, never known for their altruism, develop diet "remedies" to presumably aid in weight loss as well as "treatments" for fat-related medical symptoms (diabetes, for instance). To wax draconian, if there is money to be made in the treatment of diabetes and other fat-related illnesses, it seems reasonable that the industry would not want to ruin a good thing and actually reduce the fat. Weight loss programs, pharmaceutical "remedies" for obesity, and weight-loss surgery in the name of health care, even if undertaken with the best health-care intentions, are profitable pursuits. Given that these regimens often are ineffective, perhaps because they are not accompanied by behavioral or lifestyle changes or because of genetic predisposition, one must question how different they are from obviously bogus treatments such as diet supplements and fat-reducing belts as advertised on television.

CONCLUSION

Fat is an aesthetics and moral issue, as well as a health issue, with fat still being seen as socially repellent, physically unattractive, and as a personal matter of self-discipline. If we come to see fat as merely a physical "difference," we can then come to better grips with capitalism's influence on body size.

Normalization

"Normalization" is a phenomenon relevant to, though not exactly the same as, equality. We are coming to view the fat, by virtue of their numbers, as average or normal. Fat people are, in fact, average and normal, numerically-speaking and as measured by national studies but not in the manner in which size plays out in everyday social life. Fat people are marginalized in real and subtle ways by virtue of physical barriers and social barriers.

Fat children are increasingly seen as common, and, while their size and accompanying illnesses are not accepted by the medical community, they are increasingly accepted as such by broader society as common if not admired (Weil 2005). As to public opinion about the preponderance of fat people in the population, the Pew Research Center reports that nine out of ten Americans believe that their fellow Americans are fat. Amusingly, only four of ten of these same respondents believe themselves to be fat, which defies logic since they view 90 percent of everybody else as fat. One might infer from these figures that those who do not count themselves as fat, assuming that they really are fat, realize that they are not supermodels but are unconcerned with their weight (Nagourney 2006).

As judged by the capitalist market support for increased body size, as I have described herein, we may conclude that fat and not-fat members of society are coming to view fat as the norm; or that fat people view themselves as normal relative to others. We find that a greater number of fat people are not viewing themselves as unusual, as they look around and find themselves surrounded by other fat people. Moreover, they see no reason to alter their appearance because they are "normal" (Stenson 2005). All the better for marketers since they can profit from all these newly-normal people. If fat people see no need to buy gym equipment and low-fat food, they can easily convert their purchasing power to buying sedentary entertainment devices (like TVs), order in high-fat pizza, while wearing plus-size sweats. None of this is to say that being fat is "okay" or not okay. It is to say that being fat is common and thus catered to as a source of profit.

Fat Consumers: A Grand New Market

Given that fat people comprise a majority of the US population, they are not a niche market (Erman 2002; Chakravorty 2003; Pressler 2003b). Thus, in true market-forces tradition, recognizing that fat people need the same things as thin people do, a huge market has opened up. As a result, we have a demand for fat-relevant products and services and this demand has joyously been met by manufacturers, retailers, and service providers. Naturally, businesses supply plus-size items such as larger towels, larger beds, larger clothes, larger clothes hangers, larger jewelry, larger furniture, larger coffins, seatbelt extenders, larger umbrellas, scales that can weigh up to 1000 pounds,and workout videotapes for fat people.

While some might say that we need a solution to fatness, we have instead entrepreneurs making money from fatness. And that is not necessarily inappropriate. Recognizing fat people's needs and desires as legitimate is evident in this economic movement to meet those needs. I would propose, however, that we extend this recognition beyond material needs.

The fat-acceptance movement has already begun to make clear to various industries, via grassroots activities, that people-of-size are in the majority and they do make consumer choices; the wise manufacturers, advertisers and service providers have responded to this important marketing fact. It would be helpful if we could clarify our stance on fat and rid ourselves, as a society, of our ambiguity about fat acceptability. In a way, the capitalist support for fatness supports the notion that fat is an acceptable or even a good thing, requiring size-friendly products and services. Yet, we as a society retain negative views of fat as a bad thing, a health hazard, an aesthetic stigmata, and a sign of personal weakness. The more tangible evidence, though, are the fat-relevant goods and services newly provided. Intentional or not, this profit-seeking activity may be working toward size acceptance.

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Teaching Dversity: The Impact Of Race And Gender On Our Experiences As Educators

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Abstract

To date, little attention has been given to the ways in which college-level instructors' gender, class, race, and ethnicity impact their experiences as educators. While some authors have acknowledged the impact of their location within this matrix of identities, both upon the subjects they choose to teach as well as upon the ways in which students respond to them, this is still an aspect of tertiary education that is rarely explored in pedagogical training or when decisions regarding tenure and promotion are made. Drawing upon the experiences of two college professors who share different demographic characteristics and life experiences and who teach an array of courses at a large Midwestern university, this manuscript explores the ways in which an individual's identity impacts what they choose to teach, how they teach, and how students respond to them. Implications for instructors as well as for administrators within institutions of higher learning are discussed.

Gender, class, and race all have significant implications for human experience, including the experience of college-level teaching. Collins (2000) first introduced the notion of intersectionality and the ways in which individuals' location within the matrix of race, class, and gender impacts not only their experiences, but also their value systems. In relation to teaching, this intersectionality impacts what is taught, how it is taught, and students' reactions towards both the instructor and the material. However, in spite of the significance of such factors as race and gender to teaching and students' experiences, this is an aspect of tertiary education that is rarely fully explored.

Notably, these factors have been extensively discussed in the literature regarding secondary education. Extant literature has emphasized both the impact of teachers' race and ethnicity upon their experience of themselves as authority figures and educators, as well as the ways in which students' race, social class, and ethnicity impacts their experiences within the school system and their interactions with teachers (e.g. 2008; Drudy, 2008; Mogadime, 2008; Morris, 2005; Dee, 2004; Mehan, Hubbard, & Villanueva, 1994). A review of this literature thus strongly suggests two important topics that must be acknowledged and discussed: 1) that an educator's location within the matrix of intersecting identities has significant implications for their own experience of teaching, and 2) this matrix has implications for how students concurrently react to teachers.

In contrast, at the tertiary level, the impact of diversity and identity upon teaching is often explored from a singular and utilitarian perspective. In this case, the importance of having students enrolled in programs where they are trained to work with people (e.g., teaching and counseling) become familiar with the realities of intersecting identities whereby related experiences of privilege and discrimination are emphasized. Students in such programs may be actively encouraged to explore these issues and to confront their own understanding of diversity and the nature of social power and privilege in order to ensure that they are best prepared to interact with individuals of diverse backgrounds, identities, orientations, and attitudes (e.g., Au & Blake, 2003; Jewiss & Clark-Keefe, 2007; Williams & McBain, 2006). Incongruously, rarely is the impact of the instructor's race, class, and gender on teaching explored.

Even so, some acknowledge that this lack of awareness is problematic. As such, educators acknowledge that they struggle not only with students' resistance to modifying their stereotypical or discriminatory beliefs, but also that students' indiscriminate statements may be difficult for others who are of minority heritage or disempowered genders to hear and/or respond to. This may consequently have a negative impact upon student participation and on the classroom atmosphere (e.g., Allen, Floyd-Thomas, & Gillman, 2001; Housee, 2008; Tummala-Narra, 2009). Additionally, in at least one known case, authors report that a reflexive classroom environment resulted in students' backlash against them as instructors (Allen, Floyd-Thomas, & Gillman, 2001). Of most importance, in each of these cases an examination of the instructor's location in the matrix of identities is neglected.

It is, however, important that we acknowledge that there exist some authors who discuss the impact of race, gender, and ethnicity on their university-level teaching; nevertheless, this focus is limited to a handful of known publications (e.g., Skerrett, 2006; Segal & Martinez, 2006). In both cases the authors focus on the role that their location within the matrix of intersecting identities plays in the material that they teach as well as their experience as educators (e.g., their experiences as individuals of color and/or women has impacted their perceptions of the world and thus their approach to teaching as well as the material that they teach). Skerrett (2006), in particular, discusses students' sometimes-negative reaction to her as an educator of color. These authors thus eloquently illustrate the significance of taking into consideration the impact of race, gender, and class upon instructors' experiences while making recommendations for others to follow.

This literature on the intersectionality of race, class, and gender is significantly limited in size. Hence, in this paper we seek to further contribute to the discussion on the impact of the matrix of identities on our experiences as educators within a particular socio-cultural context. Drawing upon our experience as educators, we argue that our location within the matrix of identities significantly impacts not only what we teach, but also how we teach. We additionally discuss the ways in which students respond to us as well as the content that we teach. We integrate the foci of the various literatures cited above, and we argue that, at the tertiary level, an understanding of who we are as individuals cannot be divorced from what we do within and outside of the classroom.

We end with recommendations for other young (or not so young) scholars as well as administrators. These recommendations are intended to assist others in dealing with the realities of teaching within a context where evaluations of teaching have significant implications for promotion, tenure, raises, etc.

DEACON'S EXPERIENCES:

Being A Gendered Professor

As a woman who teaches college-level classes on gender, race, class, and social change, I find myself compelled to include a focus on intersecting forms of oppression and privilege. However, I am also faced with the awareness of the fact that I am not conveying this information to my students in a vacuum. Everything I choose to teach them is influenced by my personal value system and is closely tied to my own racial and ethnic identity, heritage, personal history, and socio-economic status. Similarly, students' understanding of and response to this material and my presentation thereof is deeply impacted by their location within this intersecting matrix of identities. Thus, as a scholar and teacher I find it necessary to be reflexive not only as a researcher, but also as an instructor. I believe that this is especially salient when teaching classes that include a focus on gender and other identities and forms of oppression.

Who I Am And What I Teach.

As a relatively young, White, immigrant woman who moved to the United States from South Africa, a country with a notorious history of racial inequality and oppression, I find myself uniquely positioned and relative to this subject matter. As a heterosexual woman I am similarly influenced by those times when I have borne witness to the blatantly unfair treatment to which close friends and relatives who just happen to be gay and lesbian have been subjected as they seek to start families and to live out their lives. Finally, I am the product of a left wing, South African undergraduate institution and a graduate training program in community psychology that has allowed me to better understand the structural inequalities that are part and parcel of almost all societies. As a result, I believe that, as an educator, one of my responsibilities is to help my students understand privilege, oppression, the reality of relationships of power, and the consequences of disempowerment. My hope is, idealized, as this may seem, that this is one way in which I can bring some small measure of change to the world.

Who I Am And How I Teach.

However, as I alluded to earlier, I find that this process is neither straightforward nor simple. As a relatively young professor, I have struggled to gain confidence when faced with students not much younger than myself, and at times, older than I am. This, combined with the fact that I am a woman often seems to render it even more important that I establish upfront my legitimacy in the eyes of my students. I have encountered more than one, usually male, student who believes it acceptable to speak to me or act towards me in a way that I do not believe they would if I were a white male instructor. This is always subtle, and the feelings associated with these experiences are always of mild discomfort and the strong sense that this is not okay (feelings that most women are very familiar with). At first I thought that I was simply imagining these slights, but I have since spoken with other female faculty whom have reported similar experiences. This renders it especially important and yet more challenging to establish myself as a legitimate yet approachable authority right from the start.

In these regards, I am a work in progress. I draw upon examples of strong women whom I have known in academia and attempt to model myself after them. As a result, I find that every time I teach I am more confident and more able to project the kind of image that I would like my students to have of me. I am learning to remain friendly but to also be a figure of authority. In short, I am learning to be aware of myself and the way my students see me. This approach seems to be bearing fruit as I find that my students are responding to me differently and more positively.

I also often find it complicated to discuss in my class different forms of oppression to which I am clearly not subjected myself. In fact, I obviously am the recipient of race, class, etc. privilege. This renders it imperative that I approach these topics with respect for what I do not know about the experience of oppression. For example, as a White person discussing the experience of racial oppression, I struggle to feel authentic. I will often frame these discussions by acknowledging my race privilege and owning my own place in the system of oppression. I will also tell students, up front, that I clearly have no experience of racial discrimination, but I can draw upon my experience as a woman and as someone who has more than once been an outsider and a member of an obvious minority in a foreign land to attempt to make sense of this form of discrimination. However, I still struggle to feel comfortable and to ensure that my students are comfortable with this discussion as well. This is rendered even more difficult by the fact that I am an instructor at a predominantly white institution of higher learning. I thus often have very few students of color in my class, and it is a difficult dance to not make these students feel singled out by the discussion or to put them in a position where they feel compelled to speak for all members of their race or ethnic group. Thus far, my only solution to this situation is to make eye contact with all students in my class, to fully engage all students in the discussion, no matter what their race, and to continue to acknowledge the diverse ways in which individuals experience discrimination, oppression, and privilege.

Finally, the fact that the institution of higher learning at which I teach is located in a rather conservative part of the country also has important implications for how I teach and what I teach. As much as possible, I attempt to model for my students not only respect for others, but an awareness of the lens through which I see the world. My hope is that this will influence the ways in which they interact with one another. However, it is not uncommon to encounter students who are open and honest about the fact that they do not respect LGBT people or that they believe a woman's place is certainly in the kitchen and not the boardroom. I have also heard from colleagues that students have accused me of being feminist (in a context where feminist is somewhat of a swearword) or have cast doubt upon my sexual orientation (revealing deeply entrenched heterosexism and homophobia). The topics that I choose to tackle as an instructor thus open me up to criticism and sometimes attacks by students that range beyond a focus on my ability as a teacher.

Who I Am And How Students React To Me.

Students' reactions to the classes that I teach represent a triumph as well as a challenge on multiple levels. In addition to the challenge of the subject matter itself, I am challenged by students' reactions. I have learned to not care as much about personal attacks students may make upon me; however, it is never easy to respond to students' expressions of racist, classist, sexist, and homophobic beliefs. In my teaching I attempt to show them a different way of thinking, and when made in a public forum, I challenge their discriminatory statements. However, there has been at least one instance where I invited students to write honestly about their beliefs, never guessing what some of them would write. In this context, where I promised no judgment, it is very difficult to have to turn a blind eye to some of what students have to say. This warranted a significant amount of self-examination, and I had to make a decision about what my role as an instructor should be. I decided to honor what I had told my students and to find other ways in which to attempt to get them to see the world in a different light. I also sometimes find it difficult to challenge students' beliefs without necessarily making them angry and hostile; my fear is that if they become hostile they will simply shut down. However, it is not always possible to challenge discriminatory beliefs without making students feel angry. This may be counterproductive, but the hope is that not everyone will shut down and that some will question the facts behind their statements and beliefs.

Thankfully, in my experience thus far, students with negative reactions to topics related to gender and its intersections with other forms of oppression are in the minority. More often than not I have had the privilege of being approached by a young person who wants to share with me the fact that they feel more able to navigate their own way through the world and to feel empowered in the face of oppression. I am additionally heartened by those students who are excited to discover that there are other ways of looking at the world as well as those who are now more aware of issues of race, class and gender. This has made my job easier, but I always wish that someone had told me up front how difficult this would be.

Who I Am And How I Become More Effective As A Teacher.

At the end of the day I have learned to become increasingly reflexive in my teaching, and I strive to encourage similar reflexivity in my students. I believe that who I am cannot be divorced from what and how I teach. Similarly, I believe that if students are encouraged to become more reflexive, they may become more open to challenging their own beliefs.

BERT'S EXPERIENCES:

I am a 31-year old, married, biracial (of Black and White heritage), female Assistant Professor at a Midwestern university enjoying my third year of teaching at the collegiate level. As a "military brat" raised on Air Force bases around the country, I was exposed to, and interacted with, various races and cultures throughout my childhood. Looking back, I cannot remember a time while being reared in such diverse cultural environments, that I was made aware of and/or ostracized *personally* because of my race. However, there were little hints here and there that the racial composition of my parents was viewed as problematic by others (e.g., a burning cross in our front yard; no form of contact with my White father's immediate family; or the racist comments graffitied across our car when we returned home from vacation one summer). Despite these horrible acts of discrimination, I grew up in a supportive and caring environment in which my parents instilled in me pride for who I was and made to believe that if I worked hard, I could be and do amazing things. I know now that my parents played an important role in "shielding" me from the hatred people had towards interracial marriage and its offspring in the late 1970's and 1980's. As a consequence, I was naïve and truly believed that my minority heritage played *no* role in determining how others perceived and interacted with me.

It was not until I enrolled in graduate school that I was made aware of my "Blackness." During my 4-year graduate career at a predominately upper-class White institution I represented one of only three graduate students of color within the Psychology Department (1 Biracial, 1 Asian, and 1 Latina). During the first week of class a colleague informed me that I was the "token Black girl" who was admitted to the program because of Affirmative Action, not based on my abilities. It was the first time in my life that I was forced to acknowledge my race and the baggage it carries. Even though the majority of us were having a hard time transitioning to graduate school, it was subtly suggested to me through interactions with both faculty and peers, that black students did not have the wherewithal to succeed in a graduate program (Hooks, 2000). Determined not to quit, I felt as if I had to prove them wrong on behalf of current and future students of color. I dedicated myself to successfully completing the combined Masters and Doctorate Developmental Psychology program in 4 years, making better scores on exams and papers than my colleagues, conducting exceptional research in multiple areas, and oh yeah, along the way obtain a minor in Quantitative Statistics. I realized what it meant for a person of color to have to work twice as hard to achieve an equal status with majority-raced colleagues. This lesson resides within me today as a tenure-track Assistant Professor and impacts the ways in which I teach my courses, conduct research, and interact with both students and colleagues.

As a person of minority heritage, I am astutely aware of the fact that for many students my race precedes my training and credentials as a professor. Depending on the type of course I am teaching, this fact can either serve to hinder or assist student's trust in my ability to teach. I have noticed that students more quickly share, participate in class discussions, and ask questions about the lecture material when I teach courses related to race, culture, and gender issues. As a "Black" professor, I innately have the credentials necessary to teach these types of courses and therefore I am an authentic source of information. Whereas, class participation begins as nonexistent at first and then steadily increases in my courses on Human Development and Research Methods as students gain respect in my abilities and become more comfortable interacting with me as a source of authority. Hooks (1989) mentions that more recent hiring practices have resulted in more Black professors teaching at predominantly white universities; however, our presence only moderately mediates the racism and sexism on campus. I have come to expect that when I teach these types of classes, some students test me out on a "trial basis" in which I am given the opportunity to demonstrate my knowledge of the subject and my ability to teach. Moreover, as I teach Statistics and Methods courses, the fact that I am biracial becomes more confounded by the fact that I am female teaching a course generally taught by white men.

Through research, and extensive academic training and certifications, I have become an expert on the subject matters that I teach. Through mentorships, teaching assistantships, conference presentations, teaching workshops, and seminars on teaching, I have been given ample opportunities to practice and improve upon my pedagogical techniques and abilities. Despite all these accomplishments, upon entering a classroom for the first time, I still must "prove" myself to several students because of the color of my skin, gender, and/or possibly my age (i.e., at times I can pass for someone in their mid twenties). I have had students who refused to talk in class and/or inappropriately drilled me with questions throughout the lecture to determine whether I was a creditable source of knowledge. It is interesting to me that for the subjects that I am most certified to teach (through my Doctorate) I tend to feel self-conscious of my abilities. However, I have never myself, nor have students, questioned my authenticity or creditability as a source of information in my courses on race and identity issues, courses I have less "academic" creditability to teach.

My most recent negative experience with a graduate student stemmed from the combination of what I believe was my race, gender, age (or lack thereof in her eyes), and feminist perspective. At the conclusion of a graduate seminar I taught on Psychosocial Development, this particular student turned in a hand-written letter addressed to my Department Chair stating over 20 reasons she felt that I was "unfit" to teach at the graduate-level. The student had also provided examples of statements (taken out of context) that I had made in class lectures, as well as with students on a one-on-one basis making it clear to me and the Chair that she had been critically observing and analyzing my behavior from the first day of class. Statements ranged from accusing me of displaying favoritism towards black students to my unprofessional "giddy" manner. Every aspect of my being, except for the quality of my lecture material and ability to convey this information, was critiqued.

Due to the amount of time and effort I had invested into preparing and teaching the course, I was devastated to read the first and only negative evaluation of myself. I felt blind-sided because at no point during the course did I ever get the sense that this particular student was not enjoying the course. She did not engage in the traditional challenging behaviors that I have come to expect and feel comfortable in handling. She did not show her discomfort with me in her mannerisms and in fact received one of the highest grades in the course because of her ability to convey course material in her writings and class presentation. A colleague of mine gave me sound advice, "Go read the teacher evaluations and see how others viewed you. Do not let this one student's opinion determine your worth. If you do, she has succeeded in what she set out to do." Taking this sound advice, it became obvious to me that the problem was not within me, but the student herself. Every other evaluation was positive and highlighted the positive aspects of my pedagogy and interactions with students. Reading the evaluations was therapeutic and reminded me of why I teach on a daily basis, to instill in others the love I have for learning and knowledge.

On the other end of the spectrum are the few students of color, particularly blacks, (i.e., there are generally 2-3 minority students in each of my courses) who have taken my classes and stood out because of their class participation and quality of work. I have come to notice that in every course that I teach, the majority of students of color sit within the front two rows, meet with me to ask questions before and after lectures (even stopping by my office during non-office hour times), fully participate in class discussions, and usually ask me to write recommendation letters on their behalf. I have even had several students ask me to serve as their mentor and/or aid them in the process of applying to graduate school. It is important also that I mention that many non-minority students have participated in these same behaviors.

At times I find myself wondering if these particular students are showing respect to me as a professor of color or do they feel the need to work twice as hard, as I had felt when I was in graduate school. In actuality, it could be a combination of the two reasons. Either way, I am honored that I am in a position to assist students of color in their quest to achieve a higher education. I am a tangible example to them of what is possible for a person of minority heritage when we set goals for ourselves and put in the necessary work to achieve them.

As a result of my experiences to date (who I am, what I research, and where I am from), I have an awareness of issues of race, class, and gender issues. The one thing that I can suggest to teachers who may be experiencing what I experience on a daily basis is...to be honest with yourself and your students. I begin each new class with an introduction of myself that includes a listing of my academic training and research interest. Students can then decide for themselves whether I am a credible (authentic) source of information. I am not naïve to the fact that my race colors (both good and bad) how my students perceive me; however, I do not let this influence my teaching. No matter what subject I am teaching, I challenge myself to: (1) provide a stimulating learning environment, (2) develop an interest among students for life-long learning, (3) support students displaying difficulty, and (4) reach those less motivated to learn.

Conclusion And Lessons Learned

Both of our experiences as educators have been significantly influenced by our location within the matrix of intersecting identities. This is true not only for what we teach and how we teach, but also for the ways in which our students respond to us. Martin (2003) argues that academia is still an inherently masculine domain, and that this has significant implications for women's experiences. In this manuscript, we have chosen to focus on our experiences as teachers. Admittedly, this is only one part of what we do as academics, however, it is an important aspect of our work that requires a thoughtful approach. We believe that in highlighting and discussing the ways in which our locations within the matrix of identities (which includes our gender) impacts our experiences as well as that of our students, we will become part of a larger dialogue about ways to both improve our teaching as well as to alter the ways in which institutions of higher learning approach teaching and the evaluation of teaching. To this end, we have distilled some lessons learned from our experiences.

Lessons Learned For Instructors

(1) Anticipate the fact that including a focus on race, class, and gender in your teaching may raise questions in your own mind about your identity, your access to privilege, etc., and these may be uncomfortable and difficult to deal with. You may need to confront aspects of yourself that you have never dealt with before. For some, this may be difficult.

(2)Anticipate that students' perceptions of you as an "authentic" source of information will be significantly influenced by your race, gender, etc. and anticipate the challenges that come along with this. This may require that, for example, female faculty and/or faculty of color work extra hard to "prove" themselves to their students or may mean that these faculty members are treated with greater disrespect by students. These may be difficult realities to face and overcome. Women and/or people of color may have to do more upfront to "neutralize" students' reactions and to establish themselves as a credible source of information.

(3) Anticipate the out-of-classroom consequences that your location within the intersecting matrix of identities and/or the material you choose to teach may have for you as an instructor. For example, students may unfairly target you for complaints and/or negative teaching evaluations. If you are housed within an institution in which such complaints and/or evaluations carry significant weight or an institution that is particularly unsympathetic to the nuances of race, gender, etc., this may have negative implications for your progression towards tenure and promotion.

(4) Be reflexive in your teaching. An awareness of your own location within the intersecting matrix of identities will not only make you a better teacher, but will also allow you to better handle the challenges inherent in teaching. Your own reflexivity will also allow you to help your students become more reflexive as well. Such reflexivity may assist students to shed their own racist, sexist, etc. points of view.

(5) As much as is possible, draw upon a supportive network of colleagues who are able to share with you advice and support.

(6) Focus on the positive impact that you have on students. Those students whose lives you change

may not be as vocal as the ones who are resistant to your teaching, but this does not mitigate the significance of such an impact.

Lessons Learned For Institutions Of Higher Education.

(1) Institutions of higher education should alter both how graduate students are prepared for future careers in academia as well as the ways in which instructional faculty are prepared, evaluated, etc.

(2) Graduate schools should prepare students for the challenges they may face as a result of their location within the intersecting matrix of identities. Many graduate schools offer opportunities to students to improve their teaching, however, rarely are the realities of the challenges they may face as a result of factors such as their race, gender, and/or topic of instruction addressed. This leaves many students unprepared when they first encounter these kinds of challenges.

(3) Institutions of higher education frequently provide opportunities for instructional faculty to learn from their peers and to develop their teaching skills. These opportunities are often focused on topics such as developing better online classes, engaging students in classroom discussion, small-group learning, and dealing with difficult students. Rarely, if ever, do these opportunities for learning and support focus upon the realities faced by women, instructors of color, disabled instructors, etc. or on the impact that class topics may have upon students and instructors. Individuals who face challenges in their teaching that result from their location within the intersecting matrix of identities and/or topic of teaching thus have to surreptitiously seek out others who have similar experiences in order to obtain support or may have to forego peer support in this regard.

(4) Institutions of higher learning should take into consideration the realities of identity in the classroom and the impact that a focus on teaching social justice may have on the ways in which students respond to instructors. Such factors should be considered when teacher evaluations and other related factors are considered during tenure and promotion decisions.

CONCLUSION

While the faculty at institutions of higher education is becoming increasingly diverse and a focus on social justice is increasingly included in college curricula, discussions of instructors' identity and/or topic-related experiences are largely absent from the literature. It is still the case that these issues are rarely openly discussed and taken into consideration. In this paper we hope to contribute to this nascent dialogue and to emphasize the importance of both being reflexive in our teaching as well as being aware of the impact that who we are has for how and what we teach.

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Finding an Authentic Filipina Identity in the United States

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Abstract

This paper chronicles and examines the first person narrative of a foreign-born Filipina American's attempt to find an authentic identity in the United States. This essay contributes to the literature on transnational Filipino families by looking more deeply into identity issues faced by one of the authors (Hess) as she reflects back on her migration as a Filipina teenager to the United States. Hess's narrative is discussed in terms of class and racial dynamics and the emotional impact of transnationalism for Filipina/o youth, with special emphasis on mother-daughter dynamics. Some fundamental adjustments that are featured from Hess's personal experience include psychological processes of self-differentiation; separation from key family members; accommodating social change from a collectivist to an individualist pattern; and managing cultural displacement and gender role expectations. By viewing the complexities of identity through one woman's eyes, a nuanced and more intimate view of identity issues during migration emerges and thereby this essay may enhance empathy and understanding for other women in similar circumstances.

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Immigrants of Philippine descent who come to the United States routinely adapt to new personal and cultural challenges while trying to preserve some part of their original sense of identity (Picart 2004; Strobel 1997). Basic existential questions can be expected as this migratory transition occurs: How can I be true to myself on a psychological, familial and social level? How do I balance and accommodate my place of origin and my new home and national identity? What part of me must I leave behind and what do I bring with me to sustain my integrity? How do I embrace new cultural phenomena as I sustain my development and create my future? How do I manage oppressive forces, both from my past and within my present world? Who am I now as I distance from my childhood roots and evolve from being a stranger in a foreign land to being at home in a new world?

METHODOLOGY AND PERSPECTIVE

In this essay, selected themes and first-person statements from an oral presentation given by one of the authors (Donabelle Hess) will highlight some of the experiences and inside perspectives gained as she moved from the Philippines to the United States as a teenager with a single mom, leaving her estranged father and siblings behind. This single-subject study, while limited to one person's perspective, allows for a more detailed telling of a story. As such, Hess's narrative contributes to other literature on qualitative research on the lives and emotions of Filipino youth and young adults (Espiritu 2003; Furman, Kelly and Nelson 2005; Lee 1991; Siegel 1999; Strobel 1997).

The story is told now, years later, from Hess's point of view as a Filipina woman who is in the midst of her doctoral education in the social sciences, with the interactive feedback from the second author (Tim Davidson), one of Hess's professors when she completed her Master's degree. One of the challenges of this joint authorship revolves around telling the story-Hess's story-within an academic context, with a white male co-author with the privileges of gender, race, and institutional influence while striving for the authenticity of the first-person narrative from a woman of color. To achieve this objective, the authors initially discussed the storyline, wrote separately, edited each other's contributions and achieved consensus on the meanings of the script, with the first author maintaining final right of approval. The narrative, itself, is the original reflection of the first author, with only minor editorial adjustments. We tried to be conscious of and to transcend traditional dynamics of power and privilege that are embedded in our relationship as co-authors based on our differing roles and backgrounds.

Another unique dimension of this study involves the first author telling her story (a snap shot, more personal account of things) and then later on, examining the story from the vantage point of a social scientist (more of a longitudinal, reflective account). The first-person narrative to follow was presented by Hess at the Filipino American National Historical Society (FANHS) 11th Biennial National Conference in 2006. Now, in this writing, the narrator has also become her own analyst, with the new hermeneutic caught up in both the original impressions of childhood and adolescence and subsequent culturally-influenced reflections as a formally-educated young adult. The first person observer is observed by herself (and co-author); such a methodology of case study adds to the layered understandings typical of phenomenological analysis, wherein the valued first-person expression is followed by further reflection and analytic keys that emerge from the lived experience (Schutz 1967:71-83).

There also is a compelling sub-theme in this essay regarding the first author's reality of ongoing identity-negotiation, even as the script for this essay has been written and revised. In the words of Furman, Kelly and Nelson, Hess illustrates someone who is "betwixt and between" her legacy and her destiny, and like many other people of diasporas, where "ethnic or linguistic mixing" is common, her personal identity is predicated on continuous, emergent "complex cultural blendings" (2005:43). An important part of the first-person narrative in this study, for example, involves the close relationship between Hess and her mother. Since telling her story in 2006, Hess now is not only the daughter to her mother but also is a mother herself, experiencing a unique close relationship with her own daughter. The "complex blendings" of cultural identities that will emerge as first, second and third generation females of Filipina heritage live their lives is certainly likely to give truth to the point that "We are engaged in a continual process of identity construction and character formation involving each of us alone and in relationship to others." (Furman et al. 2005:120).

ORIGINAL FIRST-PERSON NARRATIVE

The excerpts that follow are from Hess's oral presentation in 2006 at FANHS and provide the basis for the discussion that ensues. Even though all of the material of this narrative will not be distilled, the script is presented in its original, relatively-unmodified format because it represents, after thoughtful consideration, Hess's first public declaration of her attempt to define her identity as a Filipina woman in the United States.

(1) Early Challenges To My Cultural Identity:

> *America is known to many as the land of endless opportunities and the nation of multicultural diversity. Many, perhaps most, immigrants have moved to this country in search of the "American dream." My family is no different. My family immigrated to America from the Philippines in search of a better life. Nonetheless, the struggle for a better life in a country other than your own can be quite difficult.*
>
> *Many immigrants who come to this land are faced with the challenges of conforming to the dominant culture while upholding their own. Efforts to assimilate to the dominant culture at the same time as maintaining one's traditional values and customs can be quite difficult. Many immigrants, who strive to integrate both cultures, do not feel they belong with either. Stereotypical assumptions, gender discrimination, cultural conflict, class differentiation, and socioeconomic battles are part of the struggle of belonging. Faced by emotional, social, and psychological difficulties foreign-born Americans often struggle to find their sense of cultural identity.*
>
> *I am no different – I am a foreign-born American who moved to this country in the beginning of my adolescent life. My struggle to conform to my host society and the maintenance of my traditional Filipino values is the core of my journey to the discovery of my sense of self.*

(2) An Irreconcilable Family Conflict Between My Mother And Father:

> *My mother came from a destitute family and lived in the probinsiya. She grew up in a world of hardship, enduring the life of oppression, sexism, and classism. My father[1], who came from a prominent and affluent family, married my mother despite his family's wishes.*
>
> *The disparate backgrounds of my mother and father made seeing eye-to-eye a struggle. My father's wealthier and arrogant upbringing cultivated a sense of superiority and gender discrimination. Because of the class differences, my mother suffered psychologically; her pain permeated my essence. I was torn between my father and mother; their struggles tainted my mind, their battles left me troubled about my own identity and unsure of my own sense of belonging.*

(3) My Psychological Bond With My Mother, With Cultural Undertones:

> *As a child growing up in the Philippines, everyone told me that*

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[1] *Probinsiya:* part of country or a region that is distant from the capital or major cities, it is the "countryside."

I looked and acted like my mother. My mother and I were seen as one. My mother and I are very close—and our closeness began when I was born. I think that is the reason why my mother felt so close to me: we can share the same experiences, can cry the same tears, and feel the same heartaches.

I learned to be passive and submissive because my father and his family told me so. They ridiculed my mother's upbringing and instilled in me that I was less than them because I came from a poor and "less worthy" woman. I was acculturated into a family that belittled lower-class women, taught me to be ashamed of myself, and undermined my confidence. For many years, my mother and I not only put up with my father's chauvinistic behavior, abetted by my mother's in-laws, but we also bore the relentless criticisms of my father's family. My father's family thought less of me because they saw my mother in me.

Throughout my adolescent life, I struggled to find my sense of self. I did not know who I was. I did not know what I was going to be. Further, I did not know where my life was headed. Life as I knew it was simple—you finish school, get married, have children, serve your husband, and bestow your entire life for your family.

There were no choices. Life was set up accordingly, and as a young Filipina woman, everything I do is for my family, utang na loob, as my mother says. I had no voice because I was taught not to speak. I had no intellect because I was taught not to reason. And I had no[2] *identity because I was taught that I was my mother.*

(4) The Impact Of My Mother's Decision To Leave The Philippines:

Moving to a foreign country was no easy task, especially knowing that I had to leave the only family I had ever known – good or bad, they represented the culture that personified me, the heritage that portrayed me, and the country that is *__me__*.

(5) My Growing Sense Of Individualism:

Most Filipino parents work hard and sacrifice much for their children, just as my mother did for us. Consequently, the children love and respect their elders and are obliged to take care of them in their old age. The Filipino way of life encompasses a tradition that encourages collectivity. Family comes first and each member is obligated to the family.

The norms and values of the Filipino culture epitomize great respect for hierarchy and authority, elder orientation, and family allegiance. The emphasis on family loyalty is quite strong. As much an economic necessity as it is a cultural tradition, many Filipinos rely on the family for love, support, and refuge. Family is the

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[2] *Utang na loob:* a Filipino axiom or proverb that means "owing gratitude" or "indebted."

source of one's personal identity; it is the focus of one's primary duty and obligation.

Nonetheless, growing up in a culturally diverse community after we came to the United States, I began to wonder if the emphasis on collectivism was right for me. I wanted to think for myself and express individuality. Furthermore, I wanted to give back to my kin on the basis of my personal gratitude toward my family, not because it is a culturally determined obligation to do so. The struggles between my traditional Filipino familial values and the dominant American culture began to burden me. I was torn between the lure of the American way of life and the maintenance of my own culture.

(6) Facing Post-immigration Gender Bias In My Family Of Origin:

My father and his family regarded my brothers highly because they would carry the legacy and the name of my father, whereas I would lose my last name when I got married. Furthermore, my brothers, although they were nice and treated me kindly, as males were encouraged to take on "many positive challenges from which [I] was discouraged" (Ponton 1997:107).

In addition, my father persuaded my brothers to participate in various math and science competitions at school. I, on the contrary, was encouraged to take sewing and cooking classes. Moreover, I was sent to a Catholic school for girls, because my father thought that I did not need to be academically challenged. At the time, I did not understand the reasons for their actions. I was just a child longing to be loved and accepted.

My family did encourage my generation to go to school; however, many of the girls in the family were directed toward a profession related to the health care field. My mother has yearned for me to go to medical school, and as a good daughter I was willing to live her dreams. Nonetheless, after years of schooling I have found my true interest outside of medicine. My family's reluctance to accept my career choice in education only made matters worse. My family's distorted image of what is deemed to be a prestigious profession (medicine) perpetuates the "stereotypes about Asian 'whiz kids'", which I did not want to be labeled as (Bennett 2003:157). I did not and do not want to fall prey to the model minority myth, which presents a cultural conflict in schools, just because I did not live up to the stereotypes.

(7) Formal Education And My Experience Of Familial-cultural Separation:

My family discouraging me from pursuing a profession unrelated to the health care field motivated me to attain my dream as a teacher. Individuals cannot control how others will respond to their actions – and I definitely could not control my family. I maximized my power, believed in myself, and factored out my *family's reactions to my decision. It is with this spirit of self-empowerment that I was able to overcome it all. I cannot change my family's belief about what they regard as a prestigious profession; I can only accept their opinion as culturally biased and be content with my own decision.*

My career choice in education led me to immerse myself in school. As I studied more and more, I realized that school was starting to change me. Education has broadened my views and provided me a better understanding of the world, of my family, and of myself. Influenced by the education system in Western society and tainted by my family's perceptions, I began to wonder if perhaps my choice to integrate both cultures might be perceived as being a "sell-out" to my family or even the Filipino community. Some of my Filipino friends and family, particularly my grandparents, perceive that my educational attainment has made me 'too Americanized'.

(8) The Effect Of Skin Tone And English Usage On My Close Relationships:

While trying to establish my cultural identity in the United States, my accent and the color of my skin became major issues. I was about thirteen years old when I moved to this country, young enough to gain fluency in English, but also old enough to have a pronounced Filipino accent. Many of my cousins, who were born and raised in America, made fun of my accent, saying I sounded 'fobby' I began to see my family in America just as non-accepting of me as my family in the Philippines. Not only was I confronted with my accent in my family, I also had to face the same criticisms in school.

As a result, the "acquisition of the English language" with perfect fluency became my top priority (Bennett 2003:157). The negative judgments I received from my family and peers at school prompted me to learn the English language quickly. Instead of conformity to the dominant culture, I perceived my fluency and competency in the English language as empowering because it brought "with it an increased sense of self-determination" (Mohr 1999:205)

Like Henderson and Olasiji write, my "dark skin and [my] faulty English set... [me] apart from" my family and my school peers (1995:192). It became more and more important for me to value who I am and not worry about what others say or think about me. The criticisms about my color and accent only made me a stronger person and provided me with a sense of self-empowerment. I began to embrace my skin color and see my proficiency in the English language as a way to help me integrate being Filipino into being American.

When I first moved here, my cousins teased me because of my too Filipino characteristics. Now I am perceived as being too Americanized.

(9) Resisting Family And Cultural Expectations In My Interracial Marriage:

> *A major identity crisis arose within my family when, as a young woman, I became seriously involved with a non-Filipino man. My husband is German-American. Our interracial relationship created family problems that were almost too hard to bear. Many of my Filipino friends questioned my allegiance to the Filipino community and reminded me that I was a true Pinay. Most of my paternal family believes that I should have married within my race so that our bloodline would survive. My grandparents told me that it was up to me and the rest of[4] my siblings that we keep the true Filipino Aquino bloodline.*
>
> *The struggle to keep my foot in both communities has been emotionally, and at times, physically exhausting. Yet, I believe that my ethnic background should not dictate with whom I will be intimate, or be friends.*

(10) Positively Endorsing My Bicultural Identity:

> *I made the choice to see my acceptance of the dominant culture, while upholding my own past, as a development of my biculturalism. I have re-negotiated my cultural identity to accommodate what I believe is important. I have come to terms with what it means to be a foreign born Filipino-American. My quest for an authentic sense of cultural identity has finally come full term. I am at peace with my self-definition as being bi-cultural.*

FILIPINA/O MIGRATION AND IDENTITY ISSUES

The indigenous people of the Philippines have endured many cultural and ethnic influences as a result of commerce or military expansion, notably from Spain, China, Japan, Malaysia and the United States. As a result, many Filipinos today find themselves negotiating their personal identity-culturally, racially, and as global citizens-whether they stay in the Philippines or migrate to another country (Bacho 1997; Espiritu 2003; Lott 2006; Melendy 1977; Okamura 1998; Parrenas 2005; Revilla 1997; Strobel 1999).

(1) Class And Racial Dynamics

Ong (1999) emphasizes that an immigrant's search for opportunities is, itself, a form of identity construction through global economics, with class and poverty playing a key role in whether a person benefits from (or pays the price for) capital development, adding that racial hierarchies determine much in whether or not economic capital will convert into social capital. Wealthier families, like Hess's paternal side, could have exercised more "flexibility" in "dispersing and localizing" its members so that the links and the loyalty to the motherland might have remained viable and supportive (Ong 1999:127) but in Hess and her mother's case divorce and economic struggle cast their relation to the Philippines more in terms of

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[3] *Fobby:* A derogatory term used by Asian-Americans to describe recent Asian immigrants; derived from the word "FOB," someone who is "Fresh Off the Boat."

[4] *Pinay:* a colloquial and familiar term for Filipina women.

alienation and broken ties, making it more difficult to celebrate their transnational "hybridity" (Ong 1999:11).

Based on the wide distribution of Filipino migration with multiple waves of diasporas and a long colonial history, Strobel (1996) describes a panethnic consciousness among many post-1965 Filipino Americans like Hess. When adjusting to global dispersion in whatever locale they find themselves, Mendoza (2002) suggests that Filipino transnationals are more likely to experience some crisis of the self (1) due to a sense of personal defeat as a result of their migration, or (2) suffering more generally due to cultural malaise. Hess's narrative suggests that she and her mother were trying to be proactive in achieving an adaptive fit in the United States, balancing their newly minted American status with left-over traditional Filipino mores and perspectives. As a young teenager, Hess' panethnic consciousness does not seem very pronounced; images of how others perceive her cultural identity seem to be thrust upon her (1) in terms of Asian stereotypes from the public in general, and (2) periodically family members would undermine her cultural identity development by contending that she was either too American or not Filipino enough.

Every culture seems to have traditions of racial and ethnic discrimination and bias. In coming to the United States as a Filipina young woman, adjustments have to be made to new sets of prejudice. Basic realities for an adolescent, like the way she speaks, the color of her skin, or the decisions she makes on dating and marriage, can be experienced as assaults on her evolving sense of identity. Espiritu's (2003) interviews of Filipino Americans reflect similar experiences to Hess's; immigrants describe how they were confronted with their own unique brand of domestic racism (i.e. similar to but different from the pronounced white racism toward Black and Latino Americans) and many lived their lives with two levels of awareness-through symbolic and literal ties to the Philippines and with new patterns of racial and ethnic self-construction in the United States. Hess's formal higher education on race relations and social justice has proven to be one way she has externalized the dominant narratives of racism in the United States and thereby given her a way to understand and to solve some of the personal pain that other Filipina women might simply internalize and endure.

(2) *Emotional Impact Of Transnationalism On Filipina/O Youth*

Wolf asserts that "socio-economic statistics that paint a 'model minority' picture of [comfortably assimilated] Filipino immigrants...do not capture or portray the painful and problematic processes that occur in the lives of many children of those immigrants." (1997:475) Hess's story shows how such distress can be internalized and how considerable effort is required to manage and overcome that pain. In a study of Filipino American immigrants, Alegado (1994) identifies a lack of self-respect and self-love among many young people from the Philippines, noting particularly the tendency for newly-arrived youth not to feel very emotionally or culturally connected to the community in their new place of residence and therefore to be adrift as they try to establish a sense of belonging. With teenage Filipina girls, Wolf's studies point to a profound "emotional transnationalism" wherein the girls (1) are caught between "differing codes, cultures, ideologies and goals," and (2) frequently experience "greater parental control over their movements, bodies and sexualities than their brothers." (1997:459).

(3) *Emphasis On Filipina Mother-daughter Dynamics As A Result Of Migration*

As in Hess's experience, the impact of migration can be hard for Filipina mothers and daughters, in differing ways. Parrenas (2005) notes that a sizeable number of Filipina mothers struggle with their own identity issues as a result of (1) being emotionally and geographically separated from some, if not all, of their children; (2) their new status as primary income earners in the family; (3) cognitive dissonance based on ingrained, biased views of gender within Filipino culture regarding male dominance or perceived superiority; or (4) the emotional conundrum of having migrated to escape restrictive attitudes at home, and meanwhile longing to be back home. When mother and daughter are as emotionally close as Hess and her mother, the mother's struggle can easily be borrowed (even though not clearly understood) by the daughter.

Parrenas also emphasizes that "power clearly lies" with the migrant parent of transnational Filipino families (2001:374) and that "socialized gender norms in the family aggravate the emotional strains of mothers and children" (2001:362) when the mother leaves to work abroad. Still feeling the emotional sting of chauvinistic and elitist patterns in her family of origin, and with Hess' brothers left behind and prospering in the Philippines with the patriarch, an empathic view indicates how complicated emotional adjustments to parenting must have been for Hess's mother. Parrenas' analysis of Filipina mothers —"one of the largest sources of female labor migrants in the world" (2001:361)—is that they often feel helpless, guilty and full of regret because their departure "ruptures the ideological foundation of the family" (2001:361) inasmuch as "in the Filipino family...the woman as nurturer is a central determinant of the emotional needs and expectations of its members" (2001:362). Based on these perspectives, Hess's mother can be understood in multiple roles: the liberated woman from oppressive circumstances living with uncertainty and hope in her new homeland; the absent, emotionally-complicated mother to Hess's brothers and the emotionally-close, powerful parent with Hess.

Furthermore, in Wolf's analysis of second generation Filipina daughters (like Hess), she finds that the family left behind in the Philippines tends to have a binary emotional impact on the daughter: the family of origin is typically "an extremely magnetic and positive basis of Filipino identity" and can also be the source of a "deep sense of stress and alienation." (1997:458). This binary impact leaves the teenager with a true developmental crisis at a critical point of identity formation. It is a kind of double bind: the family with its traditional Filipino cultural trappings must be retained in some adaptive fashion to feel complete and, simultaneously, let go for everyday, practical purposes and, perhaps, emotional survival.

SELECTED THEMES REGARDING IDENTITY ADJUSTMENT

A young teenager who emigrates must find some personal sense of agency and internal locus of control if such a major life transition is to seem authentic. In Filipino culture, with its tight social structures and pervasive close interpersonal relationships (Bennett 2003), a girl is often conditioned to suppress her identity during childhood and through early adulthood and then is expected to marry a husband who will tend, once again, to be the dominant personality in her life. As a result, when Filipina girls arrive in the United States, the heavy overlay of family and cultural interdependency makes it hard for some Filipina girls to feel real and bona fide as individuals.

Hess's particular story illustrates four key levels of identity adjustment to her new world on intra-psychic and interpersonal levels: (1) differentiating her "self" from her mother; (2) negotiating the developmental task of separation and attachment from her family of origin; (3) finding a comfortable balance between an individualistic and collectivist worldview; and (4) contending with preconceived gender roles while managing cultural displacement.

(1) *On Self-differentiation*

Siegel explains that routinely "the mother functions as a distant mirror" for the daughter (1999:8). A parallel image of the mother can serve as a source of strength (or as an obstacle) depending on whether or not the mother is reflecting good psychological health and whether the daughter perceives herself as a mere extension of her mother or can find her own sense of self (connected but not consumed by the mother). In Hess's case, the boundary was not always clear between being "like her mother" versus "being one with her mother." What some in Western cultures might consider an over-identification between mother and daughter fit relatively within the norm while the two were in the Philippines. In addition, Hess's need to self-differentiate from her mother (with whom she has maintained allegiance over the years) was further complicated by her childhood and early adolescent response of vicarious suffering and perceived similarity with her mother as someone of lower distinction and value. As is a common aspiration of immigrant parents, Hess's mother wants her also not simply to reflect her image but to actualize opportunities and be or have "more than" she has accomplished.

(2) On Separation And Attachment

Migration can add to the underlying anxiety of individuation as people disengage and distance from the security provided by their families and communities. In Hess's case, the identity issues created by physically leaving the Philippines were compounded as she tried to negotiate the internal realities of connecting and disconnecting with her mother who was also dealing with her own adjustments and stress. As Friday puts it, daughters need somehow to "emerge with a sense of ourselves as separate people -still loved by mother, but with a life of our own, that is not hers" (1977:39). Friday adds: A mother's "real fears and needs" are sometimes coupled with "symbiosis with her daughter. Too often, the mother never separated from *her* mother, and ... she substitutes a bond to her daughter" (Friday 1977:44).

This pattern of intergenerational mother-daughter attachment seems characteristic of many families from the Philippines. In a sense, Hess was doubly tasked— with separating from her motherland and her mother and attaching to a new land and culture while, as a young adult, re-defining her most immediate, important sustained family relationship with her mother.

(3) *On Individualism And Collectivism*

The impact of re-arranging values and priorities, with less of an emphasis on a collectivist world-view, takes more of a toll on the individual and family members than may seem obvious at first sight. For young Filipino immigrants, it may be one of the key variables in understanding a young person's newly developed view of the self and irresolvable conflicts within the family system. The draw of individualism promotes independence and self-expression; whereas, the pull of collectivism fosters interdependence, loyalty to norms and respect for hierarchical roles. As Revilla observes, knowledge of Filipino culture can "foster a sense of pride for young Filipinos" (1997:101) and as Hess demonstrates that knowledge needs somehow to be accommodated in the American setting.

(4) *On Cultural Displacement And Gender Role Expectations*

As Hess's story reveals, in the Philippines, gender determines many social roles and expectations, in the family and workplace. Metaphorical references "to men as *haligi ng tahanan,* 'the pillar of the home', and women as *ilaw ng tahanan*, 'the light of the home'" (Parrenas 2005:57) capture some of the positive valence of specified roles in the family. In practice, however, many women are relegated to a servile status, with childbearing, childcare and homemaking characterizing not only their duties, but also their sense of personhood. One of the liberating aspects of migration to the United States for some Filipina women entails breaking free of their previous restrictions, and finding new options in education and career development —if there are financial means to pursue some of the available prospects. Even so, a bias in favor of men and limitations on the kind of opportunities a Filipina should consider may often linger as barriers that Filipina women still need to face in the United States. For Hess, subdued but persistent acts of defiance to her family and cultural norms have contributed to her re-definition of the self.

CONCLUSION

As Greene notes, identity formation is a continuous process of "continuity and distinctiveness, recognizable by self and others" (1998:98). D'Andrea and Daniels (1997; 2001) identify multiple ways in which people construct meaning and learn to identify themselves, including many of the developmental factors disclosed in Hess' narrative: economic class background, psychological maturity, ethnic/racial identity, chronological challenges, trauma and stressful situations, family background, location and language differences. As Hess's account reveals, after migration, family bequest, social conditions, and intentional choices about whom to be, all combine to forge a person's ongoing cultural identity.

Many people want to adapt to their new culture enough to feel at home without wanting necessarily to be totally assimilated into that dominant culture. It is no easy task to evolve from someone you were, to someone you are becoming and not lose yourself in recollections of a past self or in anticipation of a future self for whom you have no clear frame of reference. Hess's case illustrates that the mother-daughter relationship and the daughter's connection to the motherland (even if symbolic and emotionally-charged) can be very significant in terms of identity formation. Hess's story also demonstrates that family of origin and place of origin can be woven together in the individual's coming to terms with identity; her complicated, unfulfilled relationships with the family her mother left behind heavily influence what it means for Hess to be a Filipina woman in the United States.

Hess's search for a Filipina/o identity also prompts the conclusion that moving to a new place does not mean a person has to repudiate her past. Ignacio argues that many Filipina women are already "decentered subjects" and that a "strict dichotomizing between 'U.S.' and 'Filipino' culture marginalizes" these women further, particularly if they are raised in the United States and do not "fit the established model of a 'real Filipina'" (2000:553). Likewise, when migrating from one country to the next, a person's original influences do not have to disappear or be suppressed in order for the individual to continue to grow culturally within her present environment. A migrant's origins and her cultural horizons do not need to be juxtaposed as if they are at odds with one another. In fact, as Hess has done, early cultural perceptions and life experiences can be cast within the new context, and the person's identity shaped in the process.

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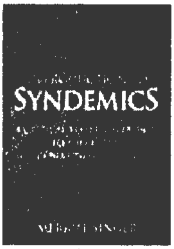
Introduction to Syndemics: A Critical Systems Approach to Public & Community Health



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No Cubes: An Updated Look An Industrial Workplace And The Fate Of Its Alienated Wage-earning Employees

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Abstract

This article represents an updated look at a specific workplace and its workforce that have each and reciprocally gone through a period of mercurial change. Adverse economic conditions and bottom-line profit motivations often undermine a presumed moral commitment to employees, so the crux of this article is to discuss a company's rapid growth and equally rapid decline, paying particular attention to those cycles'effects on the organization's wage-earning employees – the ones with no cubes. Selected elements of social conflict theory, modern accounting theory, and a variation of Merton's paradigm of adaptation to cultural materialism are used to illustrate the negative impact of economic fate on its "hidden" workers.

> *"Moving through the world with a title – doctor, lawyer, college student – gave you armor. Having to continually try to find a way to tell people who you were – which really meant telling them what you did – was difficult when you didn't fit into one of the world's neat little cubes."*
> (Jennifer Weiner, *In Her Shoes)*

INTRODUCTION

We live in times when we honor success, power, and possession of "symbols of class and status which are independent of personal acquaintance" (Dewey 1960 65). When meeting others, for example, we often define our master statuses in terms of the kinds of work we do or the places where we work, our educational backgrounds, and the sets of initials behind our last names. College students want to know the academic placements and majors of others, and college professors want to know how others' degrees and c.v.s were earned. Novelist Weiner (2002 p. 347) affirms these truths as pedigrees that are our armor or cubes. Most members of a surplus supply of workers (Marx 1954), including such categories of people as conscripted soldiers and sailors, adjunct university faculty (Berlow and Collos 1974; Hartung 1992; Shea 2004; Street 2010), the factory workers in O'Sullivan's 2002 study, and those of this research, are all peripheral, marginalized, unprotected, exploited, and vulnerable victims because they have no shields, no "pull," no "juice," no advocates, no power, no totem poles to climb – they have no cubes. They are among the "hidden" workers in our economy and social class structure (Sennett and Cobb 1972), rich in social poverty and economic utility who perform the gut/scut/core/grunt jobs of their various industries, lacking opportunities for social mobility or meaningful statuses within or between their jobs, whose diminutive life and work circumstances are justified by others as necessary elements of the moral economy of doing business (Gans 1971; Magdoff and Magdoff 2004; Pfeffer 1979; Schwartz 1999; Sennett and Cobb; and Stoll 2008).

Several years ago, O'Sullivan (2002) revealed his paradigm shift into the realm of labor-management tensions, identifying a greater appreciation of/for conflict theory. His revelations are supported through such popular culture outlets as novels and visual media, as well as traditional sociology, which identify the presence of, and conflict between, many dual-class systems comprised of the "haves" and the "have-nots." The focus of his report was on the workers and the managers at his place of work that was then known as "Industrial Development, Inc." (IDI), located in "Lichenville, IL," doing the subassembly of engine components for the diesel engine division of "Woolly Bear, Inc." with its corporate offices located in nearby "Will It Play Here? City." IDI's employees were treated and replaced with no more attention paid to them than the way we view used sparkplugs or chattel (O'Sullivan 2002), who could be similarly described as "... objects to be owned and discarded, no different than pieces of livestock" by novelist Vince Flynn (1999 98). IDI has since become "Subsidiary Logistics Kompany" (SLK), a wholly-owned division of "Huge Logistics Kompany" (HLK) of "Famous for Its Beer, City," Wisconsin. The company name was changed, but its wage-earning employees are still occupationally mobile, non-union, and semi-skilled temp-to-hire "throw away" men and women. This article updates O'Sullivan's company story.

Several tasks need to be completed in order to complete this investigation. The first is to reprise O'Sullivan's 2002 look at worker alienation as it was then based on four years of employment at the old IDI. The second is to review the Marxian notion of a surplus supply of labor in terms of historical and contemporary applications. The third is a look at the evolution of IDI into SLK and its visionary goals and means to achieve them, and its economic zenith and nadir effects on workers who are already marginalized.Semi-skilled and unorganized workers often have few recourses and resources available to them upon termination of employment, and are hit hard and early in periods of economic decline – a hallmark of Marxian theory and labor-management conflict that O'Sullivan came to appreciate.

THE FIRST TASK: O'SULLIVAN REVIEWED

O'Sullivan admits that his personal background was not one that entailed much economic or vocational strife. However, a disappointing academic career and subsequent entry into the private sector of the economy gave him a broader appreciation for conflict-based relations between diverse categories of people. Drawing from a diversity of novels, histories, appropriate travelogues, visual media, and sociological sources he showed that there was ample evidence to support the contention that there were multiple and often co-existing dual-class structures of power differentials spanning time and place.

As an employee of the former IDI, he worked on the production floor of this subcontracting company, and IDI was one of many others that did about the same for "Big Saffron" or Woolly Bear (O'Sullivan 2002). Though his educational background surpassed that of his colleagues, he was still on the receiving side of classic labor-management conflict, chided by a manager for the mismatch between his degrees and his work, but that happened only once; and such treatments were the basis for his study.

He relied heavily on the elements of worker alienation according to Marx (1959)and Seeman (1959, 2001) as he illustrated his workplace, then added two more environmental variables. The treatment of employees as *human* *chattel* is demeaning and is based on the presumed superiority of one group of people over the presumed inferiority of another group (Pfeffer; Sennett and Cobb). The aura of *negativity* is a composite variable of impersonal communication, absence of gratitude for work done well, the fear of quick and unaccountable firing, rules that were differentially interpreted and arbitrarily applied, rules that were intended to ensure employee conformity rather than personal safety or quality assurance, and the dirt and grime was so pervasive and airborne that white tissue paper became black when noses were cleaned. He continued his discussions by borrowing Merton's 1968 paradigm of adaptation to illustrate how workers could adjust to their plight, and those methods will be replayed later.

Social conflict theory takes many directions, and people spend entire academic careers investigating its facets, nuances, and applications. There are too many of them to discuss here, so reliance is placed on its descriptions of surplus labor forces that will be discussed next in summary form, then applied later to the transition from IDI to SLK with its optimistic visions and unanticipated frustrations.

THE SECOND TASK: MARX AND THE SURPLUS/RESERVE LABOR FORCE

Marx was an economic historian whose general theory of human and economic evolution was so profound that one history of sociology book declares that we have since been engaged in a "debate with Marx's ghost" (Zeitlan 1968 p. 109). Much of Marx's writing detailed the processes of evolution from simple economies identified by cooperative production and sharing within a group to more complex ones identified by segmented and specialized labor, the ownership of property and profit, and the treatment of human labor as a capital asset that can be manipulated at will by those who own or manage the means of production, as IDI managers described their employees.Wage-earning employees had become things, objects not subjects, to be weighed against capital liabilities on accounting balance sheets, susceptible to decisions made in accord with the general theory of *asset-liability management* or ALM (AllBusiness 1999-2009). Though the principles of ALM succeeded Marx, he understood that the overriding purpose of business in capitalism is to make a profit.

THE SURPLUS / RESERVE LABOR FORCE

This body of workers has been described in orthodox presses and provocative electronic outlets as a body of "marginally attached" people who want full-time jobs but have unsuccessfully tried to join the ranks of the fully employed (Sandrosky 2004). For Marx, they were the "industrial reserve army" or the "relative surplus population" of workers who existed in a tenuous but symbiotic relationship with their employers: A "mass of people living in insecurity or fearful of future job prospects" (Magdoff and Magdoff 2004). Bosses, also known as "suits" or "shiny shoes," have them perform the actual work of production; the employees, in turn, need the jobs and the incomes that employers offer. Because full-employment (enough jobs for all potential employees) is rare, there is an unequal balance between available job and those who would do the work, and this imbalance stacks the deck against them. Owners/

managers of businesses are advantageously positioned to determine conditions of employment. They can hire people at lower-than-cost wage rates, and dictate the details of benefit packages, "perks," if any exist.

While workers may be considered as being assets from an accounting perspective as human "capital," they can also be perceived as liabilities, as overhead in the form of the cost of doing business. During times of economic downswings (when there is need to reduce overhead) or in times of economic upswing (when investment requirements expand) employers can shift assets and liabilities for best advantage, and unprotected labor forces have little, if any voice, in those decisions. Members of the working classes are pawns (O'Sullivan 2002), and it was in *The Communist Manifesto* that the working proletariat was called to unite, rebel, and affect global economic history (Marx 1894/1954 p. 82).

OUTSOURCING – THE SHORT STORY

Just as economic globalization exploits lower-waged foreign labor markets, local outsourcing does the same for domestic workers. Both offer corporations lower overhead costs or potential liabilities maintenance that can interfere with profitability. When used, though, finished product sales cost are not reduced in accord with lower production expenses so profits can remain the same, both aided by the exploitation of cheaper labor sources (Magdoff and Magdoff 2004).

Entire outsourcing industries serve the needs of Woolly Bear, for example, providing logistical, transportation, janitorial, and assembly services by semi-skilled workers. When Woolly Bear's market and financial forecasts are bright companies like IDI/SLK can also expand, employ newer technologies, hire more employees, increase wages and benefits, and still earn profits. When Woolly Bear's forecasts are more reserved or dim, so are those companies with outsourced responsibilities. As Woolly Bear goes so go they, all making necessary "bottom line" decisions according to the principles of ALM.

ASSET-LIABILITY MANAGEMENT

ALM is originally a finance expression, viewed as a macro-level phenomenon, whereby banks try to have acceptable balances, or *positive gaps,* between assets and liabilities rather than *negative gaps* between them (Allbusiness). Simply put, positive gaps exist when more assets are owned than liabilities, and negative gaps exist when liabilities outweigh assets. Assets and liabilities exist in tandem on balance sheets, both fluctuate under varying market conditions, but when liabilities exceed acceptable levels they may be liquidated by selling them to more aggressive investors. Other types of businesses do much the same thing when, for example, the costs of maintenance on reduced-use or unused fixed-capital assets, like grounds and buildings, exceed their derivative gains. Individuals, in like manner, manipulate accounts in their investment portfolios as they try to make their money work for them, not against them.

A precept of all economic exchanges is that any *expenditure* or use of capital assets (money, resources, time) is made in anticipation of a positive-gapped *investment*–that the benefits gained will eventually outweigh the costs, as anthropologist Wolf (1966) discussed *funds* as expenditures and investments.

Companies do this when they acquire others, buy property and appropriate tooling/machinery, expand their labor forces, and create training programs to socialize existing and new employees as economic forecasts warrant; but, any ALM decision involves risk, and the long-term benefits may not materialize, making it necessary to cut losses, downsize, or take the chance of going "belly up" by closing doors and suspending operations. In times of economic prosperity workers are benefactors with opportunities for regular work and pay, but during economic declines the workers, especially those who have no advocates, get hit hard, losing much. While business managers realize that the labor forces may need to be reduced, and while those who are dismissed/laid-off may understand how/why those decisions are made, such realizations do not lessen the impact of being "canned" with no recall date.

Woolly Bear is one of only a few companies that makes diesel engines for trucks, and for many years they were able to affect the market for them. One parent company of trucks decided to make its own engines, and another vehicle manufacturer had plans to do the same. The several major manufacturers were then over-producing for their fair shares of the market, so executives at Woolly Bear decided to discontinue this money-making product that was made at its Lichenville plant. Economic decline hit a region and a company with its subcontractors that had historically been safeguarded from business downswings, and liabilities needed to be liquidated, reducing negative gapping.

THE THIRD TASK: RISE AND FALL AT SUBSIDIARY LOGISTICS KOMPANY

Industrial Development, Inc. was formed several decades ago to perform warehousing and packaging duties for Woolly Bear, and those eventually evolved into the sub-assembly of parts for engines. Several years ago, HLK, a company that specializes in inventory control and movement technologies, convinced Woolly Bear that its technologies were more efficient than IDI's old ways, and in 2007 HLK acquired IDI, naming the experimental division SLK. There was a ten-year contract between Woolly Bear and SLK, and Woolly Bear sold one of its Lichenville campus buildings to SLK because it could house the technology that SLK would set in place with its larger workforce. Woolly Bear rid itself of the fixed-asset-turned-liability, SLK acquired it, then sold its old quarters to another logistics company. Complex ALM decisions were made by all, and the prospects for SLK brought about many changes that were philosophically and economically driven.

At the philosophical level and in company parlance IDI had a "work harder, work faster," work better "or else" version of a "management knows best" view of management endorsed by Frederick Winslow Taylor (1911/1947), the "father" of modern management. The new leaders of SLK brought with them a variation of another motivation theory by Frank B. and Lillian E. Gilbreth (1916/1920, 1917) that included an interest in worker satisfaction:Contented employees increase productivity and profitability, and SLK implemented changes to that end.

Pay differences between "company" and temp-to-hire employees were equalized; IDI's profit-sharing retirement package was changed to SLK's 401k investment plan, and its original contribution rate was expanded. A new promotion scale was formed and made public, replacing a mysterious and closed black box formula, employee recognition and reward programs were set into place, and a monthly newsletter, the *"Kit and Kaboodle,"* was distributed as it contained company and employee news stories – all with the apparent intentions of opening Johari windows of communication for transparency and trust (Luft 1955 and 1969).

An employee orientation and training program was established that included the company's history, mastering the technical skills for electronic scanning of parts and containers for inventory control and billing; programs for international business standards were outlined, and that program's other two auditors and I were sent off-site to receive training beyond our original certifications. The company implemented the trendy 5S, ISO and Root Cause programs of organization to promote cleanliness, reduce waste, improve the flow of work, and increase product quality, all of which may be seen as modern elements of the Gilbreths' *chronocyclography* of time-motion study to improve efficiency and productivity. Because IDI had a bad local reputation for managerial abuse and dehumanization of employees (O'Sullivan 2002), the HLK-based upper managers listened to a seasoned voice of experience from the production floor and created an employee mentor program and "meet and greet" lunch sessions where new employees met their floor managers with the hope that such contact would reduce management-labor tension and cut employee attrition rates by alleviating "I'm nobody" or "nobody special" frames of mind (Sennett and Cobb), encouraging workers to have healthy rather vapid interest in the company and its work (Gilbreth 1916 and Gilbreth), or, perhaps, the program was managerially intended to violate the spirit of its sponsor as bribery through flattery in a staged game of "cooling the mark out" (Goffman 1952) – a pseudo-*gemeinschaft* (Merton 1968) between management and labor rather than the master-servant or lord-vassal link described in O'Sullivan's 2002 article.

My work with the company shifted from full-time floor duties to full-time administration by conducting training sessions for existing and new employees, investigating the root causes of production errors for which I had received certified training, conducting inspections of production standards, monitoring employee retention/loss rates and reporting all of these findings to upper management for review, and by being on the company safety committee. The company was making significant and beneficial changes, but they did involve internal costs.

Systematic training programs are, in fact, expenditures for companies such as SLK. It spent about $5,000.00 to hire and train an employee until he/she was self-sufficient on the job, and a continuous rollover of employees erodes profitability in several ways. Besides the direct expenses of training there are internal time-lost allowances derived from product rebuilding, replacement, and transportation. Woolly Bear reserved the right to levy fines for improperly made products which hit its production lines; and the company paid a total of $2,250.00, plus expenses, for our two-day off-site training sessions. The overall ALM cost-benefit of training and orientation, though, was a respectable compromise between derivatives and expenses, and the old IDI had little interest in comparable values.

A CORNER IS TURNED

"Things fall apart" wrote Nigerian author Chinua Achebe (1958/1994) in his novel of social change in an African village. IDI officially became SLK in January 2007, bringing with it new philosophies, visions, and upper-level managers who replaced a "good ole boy" hierarchy. The move to its new facility began in the Summer of 2007, and the transition was completed by the end of that year. Rumors about Woolly Bear began to circulate, and in the Fall of 2008 Woolly Bear announced that one of its major product lines, diesel engines for highway trucks, would be discontinued.

Woolly Bear's decision to discontinue that product line by 2010 prompted a wide range cost-cutting actions, including buy-outs for salaried people, reduction of supplemental (non-union) employees, and notices of contract termination with companies that provided services within Woolly Bear's plants. These necessary ALM decisions had ripple effects on Woolly Bear's service and product providers, such as SLK, that made its own cost-cutting adjustments when anticipated profitability tanked.

Promotions and pay raises were frozen; the increase in its 401k contributions was reduced to the original level. No employees were hired and the training program was suspended, and an employee parking lot was closed to avoid upkeep costs. Work weeks were shortened, and people were then sent home early if their work was ahead of schedule, having the tandem effects of reducing payroll costs and workers' take-home net pay. Second- and third-shift production was halted, assuming only logistical duties; workers were laid off, and, finally, the company encouraged voluntary layoffs without contest. While the executive managers of HLK/SLK scrambled for new business, there has been some rebounding due to its logistical capabilities of warehousing, material control, and dock-to-door material redistributions, but that occurred at the expense of another local out-sourcing company that lost contract with Woolly Bear, thus putting its employees in jeopardy, as well. A few of SLK's employees have recently been recalled, but worker morale remains low due to a combination of factors including the company's precarious ties with Woolly Bear and personal backgrounds that might make future employment difficult to find.

Many of those workers have no technical certification; many are semi- or unskilled workers, many have legal issues with which they must contend, many have no reliable means of transportatio, are chronic users of alcohol, have lost their drivers' licenses, have to commute great distances to work because there are few jobs in their home towns, and are work-release prison inmates. There are those that have suspicious U.S. residency status, have bad habits of personal hygiene, one has robbed banks in Texas, one was convicted on internet sexual solicitation of a minor, and each served time in federal prisons. Some wear electronic movement (GPS) sensors as stipulated by their parole officers, and one proudly wears his t-shirt that pronounces "My Anger Management Class Pisses Me Off." One was fired for trying to impress a female co-worker by masturbating in his work area, and one was fired for smoking marijuana in the restroom.

Neither job "seniority" nor "company" vs. "temp" employment status protected jobs, and many senior employees were dismissed first because they earned more than new-hires or temps, regardless of work skills. The workers do not have executive "head hunters" to find new jobs for them; instead, they have employment agencies that only list similar types of jobs. They do not have employment counselors who help fashion impressive resumes. Unemployment statistics change daily, and thousands of hidden workers exist and flounder somewhere in the labor market between its floating, latent, and stagnant components (Marx 1954). They have few resources and no cubes, and it is these very background features that employers/managers, people with "superior" skills or education, people who are often hired from the outside, use in their gate keeping roles of maintaining low wages, restricting opportunities for advancement (Sennett and Cobb 1972), and becoming increasingly cautious as they considered their positions in the circulation process (Pareto 1935), covering their own "assets," as SLK adjusted its costs.

COST OF EMPLOYEE RETENTION

Payrolls are one of the largest and most salient costs of doing business, but there are others. Employers must also contribute to Social Security accounts, pay premiums for unemployment and workman's compensation funds, carry the lion's share of payments to health and death insurances, cover the expenses of shifting employees during their vacations or other absences, deduct and pay employee income taxes to national and state governments, contribute to 401k, IRA, or other retirement accounts, and pay for all internal bookkeeping of employee accounts. HLK/SLK initially invested about $35,000,000.00 in the new venture, realized substantial initial profits, then experienced diminishing returns and unexpected negative gapping in its investment and decided to lower overhead with a number of cost-saving measures, including its most expensive one, the cost of employee retention.

The process of employee notification of layoff is swift, sure, and often unexpected – no one wants to be targeted and culled. When Atropos, one of the *Fates,* decides to cut the thin thread of employment, one of SLKs floor managers approaches the worker and says something like "Gather your personal belongings. You're on today's lay-off list." That employee, and others, are then escorted through the plant in the status degradation ceremony (Garfinkel 1956) of public cashiering. Though not fatal, it has been symbolically called "dead man walking" or "walking dead man" by novelists Stephen King (1966) and Jack Higgins (2009), respectively. As a display of managerial power it serves the functions of enticing slackers to work harder with fewer mistakes and of quelling militants (Magdoff and Magdoff 2004) lest the same fate befalls them.

Terminated employees are/were each informed about private insurance options and COBRA, stipulations about last paychecks, and basic facts about unemployment benefits and their 401k accounts. They are told that hard times make for hard [ALM] decisions, thereby fulfilling a "having good reason" justification to the employees (Sennett and Cobb 158), just as the former workers are told that the decisions are not personal reprimands because they are/were all valuable employees, thereby fulfilling a "face-saving sincerity" (Sennett and Cobb 1972;158). Finally, the workers are given their "walking papers," are told to relinquish their i.d. badges, and are told to leave the premises immediately. The bosses' first responsibility is to the company and its purposes, of course, but there may be other issues of social morality in play here.

Schwartz (p. 37) argues that objective economic decisions erode some elements of sympathy, favoring anonymity. By taking the "high ground" stances of "having good reason" and "face saving sincerity" in the lay-off process, he might argue, managers are ridding themselves of personal guilt or responsibility, even though they know the plight of those upon whom they once depended. Two days before I was laid-off, for example, the president of the company, with whom I had had several brainstorming meal sessions, at company expense, hinted that SLK would be needing trainers for a new Woolly Bear plant to be built in Texas – an "SLK II." program. Others who have been laid-off agree that it is humiliating, impersonal, and demoralizing. To paraphrase *Doonesbury,* there is the smoke, the fire, the hose, and the shovel of dismissal (Trudeau 2009) that was happening elsewhere, also. In January 2009, for example, another outsourcing service/product provider for Woolly Bear laid off 100 employees, and later in May warned that it may close its "Will It Play Here? City" operations due to losses of contracts. SLK was not alone.

The principles of ALM are macro-level phenomena with banking industry foundations and middle-level applications when such individual companies as Woolly Bear and SLK are assessed. The principles of ALM also have micro-level individual applications, for which there is a need to return to O'Sullivan's original study of IDI.

ASSET-LIABILITY MANAGEMENT AND THE INDIVIDUAL

O'Sullivan's 2002 study of labor-management relations is one of two where he modified Merton's paradigm of goals-means adaptation that is normally discussed in the context of deviant and conforming behavior. The other use to which the model was put identified how dissatisfied members of religious congregations can adapt to their worship surroundings (O'Sullivan 1995). Merton's original presentation and the subsequent uses by O'Sullivan are not disparate because they address the ways that we make deals with ourselves, how we make selections in our lives. All of us face choices of action that contain a minimum of two alternatives from which we must select the most beneficial one, or the least costly one. We make our selections based on expectations of outcomes that Klandermans (1968) called an *expectancy-value* approach to decision making that may be otherwise interpreted as a version of ALM that O'Sullivan (2002) basically used in his translation of Mertonian sociology.

The worker-*conformist* accepts his/her plight and adjusts by internalizing the company's principles. The worker-*ritualist* disagrees with his/her placement but makes no effort to change it or escape it, performing a job, putting in a full shift, then leaving work for another day. The worker-*rebel* tries to implement change, but such acts are usually met with disdain, and can be dismissed for militancy or insubordination, still being told "You're fired!" with eldritch glee by a co-director of human resources, who, with her boss, each play their "good cop, bad cop" roles with practiced precision. The worker-*retreatist* disagrees with the entire premise of a work ethic, bails out, and withdraws from an active labor force. The worker-*innovator* is the one who understands the inequity of the work environment, does not like it but sees the futility of trying to change it, decides that other jobs might have more opportunities and greater rewards, and in a flashpoint of discontent follows the lyrics in Johnny Paycheck's famous, humorous, and worker-friendly song by hastily telling the company to "Take This Job and Shove It!" – often a dream come true, but also often made without forethought of possible consequences (costs) from voluntary separation.

Before O'Sullivan's 2002 study, though, personal adaptations to workplace conflicts had been addressed under different expressions. Pfeffer, for example, identified four. *Compliance* means that the workers cooperate, if for no other reason that they are paid to do so. *Doing their job* means that workers do not invest much of themselves into their jobs but just do them routinely. *Making do* refers to work conditions that are not optimal, but it is easier to make informal adjustments than it is to create a fuss over repair. *Kicking something upstairs,* finally, means that workers try to avoid responsibility by making their bosses accountable for problematic issues or decisions.

The current status of SLK promotes another form of worker innovation, but it is not necessarily founded in dissatisfaction so much as it is based on economic hardship. Work hours and take home pay are reduced, but the costs of traveling to work and back are not. Many workers are single parents or make child-support payments, and those costs are not reduced proportionately. For many, then, the benefits derived from working do not support the costs of working, also resulting in anguished decisions to cut losses by accepting the company's offer of uncontested voluntary layoff to seek unemployment insurance and/or other assistance programs because the decision's accepted risk involves the loss of job "perks," like insurance, too. Schwartz 1999 (p. 34) would persuasively argue here that what the market economy can do *for* people, it can do *to* people.

The fiscal health of Woolly Bear has significant impact on all of "Will It Play Here? City." Peripheral or marginalized surplus workers no longer have the opportunity for horizontal or lateral mobility, shifting from one like job to another. They are most likely to be hit first in times of economic downswing, and to date, only a few floor supervisors have lost jobs at SLK, even though there is less work being done and fewer people to oversee. Those employees with no cubes remain exploited and most vulnerable to economic fluctuations, and if they are lucky enough to find other jobs the workers may be no better off, or in worse straits, than before. Now in its third year of operation, many feel that SLK is still just the old ITI wrapped in pretty ribbons, but that should come as no surprise to either Marx, O'Sullivan, Pfeffer, or Sennett and Cobb. Workplaces are authoritarian rather than egalitarian. Managers owe their first allegiance to the company. Companies are not in the specific business of catering to the welfare of their employees. It has been argued that capitalism and businesses are more than just profit-motivated ventures. They also seem to exist, unfortunately, to control the attitudes, the actions (O'Sullivan 2002; Sennett and Cobb 1972), and the fates of hidden workers, those who possess no cubes.

CONCLUSION

The events surrounding the history of Industrial Development, Inc. turned Subsidiary Logistics Kompany represent a type of case study. Beyond that, though, the consequences of "boom or bust" business cycles on other companies' hourly-wage employees are happening with regularity in today's troubled times.

Philosophical novelists proclaim that a humanistic combination of social, political, and economic equality is possible: Thomas More (1516/2002), for example, described his Utopia; James Hilton (1933/1996) told us about Shangri-La; and B.F. Skinner (1945/1962) portrayed life at Walden Two; but, the great ideological experiment to implement Marxian ideals through the old U.S.S.R. seems to be unfulfilled(Dolgun 1975; Solzhenitsyn 1973, and Sorokin 1950).

While there seem to be discrepancies between ideals and their implementations, Marx was on target in his appreciation for the plights of working men and women in many industries, regardless of color now. Labor unions have mitigated some of the power and financial differences between owners/managers and workers, but such changes are not universal. State and national laws have set many employment standards, but they are often resisted and artfully dodged, as SLK seems to have found a way to conveniently sidestep certain provisions and obligations of the Worker Adjustment and Retraining and Notification Act (WARN). Just as some things change, others remain the same. To paraphrase Taylor and then Pferrer, "management *always* rules." There is no compassion shown by management toward labor as O'Sullivan (2002) previously showed.

A popular culture mass media personal finance specialist recently recommended five steps to take when jobs are lost: File for unemployment (insurance); trade down [sic] the totem pole of job hierarchy; get retrained; fill times gaps in resumes; and find alternative sources of income (Willis 2009 6), but that expert seems to directing her suggestions to the executive classes that are experiencing dilemmas that are foreign to them. Perhaps she should address another stratum because its hidden workers, and others who are like-situated, are already near bottoms of their totem poles, and current economic forecasts remain dim.

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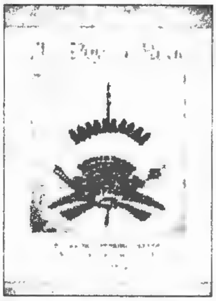

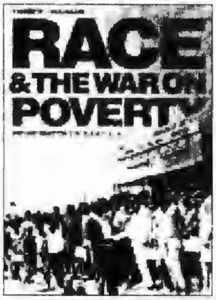
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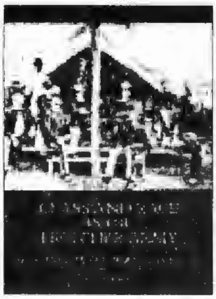
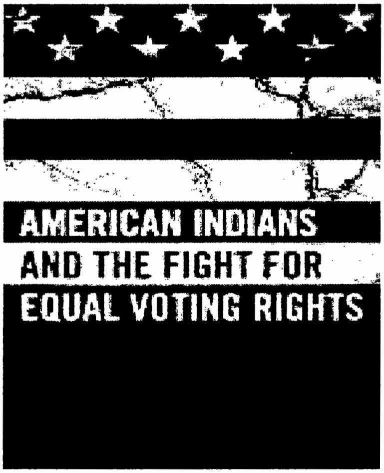


American Indians and the Fight for Equal Voting Rights

By Laughlin McDonald

Recounting Indians' progress in the voting booth

The struggle for voting rights was not limited to African Americans in the South. American Indians also faced discrimination at the polls and still do today. This book explores their fight for equal voting rights and carefully documents how non-Indian officials have tried to maintain dominance over Native peoples despite the rights they are guaranteed as American citizens.



Laughlin McDonald has participated in numerous lawsuits brought on behalf of Native Americans in Montana, Colorado, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Wyoming. This litigation challenged discriminatory election practices such as at-large elections, redistricting plans crafted to dilute voting strength, unfounded allegations of election fraud on reservations, burdensome identification and registration requirements, lack of language assistance, and noncompliance with the Voting Rights Act. McDonald devotes special attention to the VRA and its amendments, whose protections are central to realizing the goal of equal political participation.McDonald describes past and present-day discrimination against Indians, including land seizures, destruction of bison herds, attempts to eradicate Native language and culture, and efforts to remove and in some cases even exterminate tribes. Because of such treatment, he argues, Indians suffer a severely depressed socioeconomic status, voting is sharply polarized along racial lines, and tribes are isolated and lack meaningful interaction with non-Indians in communities bordering reservations.

Far more than a record of litigation, *American Indians and the Fight for Equal Voting Rights* paints a broad picture of Indian political participation by incorporating expert reports, legislative histories, newspaper accounts, government archives, and hundreds of interviews with tribal members. This in-depth study of Indian voting rights recounts the extraordinary progress American Indians have made and looks toward a more just future.

Laughlin McDonald is Director of the Voting Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union. He is the author of numerous books and articles on voting rights policy, including *A Voting Rights Odyssey: Black Enfranchisement in Georgia*

Cesar Chavez: The Struggle for Justice
Cesar Chavez: La lucha por la justicia

by Richard Griswold Del Castillo **(Author),** Anthony Accardo **(Illustrator),** Jose Juan Colin

César Chávez (1927-1993), generally regarded as the best-known and mostly highly discussed Mexican American, is the subject of this bibliography. Chávez, born in Yuma, Arizona, transcended his major significance as a labor organizer and leader of California farm workers. People viewed, and continue to view, Chávez in different ways: a courageous model; a dedicated spokesperson for Mexican Americans in general; branded by enemies as a Communist rabble-rouser; a catalyst for the cultural "Chicano Renaissance", and a spiritual humanist. Ultimately, this biography portrays him as a moral leader possessing uncommon energy.

The compelling narrative traces the principal stages of Chávez' life: the youngster who was forced to become a migrant worker; his own oppressive experiences in the fields; his zootsuit and military service days; his family life; the crucial influences on his life; his growing awareness of the contributions he could make as an organizer and leader; and the development of his dedication to realizing "La Causa." Biographical interpretations include his commitment to a Gandhi-style non-violent ideology and his highly astute practice of politics intermingled with charisma, integrity and spirituality. The biographers also chronicle Chávez' association with United Farm Worker Dolores Huerta, and thereby give appropriate attention to the increasing significance of the Chicana in the history of the Mexican American laborers' struggles.

The two biographers are both Chicano historians: Richard Griswold del Castillo from San Diego State University and Richard A. García, from California State University, Hayward. This study, however, is not limited to an academic readership. In fact, the co-authors make it clear that it is impossible to have a definitive biography of a figure as recent as Chávez. The result is a thoroughly researched book, showing depth and a consideration of Chávez' multifaceted life, and told with clarity, precision, and sympathy. The authors have molded Chávez' many complexities into a focused portrait of a man who emerged from the Chicano community as a man of all oppressed people. Just as Chávez' life could be interpreted in many essential ways as a microscopic portrait of the Mexican American in twentieth-century America, this highly readable book represents the seemingly simple but highly complex man of the earth that Chávez embodied.

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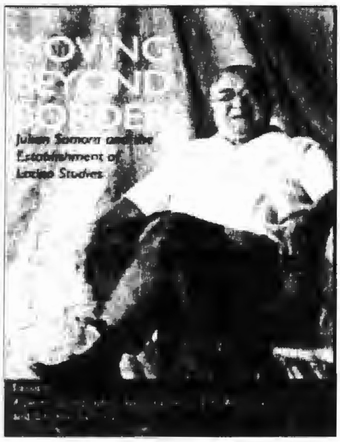
MOVING BEYOND BORDERS
Julian Samora and the Establishment of Latino Studies

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