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**SOCIAL SHEPHERDING AND MORAL NETS AS FOUND IN  
SOME NOVELS BY FYODOR DOSTOEVSKY, JAMES A. MICHENER,  
GEORGE ORWELL, B. F. SKINNER, AND C. S. FORESTER**

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**Abstract**

This article uses selected passages from the Old and New Testaments to illustrate the common presence of good shepherd and moral net themes in some of the novels by Fyodor Dostoevsky, James A. Michener, George Orwell, B.F. Skinner, and C.S. Forester. Traditional sociology texts and classroom lectures rightly address such topics as normal parts of social life, but usually objectively; novelists do the same, yet with much more passion. While no "a-ha" moments, statistical data, or tests of hypotheses are offered here, students of sociology are encouraged to follow Ogburn's advice to go outside traditional boundaries and sources of knowledge to find sociology and have fun doing so, because the stable templates of social organization are there to be found and made available to others.

**INTRODUCTION**

Sheep are often portrayed as being stupid animals, incapable of awareness, self-direction and self-defense. When in pasture, they need to be shepherded by human or by domesticated guardians, leading them and protecting them against threats. Good shepherds, then, know all members of their flocks and their peculiarities: They know the strong and the weak, the healthy and the unhealthy, the dominant and the submissive. *Social* shepherding is the process of guiding human flocks, and the expression has three foundations. The first is a combination of Judaic and Christian backgrounds that are used only for infrastructures, not as advocacies. The second is sociological, and the third stems from questions in psychology.

A theologically-based reference to the good shepherd is found in New Testament readings, specifically the Gospels of Matthew 18:10, Luke 15:3-7, and John 10:7-16 where Jesus is the shepherd over his followers. While those references pertain to the religion based upon Jesus' ministry, he lived in times of the Law and the Prophets (hereafter, Old Testament). Who, then, was the good shepherd for his neighbors and him? A menu of people in that role would include Moses and descendent leaders, but the list would be topped with God. Judaism's scriptures provide many references to God as a shepherd, and two depict vivid images of his pastoral and pastoral responsibilities: They are in the book of Isaiah 40:11 and in Psalm 23.

The second and sociological foundation is Davis and Stazs'

concept of a *moral net* (1990). A moral net represents the consistent underpinnings to social structure upon which human behavior and human interaction are based. It is comprised of mores, beliefs, and norms that allow collectives and individuals to create partitions separating truth from lies, right from wrong, good from bad, and the appropriate from the inappropriate. A moral net may have religious or secular bases, or a melding of the two. Once established, it can become an internal mechanism of social control when people accept it and treat it as their own; or, it can be imposed upon a population through forces of social power. Elements of the net may be eternal, or they may be changed as events, or as leaders, require.

The third principle of origination comes from psychologist B.F. Skinner (1964/1972a). Humans have certain moral commitments to others [resulting in obligatory acts based on existing moral nets]. Conforming or good behavior is achieved when appropriate moral codes are internalized. Sometimes, though, the morality of righteousness is nudged by those whose other-directed intentions may be questionable. He wonders, when does the moral or cultural designer become a despot (Evans 1968:47) shedding the shepherd's staff and creating tyranny? A second question asks whether or not the individual accedes to the imposed modifications of the new moral nets, or maintains the ones that have been acceptable? Answers to these questions can be

found in a variety of places, but I have chosen locations in popular literature.

This study investigates social shepherding in several novels by noted authors. I first look at Fyodor Dostoevsky's 1880/1996 *The Brothers Karamazov* (hereafter, *Brothers K...*). The next book is James A. Michener's *The Source* (1969), succeeded by George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1946/1962b) and his 1949/1961 *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (hereafter, 1984). These books are followed by B.F. Skinner's 1948/1969 *Walden Two* (hereafter, *W-2*), and the selection concludes with C.S. Forester's 1955 *The Good Shepherd* (hereafter, *TGS*). Additional works by these authors, and by others, are also cited for background material and comparisons.

This article represents a study of sociology in literature, using the selected authors and novels as a combination of purposive and convenience samples. All of us have favorite data sources, paradigms, theories, research methods, scholars we often cite, and background assumptions about sociology: I have two. First, I believe that sociology is narrative, making it appropriate to speak with the judicious voice of the first-person singular (the "I" and the "my"), allowing the reader to see how the writer's experiences contribute to the research. Second, I believe that we should follow Ogburn's advice from 1930 when he invited us to look for sociology anywhere, especially realms outside tradition, and present our findings to others, making sociology, I add, enjoyable to the

researcher and the audience.

### THE AUTHORS

A variety of novelists could have been chosen for this study, but ideas from the ones selected offered a fair degree of fit and diversity of characterization to the themes of social shepherding and moral nets. Before discussions of the novels begin, though, I offer biographical sketches of the writers and back stories.

#### **Fyodor Dostoevsky (1821-1881)**

Dostoevsky was born in Moscow, Russia, where his father was a physician for the poor. Sometimes his father is portrayed as being demanding, and at other times a caring and understanding parent. Either way, Dostoevsky's childhood left indelible images affecting his literary leanings, often addressing conflicts in the personal and social lives of his portrayals. The tumultuous family in *Brothers K...* is a case in point.

I first read the novel during my initial enrollment as a freshman at the eastern Illinois university from which I later graduated twice. My literature classmates and I used it as a text, accompanied by a compilation of short stories by Leo Tolstoy that was more enjoyable than Dostoevsky's reflective piece. While I maintain that opinion, *Brothers K...* chapter on "The Grand Inquisitor" still captures my attention.

*Brothers K...* was Dostoevsky's last book, and many literary analysts feel that it was his best achievement.

After his military service as a commissioned officer, he got into legal trouble. There are several imprecise accounts of involvement with a political organization where his membership resulted in arrest and imprisonment in Katorga, part of the tsarist prison system that later became known as the *gulag archipelago* under Josef Stalin. Dostoevsky's 1861/2008 *Memoirs from the House of the Dead* (hereafter, *Memoirs...*) is a report of his sentence, identifying the same living conditions as Alexander Solzhenitzyn's 1963 *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (hereafter, *One Day...*). Both writers were imprisoned under fluid definitions for sedition, so their books contain several sets of parallel ideas. One of those thoughts is that there are two types of prisoners: common and political. Common prisoners simply violated criminal codes. Political prisoners (*poles*) were guilty of political wrongdoing, violating the integrity of the state or its leaders' dictates. Dostoevsky, and later Solzhenitzyn, were so labeled, as was Orwell's Winston Smith in 1984.

Dostoevsky's *Memoirs...* and Solzhenitzyn's *One Day...* have another point in common. Each book identifies one character who pays particular attention to his religion. Dostoevsky's Isaiah Fomich regularly conducted his Friday night Sabbath, believing deeply that Judaic Law is everywhere at all times. In similar fashion, Solzhenitzyn's Alyosha, a Baptist, read The New Testament regularly. Suffering punishment for common crimes is appropriate and

necessary, he believed, but persecution based on his religious identity required continued faith, prayer, proclamation, and witnessing.

Dostoevsky embraced Christian orthodoxy and he was a monarchist because each provided its own style of predictability. The sweeping social aphorisms of late 1700s France, and emerging economic and political ideologies and disruptive social movements of western Europe's mid-1800s troubled him, fearing that they could migrate into his homeland. Religious and political conflicts were also prominent themes in his major novels.

#### **James A. Michener (1907-1997)**

Raised in Doylestown, PA, Michener was born into poverty with a clouded ancestry, and was a childhood friend of Margaret Mead (Michener 1992:436). He was schooled at Swarthmore College and at Colorado State Teacher's College, and received the 1947 Pulitzer Prize in literature for his anthology *Tales of the South Pacific* (1946). He wrote about ninety articles or stories for various magazines, and about fifty-five non-fiction and fiction books, including the posthumously published love story *Matacumbe* (2007). I own and have read forty-two of those titles, including *James A. Michener's USA* from 1981 that he claims was falsely attributed to him (Michener 1992:471). He also wrote several short stories such as "Who Is Virgil T. Fry?" in 1941 that was his first literary publication, and twelve of his books were used for musicals, movies, and television shows. His long novels are

known for their short titles.

Information from his autobiography *The World Is My Home* (1992) and from two biographers (Hayes 1984; May 2005) reveal different yet complementary details about the same man. Michener was raised a Quaker with Presbyterian flavorings, but held little affinity with any religion or denomination. He was interested in religion as a social institution, a "religious sociologist" (Michener 1992:489), but chose to be identified as a liberal humanist. In like fashion, he called himself a writer rather than an author. He became wealthy and was generous with his earnings, but he never forgot the deprivations of childhood. He was a social activist for worthy causes and received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from Gerald Ford in 1977. He wrote long novels to relieve people from the predictable and banal contents of television shows. Many of his renowned books, including *The Source*, are layered stories of historical geography and geology, cultural and generational conflicts, personal hardship and endurance, and ecological stewardship. He was praised for those sweeping and ambitious efforts just as he was scorned for their shallow characters, formulaic and repetitious structures, and abrupt endings.

He was an officer in the U.S. Navy during World War II and was stationed in the South Pacific when he began the writing career that earned literary acclaim and fortune. Several books later Michener turned his interest to the eastern Mediterranean after Israel had had



some success as a nation-state-country. It is there that *The Source* takes place and I isolate the book's tenth chapter entitled "The Law" where Michener paid attention to ancient Judaism's YHWH as the one true God, Mosaic codes, the Talmud, and some consequences of confrontations between religions.

*The Source* was the second of his long and tiered novels, and biographer May (2005:261) says it was the best of Michener's own genre. The weaving of narrative, history and control of subject matter became Michener's hallmark style that served him well for the succeeding and successful novels with regional titles.

### **George Orwell (1903-1950)**

Eric A. Blair is better known as George Orwell, and is perhaps best known for the two dystopian stories of *Animal Farm* and *1984*. Both are warnings about totalitarianism and are based on the practices of Communism that he saw during the Spanish Civil War, as revealed in his 1952 book *Homage to Catalonia* (henceforth *Homage ...*). Inklings of his discomfort emerged, however, in his *Burmese Days* (1932/1962a), all leading journalist Emma Larkin (2005:3) to affirm a local belief that this book should begin a trilogy followed by *Animal Farm* and by *1984* about Burma, not an imaginary place.

Born in India into a family of foreign service officers, Blair continued the family tradition. After graduating from college he joined the Imperial Police and was posted in Burma, now Myanmar, for five years

in the 1920s. *Burmese Days* partially reflects the events and ideological sentiments of the area, so Larkin's book is a record of her journey following Orwell's ghost from duty station to duty station as she studied the man and his literary career.

While the main characters in *Animal Farm* and *1984* have been called ideas rather than people, just the opposite was said of *Burmese Days* (Muggeridge 1962:XV), allowing me to mention several of the parallel themes between the three books. Orwell's use of the term *biarch*, for example, identifies the social, cultural, political, and economic differences between colonialists and local populations where the visitors were always privileged over the visited. Extending this thought to the other two novels we clearly see dual-class differences between privileged groups and their underlings.

Also, maintenance of private lives is a form of corruption that breeds unrest. British imperialism was, in fact, anti-intellectual, and the expropriating leaders dictated private and public opinions. The new idea with great potential to rock the stability of international economics was Bolshevism as mentioned several times in *Burmese Days*. Bolshevism preached the vision of equality but had a hard time delivering it as Orwell showed in *Homage...*

The British imperialists of *Burmese Days* and others places across the globe believed and endorsed the idea that some people were more equal than others. They created and promoted the inequality between



populations, did not want social or economic parity, and felt that only the right people with the right ideas had the right to lead and control others. These themes permeate all three of Orwell's novels, and his story of experiences in the Spanish Civil War cemented his anti-totalitarian warnings to the world.

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) was a confused international event based on political ideologies and military actions supporting democracy, Republicanism, Communism, Fascism, anti-/ex-Stalinists, anti-/ex-Fascists, socialists, anarchists, loyalists, Francistas, democratic capitalists, Bolsheviks, Trotskyites, Christian Patriots, and the Popular Front (Orwell 1952). Michener read about the turmoil in news reports, but Orwell lived them and wrote them for the press.

Orwell entered the war as a reporter, empathized with social Communism, joined its ranks as a militiaman and eventually met Georges Kopp. Kopp was a Russian army officer later serving in British intelligence agencies during World War II as a spy. He is rumored to have been the role model for 1984's O'Brien - the party man who "turned" Smith, had him arrested for activities against the state, and re-socialized Smith by using his innate fear of rats against him.

Orwell reports in *Homage...* that a number of factors promoted his rapid and radical change of opinion against political Communism. There were few military victories and politics were confused. There were constant shortages of capable leadership,

food, clothing, military supplies, money, durable goods, rest, and constancy. There was an abundance of despair, political suspicion, intra-group spies, and arrests based on allegations of defiance. There were ideological conflicts and ambiguous group boundaries and questioned loyalties, as well as convenient and immediate rule changes.

There were staged public displays of support, and efficiency was replaced by *manana*, meaning "sometime." Propaganda replaced the truth. News was censored and dissidents were censured or they just disappeared. There were vermin and there were rodents as Orwell recited the alliterative, haunting and foreshadowing lyrics from a song of the times: "*There are rats, rats, rats. Rats as big as cats...*"

### **B.F. Skinner (1904-1990)**

Burrhus Frederick Skinner, raised in economic modesty in Susquehanna, PA, became a renowned and controversial experimental psychologist. His extensive *curriculum vitae* (c.v.) contains a three-part autobiography comprised of the 1976 *Particulars of My Life* (hereafter, *Particulars...*), 1979's *The Shaping of a Behaviorist* (hereafter, *Shaping...*), and from 1983 *A Matter of Consequences* (hereafter, *Consequences...*).

*Particulars...* is the first-person account of his family of orientation and schooling through his degree from Hamilton College. *Shaping...* is the tale of his studies at Harvard University, his family of procreation, his early university appointments, and

details about his sole novel. *Consequences...* is a look at the apex and seniority of his career.

Two other books from the 1970s, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1972) and *About Behaviorism* (1974), were received well among the laity, but perhaps his most renowned and contested book is the novel, *W-2*. Muggerridge's claim about *Animal Farm* and 1984 are appropriate for Skinner's novel, as well. The plot is weak, conversations are stiff interrogations, and it is more ideational- than story-based. Skinner once called a colleague a "literary psychologist" (1979:23), and the same can be said about him as he crafted fiction with sciences of human behavior and social engineering.

I have read *W-2* five times, with three as a supplemental text in the sociology of community classes that I taught for an Illinois state university. During my doctoral program, my wife worked for the experimental lab school run by the psychology department of that western Michigan university. Many of our friends were behaviorists and had known Skinner, so he and derived teaching methods were frequent topics of conversation.

Susquehanna was not prosperous, nor were his parents during his youth. When toys broke or became too worn, he and friends were forced to improvise or repair the damages, creating a practical orientation to mechanical engineering and self-sufficiency. He was exposed in school to such classics as Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854/1962) that had a profound and long-term effect. He also learned from his

adolescent schooling that competitive education is not as productive as it should be, thereby lending favor to the values of cooperative education, self-enhancement and life-long learning opportunities that were built into the Walden Two, the community.

*W-2*, the book, was written in about seven months shortly after World War II. I will not review the entire plot, and I will let the reader find the fairly obvious conclusion. The scenario, though, involves several veterans of the war who were looking for a peace-time alternative to the chaos and destruction of war in which they had participated. Enlisting the aid and the company of a former professor, six people visited the experimental village that one of the seekers discovered. The visitors' tour was led by Walden Two's founder, and in the end the guests made personal decisions about its efficacy.

Like other Utopian novels, the story in *W-2* has an ancillary presence: Skinner is expressing a belief rather than creating complex roles, intriguing dialogues, or a plausible plot. Skinner believed that creating positive, rather than aversive, communities and larger social organizations was possible. He believed that then-modern society stifled rather than enhanced human potential. Skinner believed that a more ecologically-friendly living place was possible. Skinner believed that people could govern themselves rather than being governed by others *in extremis* as Orwell prophesied at about the same time that Skinner wrote his novel.

Skinner believed that human living

arrangements, communities or societies are made typifying the wishes or the features of their populations: There are no archetypes against which all are measured. The human personality is also shaped according to the character of the whole unit. People who live in repressive or aversive communities see such arrangements as normal, just as people who live in more reflective and open lifestyles view them as being normal. The task facing all people, then, is to shape living arrangements that maximize human potential by creating societies where human needs and wishes are met without interference from outsiders, while doing minimal harm to the local ecology. *W-2* represents a community that could exist on moral consensus with a consistent, agreeable, and agreed-upon code of conduct likened to the one conceived at Thoreau's aquatic retreat.

### **C.S. Forester (1899-1966)**

Cecil Scott Forester is the pen name of Cecil Lewis Troughton Smith. Complete biographical accounts are hard to find, but I found a biography and several electronic sites that provide basic data about the man, but no profound insights. He is rumored to have had imaginary parents, but was born to real ones in Cairo, Egypt, where his father, like Orwell's, was a minor British foreign service official.

Always agonizing over the conflict between his bookish self and the daring adventurer he wanted to be, the concern about his potential conduct in combat loomed high

(Sternlight 1981:24). Forester was partially compensated for this anxiety when he also was sent to the war in Spain as a correspondent. Direct contact with that conflict led not to shooting or being wounded, but to two short novels about Spanish military history. His best-known standalone novel is *The African Queen* (1935) but greater literary fame came from the series about Horatio Hornblower, a British Navy officer during the Napoleonic Wars. While these books are entertaining, I concentrate on Forester's *TGS*.

I received my copy as a First Edition when it was published and I read it every several years. The book offers reasonable but not lurid portrayals of North Atlantic convoy escort duty during World War II as I was told of it a long time ago by a U.S. Navy veteran who served in such duty. Forester's book is a dedicated story of social shepherding, and it topped the list of novels that I chose for this project.

### **THE BOOKS AND SOCIAL SHEPHERDING**

A novel is a work of fiction, often containing sociological principles, real people, and verifiable events. Such combinations of contents have been called fictional reality (O'Sullivan 2006) where readers are asked to suspend their disbelief in contrived stories, enjoying them as vicarious participants. I follow O'Sullivan's advice here by treating the stories as real, and I ask the reader to do the same. I also ask the reader to suspend time differences between

the novels, treating them all as taking place today, just as we do when we read recreational literature.

**"The Grand Inquisitor" from Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov***

Much like Tolstoy's epic novel about Russia, *Brothers K...* is to be studied rather than read by a cozy fire or in a warm bed. It is a long and complex story of patricide, sibling rivalry, and philosophy, so emphasis here is centered only on the chapter about the grand inquisitor. As a believer in religious and political orthodoxies, Dostoevsky has Ivan Karamazov weighing competitive beliefs about God, Jesus, shepherding, and moral nets with his brother, Alyosha. Any understanding of the grand inquisitor's quest requires some knowledge of a biblical event, so I offer a summary of it as a preamble to Dostoevsky's version of the occurrence.

New Testament theology tells us that Christ was purified and expiated in the rite of baptism by his cousin, John. Soon thereafter Jesus went into the wilderness to test the strength of his convictions where events are chronicled three times in the Gospels of Matthew 4:1-10, Mark 1:9-13, and Luke 4:1-13. There Satan tried to corrupt Jesus' baptism with several temptations. If Jesus would turn stones into bread, then people will hunger no more. If Christ would throw himself off a cliff and live, then people will no longer question God's miracles. If Christ would accept earthly riches, then people will no longer be poor. Satan was competing

with God, but Jesus recognized Satan's false authority, lies, and tyranny. God was Jesus' good shepherd and his moral nets were written in Holy Scriptures, so Jesus denies Satan by kissing him and by walking away.

Ivan's story takes place in an *auto de fe* of the Spanish Inquisition with Satan replaced by a Roman Catholic Jesuit Cardinal and Jesus is imprisoned. The priest-turned-auto-theocrat disagrees with God over free will, believing that people are weak, unable to choose or think for themselves, needing decisive shepherds to guide them. Only the right people with the right beliefs have the ordained right to lead and grant absolution for sins. Theocrats are favorably positioned to influence others' moral choices, including sacred allegiances, honoring saints, personal sacrifices, and almsgiving: All cannot be left to chance. A broad-based and forgiving religion undermines theocratic power.

Ivan's world view of skepticism, religious doubt, and rational empiricism differs from Alyosha's religious empathy and a natural belief in God. Alyosha sees the transparencies of his brother's twin arguments—the Cardinal's trick and Ivan's. Declaring "You do not believe in God, that's his secret" (p. 271), Alyosha kisses his brother and walks away.

This story has a third literary presence, told about a century after *Brothers K...* in novelist Nikos Kazantzakis' *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1960). The preconditions and setting are the same as the biblical

version. Jesus is depicted in anguish, tormented by visions of unearthly creatures, maws, mirages, and voices as Satan appears in three different forms. A serpent tempts Jesus with worldly pleasures, especially a conjugal marriage with his childhood friend, Mary Magdalene, in her attributed role as a prostitute. Satan's second form is a lion, offering secular riches and kingdoms. Satan's third appearance is fire, offering Jesus omnipotence –to become God– that was claimed to be Jesus' deepest desire. By now Jesus is tired, hungry, and weak, maybe susceptible to wicked influences, when he feels God's invisible hand on his shoulder, directing him away. The good shepherd of Judea was tending to a vulnerable member of the flock.

Skinner's questions about leadership and followership apply to biblical events, as well as the novels by Dostoevsky and by Kazantzakis. Baptism put Jesus into a dyadic relationship of reciprocity with God who was the good shepherd and, Jesus was the faithful and proclaiming scion. Jesus used his moral nets to survive, just as Dostoevsky's Alyosha Karamazov and Isaiah Fomich, and Solzhenitzyn's Alyosha the Baptist, used theirs.

### **"The Law" from Michener's *The Source***

The story takes place in Israel at Tell Makor, "The Source," as archaeologists uncover sundry artifacts in strata of the excavation and Michener weaves separate stories around the discovered remains. One of the old souvenirs is a piece of

inscribed doorway cornice and its history reflects one man's drive to honor and preserve ancient Judaism.

Christianity's Holy Trinity –God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, overlapping like three circles in a Venn diagram– took its formal image in the late 4<sup>th</sup> Century, A.D. Judaism, though, offers a different vision of God, depicting him in one form with three gifts for humanity. The Old Testament's Book of Genesis identifies these offerings as creator, redeemer, and sanctifier; and, a reading of Weber indicates God's presence as guardian, partner, and provider (Bendix 1962).

As the chapter unfolds ancient Judaism and fledgling Christianity begin to clash in the common area. The culture conflict frightens Rabbi Asher ha-Garsi, and it emboldens him to remain faithful to YHWH, his one true God, by maintaining his faith in the three religious guy wires of his moral net.

The Old Testament's first division (a Pentateuch) is called the Torah or "Moses' Law," containing the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Exodus 20:1-7 and Deuteronomy 5:4-21 contain the Ten Commandments, representing the first element of Rabbi Asher's moral net. The second is found in Leviticus and in Numbers where another 613 guidelines are found: 365 of them correspond to the number of days in a calendar year and 248 of them represent the number of bones in a human body. The third division is the Talmud, the encyclopedic translation of Judaism's oral traditions on history, morality,

and behavior norms. The Talmud is recognized as compiled in two sections between 299 C.E./A.D. and 500 C.E./A.D. by rabbinic scholars, and Rabbi Asher was a participant circa 350 C.E./A.D. when the chapter takes place. "...[W]hat is the law?" asks Rabbi Asher, and he answers, "It is doing the best we can to ascertain God's intention..." (Michener 1969:554) through piety, study, and action. No matter how hard he tries, Rabbi Asher's moral nets are tested when organized Christianity comes to town.

The Spanish priest Fr. Eusebius arrived, supported by Christian soldiers, to spread the testament of Jesus, to convert, to build, and to change. Michener writes that Roman Catholicism's ability to imbed itself into a region with skillful adaptations to local customs and mores (1969:560), and Fr. Eusebius is adept. Judaism, he says, is a transitional path to salvation: Christianity is the better way. Judaism, he says, is based on a wrathful God, whereas Christianity is based on a benevolent one. Synagogues with simple adornments need to be replaced with ornate basilica speaking to Christianity's God of glory. Those who were shunned under the old laws are welcomed in the new ones.

Rabbi Asher's world was crumbling around him. The synagogue he built was demolished. Members of his flock converted. The Law was being replaced. Soldiers were killing non-Christians. The town was destroyed. Though faced with despair, he continued his religious commitments

and his social obligations to family, work, and neighbors. He believed that preaching the Law and the Prophets was a privilege and a duty, and the rites of the Sabbath transcend time, place, and circumstance.

### **Orwell's *Animal Farm* and 1984**

These two books are allegories and warnings about the rise of political and economic tyrannies as foreseen by Orwell in Burma and in Spain. The twin stories were not the only clarions, though, having been discussed a few years before the novels' arrivals. Nobel Prize economist Frederick A. Hayek wrote a treatise in 1944 that compared free-market economies and democratic politics with political economies derived from states' central planning systems. The comparisons he made were plentiful and dramatic, but we must remember that Hayek's publisher still sponsors political and economic conservatism. Nonetheless, his comments will be incorporated with Orwell's, and with Skinner's, later.

*Animal Farm* and *1984* can be read either as standalone novels or as a pair. If the first method is selected *Animal Farm* is the story of anthropomorphized farm animals whom revolt against their owner and depose him. They have no agrarian, marketing, or managerial skills so they take the farm to near economic ruin. They felt that they had been treated unfairly by farmer Jones, so they created a code of conduct, a moral net, declaring all animals to be equal where they would share, and share alike. In the end, leadership

emerged with differential and preferential access to power, rights, and privileges —entitlements. The animals had re-created a system much like the one they had overthrown.

1984 is the story of a man who lives in a totalitarian land, Oceania, whose head of state is Big Brother. Smith, a minor government official like Orwell's father, works for a ministry where duties include revisionist history, distributing falsified reports of economic progress for the public, and erasing all reference to those who have become non-people through sedition. Smith commits the error of believing that he can have an *ownlife* and think for himself, so he meets a sympathetic believer who gives him an underground political tract to read; but it was a sting. A governmental official created the lie and Smith fell for it, was arrested, interrogated, tortured, and repatriated. Smith could be viewed as the sheep that went astray, lured by greener pastures, was caught by the shepherd's crook, led back to the fold, and rejoined the flock; except, O'Brien had no gracious intent.

The second method is to read them sequentially. *Animal Farm* represents the beginning of social revolution, and *1984* represents its conclusion. If this method is chosen, then the back story begins in *Burmese Days* during quieter times, yet only a vague vision is offered. *Homage...* then needs to read as succeeding *Burmese Days* but as a prequel to the other two novels because it depicts methods of revolution and what the future may bring when totalitarian Communism is

set in place.

*Animal Farm* and *1984* capture and disturb the reader's curiosity. *Animal Farm's* code of conduct is a listing of negative liberties telling the animals what to think rather than a notice of positive liberty's free will. The basic items in the code are: Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy; whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend; no animal shall wear clothes; no animal shall sleep in bed; no animal shall drink alcohol; no animal shall kill any other animal; and, all animals are equal (p. 33). Additional items include working according to capacity (p. 37), and the prohibited use of money (p. 67).

A formal leadership was affected because some animals seemed more capable than others to form policy and to guide others in the exercise of their new "liberties." After Napoleon the pig ascended to power, walking upright, the sheep's ditty "Four legs good, two bad" was replaced with "Four legs good, two better!" (p. 41). The anthem *Beasts of England* was replaced with *Comrade Napoleon* (p. 81). The prohibition against money was re-remembered as unratified by all (p. 67). Those who disagreed with Napoleon the pig were driven away, scapegoated like Snowball the pig, or were torn apart by his squad of guard dogs.

The original code of conduct was ultimately and surreptitiously changed amidst vague memory and hopeless curiosity by many on the farm, especially Clover, the naïve horse. Changes included sleeping in beds is approved so long as sheets are not



used (p. 69); no animal shall kill another without good cause (p. 88), and alcohol shall not be drunk to excess (p. 103). *Animal Farm's* most renowned expression concerns social equality that was rephrased (p. 123) to read: ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS. 1984 extends the story.

The animals had two identifiable leaders –farmer Jones and Napoleon the pig. Big Brother, though, has a combined allusive, elusive, and illusive presence. He is symbolic of good citizenship; he is never seen in public; and the social, economic, and political achievements under his rule are deceptive. Though shepherds, neither Napoleon the pig nor Big Brother could be called altruistic, and their minions could now be called “sheep.”

Many of Orwell's observations about the political theory observed in *Burmese Days* and in *Homage...* took place in the futuristic novel. Reciting a few examples from earlier references, there were staged public rallies of support for Big Brother, and non-believers disappeared without warning or public notice after they were politically “outed” by the thought police, such as O'Brien. News was censored, propaganda replaced the truth, and rules were flexible. *Animal Farm's* renegade Snowball was blamed for some of the farm's decline, and 1984's Emmanuel Goldstein, “author” of the tract titled *The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism*, is portrayed as the prime internal enemy of the state –a Public Enemy Number One.

Another novelist, Steve Berry (2010:66), depicted political conditions similar to the ones in Oceania, so I borrowed and applied them to Orwell's setting and admonitions.

[It was a Legalist system that] believed naked force and raw terror were the only legitimate bases for power. Absolute [control], centralized bureaucracy, state domination over society, law as a penal tool, surveillance, informers, dissident persecution, and political coercion were its fundamental tools (p. 66).

The animals' farm dictum on equality was violated. A biarchy class structure had been created with Napoleon the pig as the privileged leader over the lesser animals. A similar structure existed in Oceania but it did not evolve in the book –it had already been established, in two biarchic forms. There were political party members and the *proles*, and within the party there were the leaders and the functionaries –the O'Briens and the Smiths.

Both books were premised on the belief that only the right people with the right ideas had the right to lead, and in both stories the leaders created the rules of conduct serving as imposed moral nets for the respective populations. The animals' original rules were modified, and any formal codes of conduct in Oceania would have been incidental, taking second place to its primary directive: BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU!

If *Animal Farm*, and 1984 are, indeed, sequels, what is the segue between them? How are Skinner's questions answered? How would Hayek explain the shift from “demo-

cratic capitalism" to socialism where the equality of opportunity is overridden by an illusory equality of outcomes? I accidentally discovered Orwell's own possible answer to these questions.

A local used book dealer knew that I was reading about Orwell, so he sold me a paperback copy of *A Clergyman's Daughter* from 1935 and I randomly found pages 73-78 containing conversations about church parish congregations' reduced influence over liturgy, vestments, rituals, and message. The church's bishops, they felt, had become heavily influenced by modernists whereas the congregants preferred established traditions. Evidence of disaffection was measured by declining attendance at regular and high holy day worship services because the congregants, without voice, disengaged.

The animals at the farm were unable to fend for themselves once Napoleon the pig was seated in power: They acquiesced. Once power is centrally located it becomes institutionalized and corrupted as Lord Acton (cited in Hayek) and Hayek aver, becoming a generational phenomenon. The *proles* of Oceania also disengaged from politics, and the politicians who dared to think for themselves, forgetting who was really in charge, met with swift, sure, and frightful justice, like Smith, entering a type of *serfdom* defined with political intention by Hayek and with economic inflection by O'Sullivan (2002, 2010).

Skinner's *W-2*, though, offers a different method of moral acceptance. The members of the *Walden Two*

community sought its lifestyle.

### **Skinner's *Walden Two***

Thoreau spent a year of frugal and independent self-sufficiency living at *Walden Pond*, and wrote about his experience, treating it as a two-year venture rather than its single year. Skinner viewed *Walden* as a source of inspiration, but was also prodded by a friend to write an inspired book for post-World War II youth. That war, say Woodhouse (1962) and Mead (1970), so changed military weaponry, information technologies, international politics, and social relationships between generations that an improved vision of the future was necessary, and Skinner offered one.

My reading of *Walden* identified a number of principles that are found in *W-2*. They include personal austerity, unencumbered work, and honesty with self and with others. We should listen to learn, and speak so that others may also learn. Education promotes greater familiarity with oneself and with others, not mere facts. Science is to be applied. We should practice moral and economic chastity. Involvement is preferred over observation. Those who profess philosophy are not philosophers, whereas those who work to solve problems are.

Borrowing from Maslovian psychology, the first two items help to meet a person's primary needs, so the remaining items can be met along the way to something akin to self-actualization. Thoreau would not, obviously, have known about Abraham Maslow, but it is possible that Maslow would have known about

Thoreau, just as it is possible that Skinner would have been familiar with the precepts of self-actualization. Thoreau and Skinner might have responded to Hayek stating the revised society would ensure lifestyles of positive liberties and choosing for oneself, rather than succumbing to lifestyles of dictated negative liberties.

Skinner's understanding of Walden's principles is similar to mine. He wrote that no way of life is inevitable, so change what you do not like. Power does not ensure change but wisdom can. Ask only to be left alone to solve your own problems. Simplify your needs, being content with less (Skinner 1979:346).

The Walden Two community consists of nearly 1,000 residents who chose to join the village so it is justly called a voluntary organization. There are dormitories for men and for women and for boys and girls, with separate facilities for couples and their families. Traditional infant cribs are replaced by the Air Crib as Skinner's real-life invention. Children attend an open school where competition is replaced with cooperation, as is utility over rote. The packaged knowledge, packaged progress, tests and grading, academic honors, and ceremonial rites of passage found in traditional schools are excluded. Closed classrooms are replaced with open ones. Work tasks have been studied and minimized with maximum efficiency. Skilled professionals are encouraged to work within their arts, but it is not mandatory. Involvement in external politics and economics occur solely to

enhance and protect Walden Two's interests. Participation in religious worship and marriage are optional. The Walden Code is the centerpiece of the collective's moral net.

The items in Walden Two's Code are not openly listed as they are in *Animal Farm*, but they are clustered and explained as a combination of prescriptive allowances and proscriptive interdictions where health is better than illness (Skinner 1948/1962:159), and unpleasant tasks earns more labor points than pleasant jobs (p. 159). There are ample opportunities to exercise talents while pursuing new interests (p. 160), and intimate and satisfying contacts with others are encouraged (p. 160). The good life allows for rest and relaxation (p. 163), and do not discuss inside activities with outsiders (p. 163). Discuss work with others (p. 163), and gossip is unhealthy (p. 163). Managers will not discuss the Walden Code outside general assemblies (p. 164-165), and recognition of exceptional achievements may minimize average accomplishments (p. 169). Verbal gratuities and honorifics are not needed (p. 171).

Skinner's own discussion of his novel (1979) includes even more items. Cooperation is more constructive than competition. Positive reinforcers are long-lasting whereas punishment is not. Experiential learning in schools is preferred over the formality of lectures. Reducing compulsive labor and change is meant to improve, not just modify. When new members join the community it is renewed, just as Walden Pond has seasonal re-births.

New residents accept the community's way of life, while visitors are free to reject it. All told, *W-2* is a blueprint for shared experiences with a horizontal *gemeinschaft* made possible by a commitment to the vertical *gesellschaft* of the Walden Code.

Any theme-based novel will be a reflection of the author's opinions as shown in O'Sullivan's 2006 article on the portrayal of justice in the serial novels of nine modern authors. Not only was Skinner familiar with the idyllic Walden virtues, but writers of other utopian novels are discussed in the book's conversations. Included are Samuel Butler who wrote about Erewhon and its locomotives, James Hilton who allowed us to visit Shangri-la, and Thomas More took us to Utopia. Skinner joins them because all these works contain the authors' internal debates with themselves, playing the roles of protagonist and antagonist. Aside from the two couples who visit Walden Two in the novel, there are three other people whose conversations sound more like Platonic challenges than casual dialogues, but that was the purpose behind their presence. Burris is the friendly, inquisitive, and open-minded university professor. Castle, another college professor, is the skeptic, and Frazier is the founder and primary advocate of the community. Conversations between them are most commonly about social control, self-governance, and authority within the community. Little else is learned about them.

Hayek argued that organizations

cannot be completely self-governing otherwise no intentions, goals, or strategies can be made. Some forms of leadership selection and circulation are necessary. At issue then is not so much whether a leadership will emerge, but how are leaders chosen and what will they do with acquired power?

Walden Two is an egalitarian group with five levels of authority. The elected *Planners* make policies, determine goals, have a judicial role, and review the work of supervisors. The *Managers* are the appointed sectional overseers, trained and tested to ensure that the day-to-day operations run smoothly and efficiently. *Scientists*, as the title suggests, conduct pragmatic research rather than pure research, just as the young Skinner was obliged to create makeshift toys and repair damaged ones. Below these divisions are the *Workers*, the average and everyday residents of Walden Two. They are its *proles* who willingly relinquish their desires to actively participate in governance. And then there is Frazier.

Frazier offers opposing versions of his position in the community. He is honored to be its founder and ramrod, but declines the title of "leader." He prostrates himself on a grassy knoll, like Jesus on the cross, but declares that he is not Christ-like. He artfully deflects criticisms offered by several of the visitors, yet he refuses to accept praise for the bases of the detours. He enjoys good academic debates about Walden Two, and he hopes to create improved communities, elsewhere.

Whether or not *Walden Two* is as pristine as Skinner declares it to be, or is as self-governing as he proclaims, is a matter of conjecture. Skinner (1979:347) acknowledged that his novel received mixed reviews, with one of them reading: *THE NEWEST UTOPIA IS A SLANDER ON SOME OLD NOTIONS OF THE GOOD LIFE.*

The six visitors make their own decisions about *Walden Two's* quality of life and its freedoms, yet there is an alluring pastoral and pastoral scene early in the story. A flock of sheep is quietly grazing in a field, surrounded by a symbolic string fence that was formerly an electrified wire. Sitting and patiently watching from a convenient distance is "the Bishop" —the flock's sheep dog—deterring strays.

### **Forester's *The Good Shepherd***

Forester's book represents the purest selection of the good shepherd who relies on his pastoral moral net as he exercises his pastoral responsibilities in a time of crisis. Psalm 23's "...*Yea though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death...*" may refer to herding sheep in an area populated by predatory wolves, but it also applies to herding a convoy through wolf packs of enemy submarines on the hunt to kill.

Krause has to know the navigational and speed traits of each ship under his command, the characteristics of the convoy's civilian commander, as well as the traits and the foibles of the other escort ships and their captains. He has exact locations of all the ships' latitudes and

longitudes, and makes split-second duty assignments based on such ever-changing conditions. Krause, the pastoral shepherd, must estimate the submarines' tactics while putting his ship in harm's way to protect the convoy. Krause, the pastoral shepherd, listens to distress signals, suggestions of the other herders, and talks to the convoy and escort ships offering advice, encouragement, and orders.

The story begins when Krause is aroused from his bed with notice of a possible submarine contact, and the chase is on. The convoy is miles long and wide to avoid bunched targets. Its pace is determined by the weakest ship so headway is slow. The four escort vessels have limited fuel, limited munitions, and unlimited responsibility.

One possible enemy contact expands to several, eliciting coordinated attacks to inflict maximum damage to others while incurring minimal damage in return. A pastoral shepherd may have to leave the flock in order to attend a wounded or lost member, as does Krause's ship and another convoy vessel, attending to a stricken ship and its crew. Pursuit is long and arduous, and bridge watches change almost without notice as Krause weighs a failed marriage, an undistinguished military career, his ancestry, and his right to command. Kazantzakis depicts the physical isolation and loneliness of Jesus' time in the wilderness; Forester depicts Krause's social isolation of command, surrounded by many and plagued with doubt.

I found little biographical data to

suggest Forester's religious affiliation or beliefs, but my estimate that he was an Anglican or a member of the Church of England has several predicates. His father was a public official, and the government has strong ties to the C. of E. —the reigning monarch is called "Defender of the faith." He attended Alleyns School that has an Anglican affiliation like the Episcopal parochial school where my wife taught when we lived in Texas. Worship services were part of her daily curriculum, so I anticipate that Forester was schooled in the same tradition. Also, the scriptural passages that Krause recalls for strength, wisdom, and guidance in the face of adversity come from something greater than a casual familiarity with the Bible, all of which lead to my speculative comparison between Hornblower, Krause, and Forester. Hornblower and Krause lead ships into battles, but the similarity ends there. Hornblower is the staid naval officer with the "stiff-upper lip" persona when faced with danger. No Divine help is requested or needed in these swashbuckling adventures of English domination over the oceans during the age of sail. Having read the Hornblower books, and having read about Forester, I believe that the adventurous Forester might have identified with Hornblower, both adopting Gen. Douglas MacArthur's 1962 phrase, "duty, honor, country" as their moral net. Krause, in comparison, makes frequent supplications to God, seeking strength in a time of peril. Perhaps Krause represents Forester's reflective self, and each

could have modified MacArthur's words to say "duty, honor, country, and God" as their moral net. Maybe the stories' circumstances simply required alternative styles of leadership, or the premise behind *TGS* was completely different from the Hornblower series.

While at battle stations, the escort ships attack many enemy contacts causing uncertain damage. Fuel levels run low and munitions are depleted. All they can do is chase the enemy, without armaments to destroy the submerged foes. The situation becomes desperate. One escort is damaged and requires towing. Krause's own ship is damaged in surface combat. Krause is cold, tired, hungry, and wet. The submarines gain the advantage.

Eventually, a guardian angel disguised as a U.S. reconnaissance plane spots the convoy and relays its position and heading to a new escort force coming to meet it. The original shepherds are relieved of duty, leaving the care of their flock to others. The good shepherd and moral net symbolisms of Forester's story are self-evident, making *TGS* the capstone of my presentations.

## DISCUSSIONS

It is now time to return to traditional sociology and typify my selections by using and by adjusting an online script ([http://changingminds.org/explanations/power/three\\_dimensions\\_of\\_power.htm](http://changingminds.org/explanations/power/three_dimensions_of_power.htm)) that seems to be derived from Luke's 1974 book on social power. Leadership, or shepherding, according to

this tool, is three-dimensional, consisting of *channels* or means of enactment, *intent* to help or harm others, and the *deliberateness* of pre- or post-triggers to action. Each item is subdivided.

Channeled *physical* leadership or shepherding is based on a strength or prowess advantage that the leader has over the led. A pastoral shepherd, for example, has rods, staffs, and crooks to motivate or catch the flock's members. Channeled *informational* leadership or shepherding happens when the leader knows something that the led do not. A priest or a rabbi, for example, has specialized understanding of scriptures or religious heritage that members of an assembly do not usually have. Channeled *emotional* leadership or shepherding depends on charisma, oration, and compassion towards others.

Leadership or shepherding by *positive* intent is the defining feature of the good shepherd. The altruistic self helps the group or gives oneself to the group without pre-conditions. *Negative* intent, however, characterize the abusive shepherd as someone who uses the group for selfish purposes, caring little for harm that may result.

*Proactive* deliberateness occurs when, for example, a pastoral minister reminds a congregation of its moral nets against unspecified temptations, sins, or evils. *Reactive* deliberateness, in comparison, identifies the triggered timings or circumstances causing a leader to take action against specified dangers. A pastoral shepherd responds defen-

sively when a flock is threatened. With these parameters set, I look at some of their applications to the stories assessed here.

### **"The Grand Inquisitor"**

This chapter in Dostoevsky's book contains two plots: The symbolic Cardinal's temptation of Jesus and Ivan taunting his brother, Alyosha. Both antagonists use a combination of informational and emotional channels in their arguments. The Cardinal and Ivan each feel he has insider's knowledge that neither Jesus nor Alyosha possess. The Cardinal and Ivan also use emotional channels, thinking that their clever arguments alone may sway the opinions of Jesus or Alyosha, respectively. Neither succeeds.

The intentions of the Cardinal and Ivan are to acquire power. The Cardinal wants the advantage over God through Jesus' denial of his baptism and the manipulative Ivan tries to reign over Alyosha's spiritual moral nets. In so doing, the Cardinal and Ivan each employ *proactive* deliberated attacks against Jesus and Alyosha, who are only surrogate targets. If they would reject their God, then all types of rewards would come to them, but neither the Cardinal nor Ivan is empowered to make such deals, so they both fail.

### **"The Law"**

This chapter from Michener's book also addresses a man's faith midst threats and *could* be viewed as retelling Jesus' temptation in the wilderness. I chose to treat it, though, as one of Michener's profitable



literary themes –culture conflict.

Rabbi Asher's God is sometimes vengeful, using punishment for specific sins and as an aversive stimulus against future ones. Most of the time though his God is a kindly one, the good shepherd of Isaiah and of Psalm 23. All God asks of his people are loyalty and reverence.

Rabbi Asher, the social shepherd, channels with the informational skills of a scholar who has studied Judaic history and traditions, the Torah, and other documents. He knows the Law and is a co-writer of the Talmud. His *emotional* channeling reflects God's pastoral pro-social values and proactive deliberateness. All the rabbi asks of the residents of his town is that they stay true to their faith, their families, their work, and their community—their moral nets.

The beginning of the chapter has Rabbi Asher exercising his roles as a father, a businessman, and a public servant. There are no specific threats to the community, but circumstances change. The chapter shifts into Rabbi Asher's deliberate and reactive responses to the invading theology and its missionary. He engages in non-violent debates with Fr. Eusebius' counter channels, his counter intentions, and deliberate use of military forces; but Rabbi Asher is a meek man, incapable of physical confrontations. When his synagogue is destroyed leaving a few remnants, when his town is razed, when members of his flock defect or are killed, he leads remaining followers away to re-establish themselves and worship elsewhere. The Sabbath, ac-

ording to Judaic tradition, can take place anywhere.

### ***Animal Farm and 1984***

Napolean the pig's ascendancy accorded him the leadership of the shepherding status so long as the rest of the animals validated him, but his followers acquiesced rather than approved. Status and power was consolidated, transferred from the many to the one. Equality for all was replaced with inequality for most.

We do not know how Big Brother came into power, if he is even a real person. If he lives, he may have ascended the party's ranks by doing good deeds, or he may have used raw force to rise in status. Many readers and scholars agree though that Big Brother is symbolic of the power that the party has, and that power is used to dictate. Remember this variation of the Golden Rule: "Whoever has the gold, rules," and Big Brother is wealthy.

Napolean the pig and Big Brother channel through combinations of physical, informational, and emotional means. Intra-group dissidents are removed or tortured; information is manipulated for public consumption; and, anthems, rallies, and news extol the two despots, not those whom they lead. The self-serving, narcissistic, and greedy intentions of the tyrants are manifest in their deliberate and proactive public image campaigns with token appeasements, and harsh reactions to those who disagree with them. Napolean the pig and Big Brother have made themselves immune from public sentiment and scrutiny.

Since these tyrants exist, we have to remember that they exist over others, and for some reason those others allow the tyrants to exist, and suggestions explaining this relationship have already been offered. Orwell used grounded allegory to warn future generations about tyranny, just as Hayek cautioned that histories of tyrannies show public accountability is controlled from the top-down, not inspired from the bottom-up. Both contingencies remind us of sociological classics on elitism.

### **Walden Two**

The absence of a specific central authority makes *W-2* a little harder to assess. *W-2*'s Planners are elected to ten year terms, and whether or not a slate of candidates is chosen by the people or is handpicked by Frasier is a matter of theory, debated by the story's visitors and Frazier. If the Planners are just ratified minions, then their appointed Managers are also sycophants, both owing allegiance to one person over the many. The Scientists are apolitical, but their creations or solutions to problems have actual impact, as do their social opinions.

Physical channeling does not exist. There is no overt negative intent because the community was established on pro-social secular principles. Proactive deliberateness exists in the table of organization, the spiel offered in visitors' tours and in the Walden Code. Reactive counseling and banishment are rare.

Unlike Napoleon the pig and Big Brother, Frazer denies any author-

itarian role, status, power or privileges. He too must earn his labor points. He may espouse a community with little dissent or shortcomings, but let us not forget the symbolism of "the Bishop" posted near the sheepfold.

### **The Good Shepherd**

This book is easy to parse. The escorts' Cmdr. Krause was assigned his role by his superior officers. Compared to the other escort ships' captains, he is junior in experience but is senior in rank. His job entails complex manifestations of the three types of channeling, both types of intent, and both types of deliberateness.

Krause exercised a physical channel advantage over the submarines because he used radar for surface detections and sonar for underwater ones. The submarines of the era relied upon line-of-sight observations through periscope lenses or surface sightings when they made themselves susceptible to radar contacts. Krause exercised an information channel advantage over the submarines because he was able to communicate with each escort or convoy ship via two radios; and the submarines of the era could not do so unless they had surfaced, putting themselves into visual jeopardy. Krause exercised emotional channels when he wished all ships such benedictions as "Good luck," "Good hunting," or "God speed."

Positive intent and proactive deliberates are combined in his duty assignment –protect, at all costs, those who are unable to fend for themselves. Negative intent is then

joined with reactive deliberateness to attack the attackers, destroying them, if possible. The convoy is defenseless and Krause is its protector, its good and dedicated shepherd.

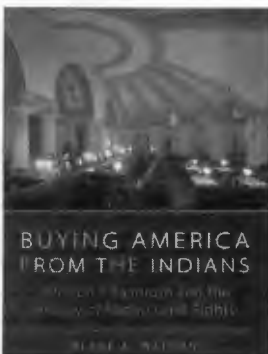
### CONCLUSION

This article used the novels of five well-known writers to illustrate that social shepherding and moral nets – both legitimate subjects in traditional sociology– can be found outside corporate, governmental, or cultural settings. I am certain that readers of this article can find other writers and books reflecting concepts used here; just as others, using the same resources, may offer alternative or contradictory analyses. I hope that that such comparative and independent pursuits are undertaken to find sociology in non-traditional places.

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**Buying America from the Indians  
Johnson v. McIntosh and the History of  
Native Land Rights** (ISBN: 9780806142449)  
By: Blake A. Watson

The U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Johnson v. McIntosh* established the basic principles that govern American Indian property rights to this day. The thorough backstory and analysis in this book will deepen our understanding of one of the most important cases in both federal Indian law and in American property law.



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**HISTORY OF ABUSE AND ITS TRANSMISSION TO PARENTING:  
A COMPARISON AMONG ADOLESCENT AND ADULT MOTHERS**

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**ABSTRACT**

Utilizing data collected in the Parenting for the First Time Project, this study's major objective was to assess the associations among maternal exposure to abuse, both past and more recent, and subsequent parenting practices and behavior among teen and adult first-time mothers. Retrospective and cross-sectional data were obtained using in-person interviews during the prenatal period and at six months postpartum. Teen mothers were found to report a higher frequency of exposure to and engagement in abuse than their adult counterparts, and history of abuse related to parenting. For the total sample of mothers; particularly higher education adult mothers, history of abuse was a significant predictor of parenting practices and behaviors. Taken together, these findings elucidate the urgent need to stop the cycle of violence and abuse.

**INTRODUCTION**

Every 41 seconds a child in the United States is confirmed to have been abused or neglected (Children's Defense Fund 2011). According to Child Maltreatment 2009, the most recent report of data from the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System (NCANDS), a nationally estimated 763,000 children were found to be victims of child maltreatment in the federal fiscal year (FFY) 2009 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2010). An estimated 78% suffered neglect, 18% were physically abused, 10% were sexually abused, 8% were emotionally or psychologically maltreated, and 2% were medically neglected. In addition, an

estimated 10% experienced "other" types of maltreatment such as "abandonment," "threats of harm to the child," and "congenital drug addiction." Based on a study using self- and parent reports, nearly 9 million children were victims of child maltreatment during a one year time-frame (Finkelhor et al. 2005). This translates into more than one out of seven children between the ages of two and seventeen experiencing some form of maltreatment. The consequences of experiencing child abuse and neglect can be devastating in terms of the child's physical, psychological, and behavioral outcomes both short-term and long-term (DHHS 2001). The purpose of this article is to examine the long-term behavioral

consequences of experiencing child abuse in terms of mothers' current parenting practices among a sample of first-time adolescent and adult mothers. To place this in context, we begin with a brief review of the literature on the developmental consequences of experiencing child abuse and neglect.

Children who have experienced child maltreatment have been shown to have issues with depression, self-esteem, aggression, delayed language development, and low academic achievement during infancy through childhood (DHHS 2001) and adverse chronic disease and mental health problems into adulthood (Danese et al. 2009; Silverman, Reinherz, and Giaconia 1996). Child maltreatment in the first six months of life is particularly harmful, both psychologically and biologically. Neuroimaging studies are beginning to show how early child maltreatment affects brain functioning and can cause certain regions of the brain to form and function improperly with long-term consequences on cognitive, language, and socio-emotional development, and mental health (DHHS 2001; Dallam 2001; Perry 2001; Watts-English et al. 2006).

How these child maltreatment experiences affect the child later in life in terms of risky behaviors, employment, education, and parenting is a major societal concern. Research shows that abused and neglected children are less likely to graduate from high school (Langsford et al. 2007) and at least 25% more likely to experience delinquency, drug use, and teen pregnancy (Kelley, Thornberry,

and Smith 1997; Runyan et al. 2002). Being abused or neglected as a child has been shown to increase the likelihood of adult criminal behavior by 28% and violent crime by 30% (Widom and Maxfield 2001). It is noteworthy that child maltreatment, however, does not only occur among those from impoverished backgrounds, it occurs in families from all walks of life and different economic, ethnic and racial, religious, and educational backgrounds (DHHS 2001).

The ability to develop and maintain healthy, intimate relationships into adulthood has been shown to be greatly affected by early child maltreatment (Colman and Widom 2004). The intergenerational transmission of child maltreatment is particularly concerning. It is estimated that about 30% of abused and neglected children will eventually maltreat their own children, continuing the awful cycle of abuse and neglect (Prevent Child Abuse New York 2003). Despite alarming rates, child maltreatment and its relationship to future parenting is vastly understudied. Utilizing data collected in the Parenting for the First Time Project (Centers for Prevention of Child Neglect 2002), this study's major objective was to assess the associations among maternal exposure to abuse, both past and more recent, and subsequent parenting practices and behavior among a diverse sample of first-time mothers (i.e., teen, lower education adult, and higher education adult). This study was informed by a model of parenting influences (Whitman et al. 2001; Lanzi et al.

2009) and a biosocial ecological systems theory of child development (Ramey, Ramey, and Lanzi 2006). Based on our previous work (Bert, Guner, and Lanzi 2009), the aim of the current study was to document the rates of maternal exposure to physical and sexual abuse among a sample of first-time mothers, as well as the consequences of this exposure for parenting. Retrospective and cross-sectional data were obtained using in-person interviews during the prenatal period and at six months postpartum.

The following research questions were addressed: 1) What is the incidence of exposure to physical and sexual abuse among a sample of first-time teen, lower education adult, and higher education adult mothers?; 2a) Does having a history of abuse transfer to, or predict maternal parenting practices and behavior?; and 2b) Does the transmission of abuse to parenting differ as a function of the type of first-time mother (i.e., teen, lower education adult, or higher education adult)? The overarching hypothesis was that teen mothers would report a higher frequency of exposure to and engagement in abuse than their adult counterparts; subsequently influencing their parenting practices and behavior.

## METHODS

### Participants

Participants were drawn from the *Parenting for the First Time Project* (Centers for the Prevention of Child Neglect 2002), a larger longitudinal prospective study designed to under-

stand sub-threshold levels of neglectful parenting among a population-based, representative sample of first-time teen mothers and an ethnically matched sample of first-time adult mothers and their children. Mothers were asked to participate in the project if they were pregnant and had no prior live births and if they met age and education requirements (see below). Based on these criteria, 684 mothers were recruited during their pregnancies through primary care facilities in four communities that varied in size and ethnic composition including: Birmingham, Alabama; Kansas City, Kansas/Missouri; South Bend, Indiana; and Washington, D.C.

Studies by the U.S. Census Bureau have consistently shown that individuals with higher levels of education have higher income levels and more access to external sources of support (i.e., financial and social) than individuals with less education. With the understanding that education level relates to access to external sources of support, mothers were recruited into three groups: teens (less than 19 years of age at the time of the child's birth,  $n=389$ ), lower education adult (older than 21 years of age but less than 2 years of college,  $n=168$ ), and higher education adult (older than 21 years of age and more than 2 years of college,  $n=127$ ).

The overall sample of mothers ranged in age from 14-36 years of age at the time of the child's birth, with a mean age of 19.8 years. The average age of teen mothers was 17.5 years with lower education adult mothers average age of 25.5 years, and higher



education adult mothers average age of 36.3 years. The sample was 68.5% African American, 14.4% European American, 14.3% Hispanic/Latina, and 2.8% of other ethnicities. Nearly half of the children were male (46.5%) and they varied considerably in their weight. Sixty-three percent of the sample completed the 12th grade, 11% completed community college or a vocational program, and 25% completed a four-year degree or graduate school.

Each group had mothers with monthly family incomes in the lowest range (i.e., less than \$415/month), however the upper limit of family incomes were different between groups with the highest monthly family income reported for higher education adult mothers (\$16,666+), followed by teen (\$8,336-\$12,500) and lower education adult (\$4,166-\$5,000) mothers. The most frequently reported (i.e., mode) monthly incomes were "less than \$415" for teen and lower education adult mothers and "between \$4,100-\$5,000" for higher education mothers.

## Measures

*History of abuse.* During their third trimester of pregnancy, mothers were administered the *Family and Maternal Life History Questionnaire* (Centers for the Prevention of Child Neglect 2002), a retrospective measure of exposure to, and engagement in, possible stressors such as abuse and trauma. This particular measure was developed specifically for the Parenting for the First Time Project. Six specific items relate to abuse and were utilized

in the current study. (1) Has anyone hit you or physically hurt you in the past year? (2) Have you hit or physically hurt anyone in the past year? (3) Have you been seriously threatened by anyone in the past year? (4) When you were growing up, would you say that you experienced any physical abuse? (5) When you were growing up, did you experience any sexual abuse? (6) When you were growing up, did you see physical abuse of other people in your family or house? Responses range from 0-2, with 0 representing "No", 1 representing "Yes, once", and 2 representing "Yes, more than once". Descriptive analyses were also conducted on individual items. In addition, items were summed to form a continuous abuse index and used to predict parenting practices and behavior. Cronbach's (1951) alpha coefficient for the abuse construct was 0.75.

*Parenting.* Six months after the birth of her child, maternal child abuse potential was measured with an abbreviated version of the *Child Abuse Potential Inventory* (CAPI; Milner 1986). This 25-item measure assesses parental rigidity, such as attitudes about children's behavior, and unhappiness. Mothers responded either "agree" or "disagree" to statements such as "People expect too much of me" and "Children should never cause trouble." Higher scores (agreeing with the statements) indicate a higher likelihood of abuse. The Total score, Unhappiness subscale score, and Rigidity subscale score were utilized in the current study. The CAPI has a test-

retest reliability index of 0.90 (Milner 1986).

Mothers' style and philosophy of parenting were also assessed at six months postpartum using the *Parenting Style Expectations Questionnaire* (Bavolek 1984). The 27-item questionnaire required mothers to indicate their degree of agreement with statements that reflected their empathetic awareness, attitudes toward the use of physical punishment, abuse/neglect and authoritarianism. The total measure was found to have internal consistency of 0.89 with a test-retest reliability index of 0.87 (Bavolek 1984). For the current investigation, four subscales were used: Responsivity and Empathy, Punishment, Abuse and Neglect, and Authoritarian parenting. For the Responsivity and Empathy subscale,

higher scores are associated with positive parenting practices; however, for the remaining three subscales higher scores represent less positive parenting. For congruency in interpretations of the descriptive results, the Punishment, Abuse and Neglect, and Authoritarian subscales were reversed scored to coincide with the Responsivity and Empathy subscale. However, these subscales were taken back to their original state for the prediction analyses.

**RESULTS**

Data analyses were conducted as follows: First, frequencies and percentages of exposure to each of the six abuse items were calculated individually for the divergent types of mother (i.e., teen, lower education

**Table 1. Frequency and Percentage of Each Endorsed Abuse Item as a Function of Type of Mother.**

	Teen (n=389)		Lower Education Adult (n=168)	
	n	%	N	%
Has anyone hit you or physically hurt you in the past year?	47	12.0	19	11.4
Have you hit or physically hurt anyone in the past year?	73	19.1	10	5.9
Have you been seriously threatened by anyone in the past year?	49	12.9	6	3.6
When you were growing up...				
...would you say that you experienced any physical abuse?	44	11.8	19	11.2
...did you experience any sexual abuse?	41	10.5	23	13.7
...did you see physical abuse of other people in your family or house?	113	29.0	34	20.2

Note: \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ .

**Table 1 (continued). Frequency and Percentage of Each Endorsed Abuse Item as a Function of Type of Mother.**

	Higher Education Adult (n=127)		Total (n=684)		X <sup>2</sup> -value
	n	%	n	%	
Has anyone hit you or physically hurt you in the past year?	4	3.4	70	10.2	7.29*
Have you hit or physically hurt anyone in the past year?	6	5.1	89	12.8	24.86**
Have you been seriously threatened by anyone in the past year?	4	3.5	59	8.5	17.16**
When you were growing up...					
...would you say that you experienced any physical abuse?	3	2.6	66	9.9	8.58*
...did you experience any sexual abuse?	10	0.08	74	10.8	1.91
...did you see physical abuse of other people in your family or house?	12	10.3	159	23	18.07**

Note: \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ .

adult, and higher education adult). Chi-square analyses were then computed to determine whether differences existed between mothers in their rates of exposure to past and more recent forms of abuse. Next, abuse items were combined to form an abuse index; comparisons were made between mothers on their rates of "no history of abuse" (i.e., an abuse index score of 0) versus "history of abuse" (i.e., an abuse index score of 1 or higher). Fourth, descriptive analyses were used to describe mean abuse index scores and six month parenting practices and behaviors separately for each type mother. Next, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to determine whether mean differences existed among mothers on their exposure to abuse and parenting

at six months postpartum. Correlation analyses were then conducted to determine the interrelationships between exposure to abuse and six month parenting practices and behavior. Lastly, multiple regression analyses were then used to examine the predictive relationships between maternal history of abuse and subsequent parenting.

**Exposure to Abuse among a Diverse Sample of First-time Adolescent and Adult Mothers**

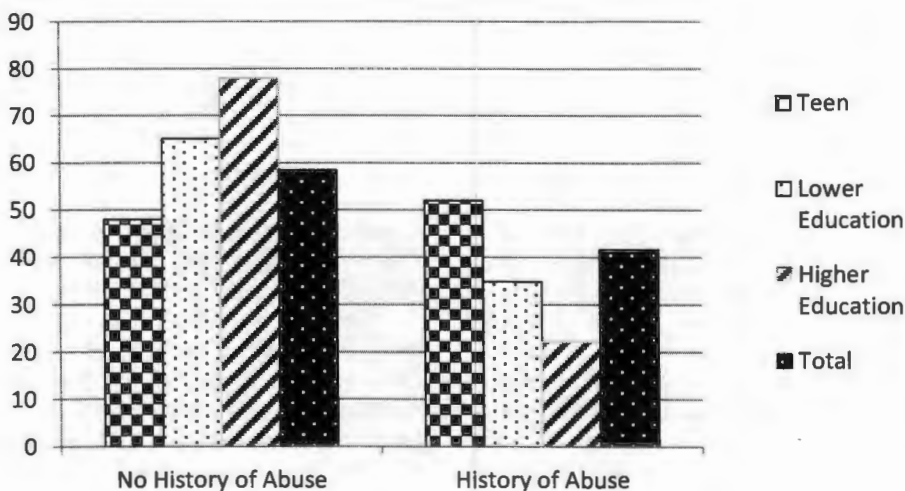
Table 1 presents the six items taken from the *Family and Maternal Life History Questionnaire* that relate to abuse, as well as the frequency and percentage of mother's endorsement of each item respectively. Chi-square analyses found significant differences

among mothers in their rates of reported abuse for five out of the six abuse items; mothers did not differ in their reported exposure to sexual abuse during their childhoods. Values for significant abuse items ranged from 7.29 to 24.86 in which teen mothers were found to endorse items at the highest rates, followed by lower education adult mothers, then higher education adult mothers. Of particular interest, abuse percentages remained considerably higher for teens even when comparing them to the combined percentages of adult mothers; especially for the abuse items related to their engagement in physical violence within the past year, and witnessing physical abuse of persons within their family or homes during their childhoods. To further clarify the differences among teen, lower education adult, and higher education adult mothers in their rates of exposure to

past and more recent abuse, each of the six abuse items were combined to form an abuse index. Index scores ranged from 0-6 ( $M=0.76$ ,  $SD=1.12$ ). An analysis of variance found a significant difference for mean risk scores among types of mothers,  $F(2,678)=15.60$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; teen mothers had a mean risk score of 1.15 ( $SD=1.60$ ), lower education adult mothers had a mean score of 0.91 ( $SD=1.44$ ), whereas mean risk scores for adult high education mothers was 0.39 ( $SD=0.88$ ). Post hoc contrasts using the Bonferroni procedure found that teen mothers had significantly higher mean abuse scores than both lower education and higher education adult mothers.

The abuse index was then dichotomized to form the categories of "no history of abuse" and "history of abuse," and comparisons were made between mothers in their classifica-

**Figure 1.**



tions within these set categories ( $\chi^2_{(2,679)} = 37.89, p < 0.001$ ; see Figure 1). Approximately 58% of the total sample was classified as having no exposure to abuse. Within the teen sample, 48% reported no exposure to abuse. The remaining 41.6% of the total sample represented those reporting exposure to some form of abuse during their childhood and/or within the past year. Of the teen mothers, 52% were classified as having a history of abuse, followed by 34.9% of lower education and 22.2% of higher education adult mothers experiencing some form of abuse.

**Parenting Behaviors among a Diverse Sample of First-time Adolescent and Adult Mothers**

In addition to documenting differential rates of exposure to abuse, it was of interest to examine six month parenting as a function of type of mother. Table 2 presents descriptive information on maternal parenting practices and behavior at six months

postpartum for teen, lower education adult, higher education adult, and the total sample of mothers. Analyses of variance (ANOVA) revealed significant differences among mothers for each measure of parenting. Post hoc contrasts were then performed using the Bonferroni procedure. For the *Child Abuse Potential Inventory* (CAPI) Total score, Unhappiness subscale score, and Rigidity subscale score, significant mean differences were documented between teen and higher education adult mothers, as well as between lower education and higher education adult mothers. Overall, teen mothers reported a higher propensity to engage in child abuse than higher education adult mothers, followed by lower education adult mothers.

For the *Parenting Style and Expectations Questionnaire* (PSEQ) Responsivity and Empathy subscale score, Abuse and Neglect subscale score, and Authoritarian Parenting subscale score, significant mean dif-

**Table 2. Descriptives of Parenting at Six Months Postpartum as a Function of Type of Mother.**

	Teen (n = 389)		Lower Education Adult (n = 168)	
	M	SD	M	SD
CAPI <sup>a</sup> Total	9.46	4.20	8.99	3.99
CAPI Unhappiness	3.24	2.56	3.07	1.74
CAPI Rigidity	6.20	3.43	5.83	3.33
PSEQ <sup>b</sup> Responsivity and Empathy	29.69	5.79	32.52	5.21
PSEQ Punishment	39.83	7.88	42.63	6.12
PSEQ Abuse and Neglect	16.48	2.47	17.43	2.23
PSEQ Authoritarian	14.09	2.70	14.89	2.81

Note: \*\*  $p < 0.01$ . <sup>a</sup> Child Abuse Potential Inventory. <sup>b</sup> Parenting Style Expectations Questionnaire. Higher scores on CAPI represent poorer parenting, whereas higher scores on the PSEQ represent more positive parenting.

**Table 2 (continued). Descriptives of Parenting at Six Months Postpartum as a Function of Type of Mother.**

	Higher Education Adult (n = 127)		Total (n = 684)		F-value
	M	SD	M	SD	
CAPI <sup>a</sup> Total	5.75	3.21	8.58	4.22	25.18**
CAPI Unhappiness	1.98	1.50	2.94	2.07	11.83**
CAPI Rigidity	3.80	2.55	5.60	3.37	16.29**
PSEQ <sup>b</sup> Responsivity and Empathy	35.02	4.02	31.40	5.75	33.25**
PSEQ Punishment	43.17	7.08	41.14	7.50	8.73**
PSEQ Abuse and Neglect	18.37	2.05	17.08	2.45	21.38**
PSEQ Authoritarian	16.59	2.08	14.77	2.78	28.27**

Note: \*\*  $p < 0.01$ . <sup>a</sup> Child Abuse Potential Inventory. <sup>b</sup> Parenting Style Expectations Questionnaire. Higher scores on CAPI represent poorer parenting, whereas higher scores on the PSEQ represent more positive parenting.

ferences were documented when comparing each type of mother with one another. In general, teen mothers were less likely to be responsive and display empathy towards their children, followed by lower education adult, and higher education adult mothers. In addition, teen mothers were more likely to endorse abusive and neglectful parenting, as well as authoritarian parenting, followed lower education adult, and higher education adult mothers. Post hoc contrasts also found that the mean Punishment subscale score for teen mothers was significantly different from those of lower education and higher education adult mothers, such that teen mothers were significantly more likely to endorse the use of punishment as compared to their adult counterparts.

### Maternal History of Abuse and Its Relationship to Parenting

Table 3 presents bivariate correlations among maternal history of abuse and six month parenting. An

examination of the intercorrelations among all variables used in subsequent analyses demonstrates that there were significant relationships documented between maternal reports of exposure to abuse and parenting six months postpartum. Increases in maternal reports of abuse were associated with increased potential to engage in child abuse ( $r(684)=0.28$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and unhappiness ( $r(684)=0.48$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) with her parenting role at six months. In addition, as reports of abuse increased, mother's responsivity and empathy ( $r(684)=-0.12$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) decreased whereas her endorsement of abuse and neglect ( $r(684)=0.15$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) and authoritarian parenting ( $r(684)=0.22$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) increased. Maternal exposure to abuse was not significantly related to rigidity or use of punishment.

It was also of interest to the investigators to documents associations between specific abuse items and each measure of parenting. Mothers who were hit or physically

**Table 3. Bivariate Correlations among Maternal History of Abuse of Six Month Parenting.**

	CAPI	CAPI-U	CAPI-R	PSEQ-RE
History of Abuse	0.28*	0.45**	0.06	-0.12*
Has anyone hit you or physically hurt you in the past year?	0.27*	0.47**	0.06	-0.13
Have you hit or physically hurt anyone in the past year?	0.44**	0.43**	0.25*	-0.12*
Have you been seriously threatened by anyone in the past year?	0.18	0.35**	0.02	-0.03
When you were growing up, would you say that you experienced any physical abuse?	0.06	0.16	0.06	-0.12*
When you were growing up, did you experience any sexual abuse?	-0.07	-0.05	-0.06	-0.08
When you were growing up, did you see physical abuse of other people in your family or house?	0.01	0.11*	-0.04	-0.10*

	PSEQ-P	PSEQ-AN	PSEQ-A
History of Abuse	0.20	0.15**	0.22*
Has anyone hit you or physically hurt you in the past year?	0.09	0.11*	0.23*
Have you hit or physically hurt anyone in the past year?	0.12	0.18**	0.25*
Have you been seriously threatened by anyone in the past year?	0.08	0.01	0.20
When you were growing up, would you say that you experienced any physical abuse?	0.12	0.00	0.07
When you were growing up, did you experience any sexual abuse?	0.09	0.02	0.00
When you were growing up, did you see physical abuse of other people in your family or house?	0.17	0.11*	0.05

Note: \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ .

CAPI-U= Child Abuse Potential Inventory Unhappiness.

CAPI-R= Child Abuse Potential Inventory Rigidity.

PSEQ-RE= Parenting Style Expectations Questionnaire Responsivity and Empathy.

PSEQ-P= Parenting Style Expectations Questionnaire Punishment.

PSEQ-AN= Parenting Style Expectations Questionnaire Abuse and Neglect.

PSEQ-A= Parenting Style Expectations Questionnaire Authoritarian.



hurt within the past year were more likely to abuse their children ( $r(684)=0.27, p<0.05$ ), report being unhappy with their parenting role ( $r(684)=0.47, p<0.01$ ), engage in abuse and neglect ( $r(684)=0.11, p<0.05$ ), and endorse the use of authoritarian parenting ( $r(684)=0.23, p<0.05$ ). Conversely, mothers who perpetuated physical abuse within the past year were more likely to display abuse potential towards their children ( $r(684)=0.44, p<0.01$ ), report being unhappy ( $r(684)=0.43, p<0.01$ ) and rigid within their parenting role ( $r(684)=0.25, p<0.05$ ), display less responsivity and empathy towards their children ( $r(684)=-0.12, p<0.05$ ), as well as endorse the use of abuse and neglect ( $r(684)=0.18, p<0.01$ ) and authoritarian parenting ( $r(684)=0.25, p<0.05$ ). A positive significant association was documented between being seriously threatened in the past year and mother's unhappiness ( $r(684)=0.35, p<0.01$ ). Whereas a negative significant association was documented between childhood exposure to physical abuse and responsivity and empathy ( $r(684)=-0.12, p<0.05$ ). Of particular interest, witnessing physical abuse of others was positively associated with six month unhappiness ( $r(684)=0.11, p<0.05$ ) and abuse and neglect ( $r(684)=0.11, p<0.05$ ), and negatively associated with responsivity and empathy ( $r(684)=-0.10, p<0.05$ ).

Moreover, significant associations were documented between each measure of six-month parenting not shown in Table 3) with  $r$  values ranging from 0.16-0.88. Outcomes

were significantly related to one another in expected directions. For example, as child abuse potential increased, maternal unhappiness ( $r(684)=0.62, p<0.01$ ), and rigidity ( $r(684)=0.88, p<0.01$ ), as well as her endorsement of punishment ( $r(684)=0.47, p<0.01$ ), abuse and neglect ( $r(684)=0.43, p<0.01$ ), and authoritarianism ( $r(684)=0.54, p<0.01$ ) increased. In contrast, as child abuse potential increased, maternal responsiveness and empathy ( $r(684)=-0.48, p<0.05$ ) decreased. Overall, significant associations were documented between the predictor variable and outcomes, as well as among the measures of parenting practices and behaviors at six months postpartum.

### **Maternal Exposure to Abuse and its Transmission to Parenting**

Our main research objective was to examine the effects of maternal exposure to abuse on subsequent parenting six months after the birth of their first child. Table 4 presents the results of regressing six month parenting outcomes on exposure to abuse for the total sample, as well as separately for each type of mother. As shown in the table, exposure to abuse did not predict parenting practices and behaviors for the subsample of teen mothers and only accounted for 5% of the variance in PSEQ responsivity and empathy scores for lower educational adult mothers ( $\beta=-0.23, p<0.05$ ). However, exposure to abuse did serve as a significant predictor of outcomes for higher education adult mothers as well as for the total sample. In reference to higher education adult mothers, expo-

**Table 4. Results of Regressing Parenting at Six Months Postpartum on Maternal History of Abuse as a Function of Type of Mother (Controlling for Race).**

	Teen (n=389)		Lower Education Adult (n=168)	
	$\beta$	$R^2$	B	$R^2$
CAPI <sup>a</sup> Total	0.01	0.02	-0.02	0.03
CAPI Unhappiness	0.12†	0.04	-0.08	0.01
CAPI Rigidity	-0.07	0.01	0.02	0.02
PSEQ <sup>b</sup> Responsivity and Empathy	-0.02	0.00	-0.23*	0.05
PSEQ Punishment	0.06	0.02	0.15	0.04
PSEQ Abuse and Neglect	0.07	0.05	0.13	0.07
PSEQ Authoritarian	0.08	0.01	0.01	0.03

	Higher Education Adult (n=127)		Total (n=684)	
	$\beta$	$R^2$	B	$R^2$
CAPI <sup>a</sup> Total	0.27**	0.08	0.09†	0.03
CAPI Unhappiness	0.45**	0.21	0.16**	0.04
CAPI Rigidity	0.06	0.01	0.02	0.01
PSEQ <sup>b</sup> Responsivity and Empathy	-0.11	0.04	-0.15**	0.02
PSEQ Punishment	0.19*	0.05	0.05	0.02
PSEQ Abuse and Neglect	0.15	0.06	0.15**	0.07
PSEQ Authoritarian	0.21*	0.09	0.05	0.00

Note: \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , †  $p < 0.10$ . <sup>a</sup> Child Abuse Potential Inventory. <sup>b</sup> Parenting Style Expectations Questionnaire. To aid with interpretation, PSEQ scores were taken back to their original state such that higher scores represent poorer parenting.

sure to abuse accounted for 8% of the variance found among their CAPI Total scores ( $\beta=0.27$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), 21% of the variance found among their CAPI Unhappiness subscale scores ( $\beta=0.45$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), 5% of the variance found among their PSEQ Punishment subscale scores ( $\beta=0.19$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), and 9% of the variance found among their PSEQ Authoritarian subscale scores ( $\beta=0.21$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). As exposure to abuse increased, maternal propensi-

ties for abusive behavior, unhappiness, punishment, and authoritarian parenting increased.

Analyses conducted for the total sample of first-time mothers (controlling for type of mother) found that exposure to emotional abuse accounted for a significant proportion of the variance found among their CAPI Unhappiness subscale scores (4%,  $\beta=0.16$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), 2% of the variance found among their PSEQ Responsivity

and Empathy subscale scores ( $\beta = -0.15, p < 0.01$ ), and 7% of the variance found among their PSEQ Abuse and Neglect subscale scores ( $\beta = 0.15, p < 0.01$ ). Although moderately significant, exposure to abuse accounted for 3% of the variance found among CAPI Total scores ( $\beta = 0.09, p < 0.10$ ). For the total sample of mothers, as exposure to abuse increased, child abuse potential, unhappiness, and abuse and neglect increased, whereas maternal responsiveness and empathy towards her child decreased.

## DISCUSSION

Findings from the present study confirm the overarching hypothesis that teen mothers would report a higher frequency of exposure to and engagement in abuse than their adult counterparts, and that history of abuse would be related to future parenting practices overall. This intergenerational transmission of abuse is especially concerning given the long-term consequences of experiencing abuse and neglect on the child's physical, psychological, and behavioral outcomes. As with previous research (cf. Bert, Guner, and Lanzi 2009), it was found that being abused as a child is predictive of becoming a teen mother later in life. Further compounding the developmental impact is that teen mothers were more likely to engage in abusive type parenting behaviors and were less likely to be responsive and display empathy towards their six-month-old baby than both lower education and higher education adult mothers. This is es-

pecially troublesome since a critical time point in a baby's development was examined. More specifically, during the first six months of life, when early child maltreatment can truly alter the child's developmental trajectory not only emotionally but in terms of their brain functioning, physical health, and behavior.

For the total sample of mothers, regardless of age or education level of the mother, history of abuse overall and by type of abuse was consistently positively associated with the Child Abuse Potential Inventory Total score and Unhappiness subscale score, Parenting Styles Expectations Questionnaire's Abuse and Neglect subscale and Authoritarian Parenting subscale; whereas it was negatively associated with *Parenting Styles Expectations Questionnaire's* Responsivity and Empathy subscale. Interestingly, maternal history of abuse rarely predicted the *Parenting Styles Expectations Questionnaire's* Rigidity or Punishment subscales. Relative to prediction of parenting, history of abuse was a significant predictor for the total sample of adolescent and adult mothers and for the subsample of higher education adult mothers in terms of Total CAPI score and the CAPI Unhappiness subscale. For higher education adult mothers, their history of abuse was particularly salient for their unhappiness scores. This may indicate that they may be internalizing more of their issues with previous maltreatment and having greater difficulty emotionally dealing with their history. This also may be a function of teen and lower education

mothers being more likely to receive support services; particularly for parenting, than higher education/resource mothers.

Taken together, these findings elucidate the urgent need to stop the cycle of violence and abuse. Astounding numbers of children today are being abused and neglected with clear signs that their children will grow up to experience many developmental consequences and exhibit the same abusive and neglecting parenting philosophies, styles, and behaviors. Although child abuse and neglect most often occurs within the family, the effect continues outside the home (Lanzi et al. 2008). The societal implications are many and far-reaching in terms of direct and indirect costs and consequences. The total annual direct and indirect costs of child maltreatment is estimated to be \$103.8 billion in 2007 value, with \$33.1 billion in direct costs and \$70.6 billion in indirect costs (Prevent Child Abuse America 2007). The direct costs include those related to sustaining a child protective service system to investigate and respond to reports of child maltreatment, as well as the costs expended by the judicial system, law enforcement, mental health and health care system. The indirect costs relate to the long-term economic consequences of child abuse and neglect including hiring and supporting professionals from and agencies of child protective service, special education, juvenile delinquency, adult criminal justice, mental illness, substance abuse, and domestic violence. The loss of productivity to

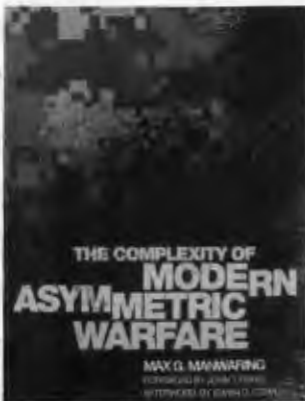
society due to unemployment, special education, and increased use of the health care system is included in indirect cost estimates. Clearly, it is time that we must work together as a society to support our young and old and everyone in between to ensure that the devastating effects of child maltreatment ends.

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**The Complexity of Modern Asymmetric Warfare** (ISBN: 9780806142654)

By: Max G. Manwaring

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**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTIONS OF THE ENVIRONMENT AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY IN COMMUNITY-DWELLING WOMEN**

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**ABSTRACT**

Few studies have assessed the relationship between environmental perceptions and objectively measured physical activity in older women. One hundred twenty-six women completed a questionnaire to assess environmental perceptions and wore an accelerometer during all waking hours for seven consecutive days. Participants engaged in  $13.9 \pm 16.9$  minutes of moderate-to-vigorous intensity physical activity per day when examining physical activity in bouts of at least ten minutes. Preliminary analysis indicates that the presence of destinations within walking distance of home are associated with physical activity participation among community-dwelling older women.

**INTRODUCTION**

Investigators have documented that certain aspects of the physical environment are associated with participation in physical activity (Brownson, Baker, Housemann, Brennan and Bacak 2001; Brownson, Chang, Eyler et al. 2004; King, Toobert and Ahn et al. 2006; King, Belle, Brach, Simkin-Silverman, Soska and Kriska 2005; King, Brach, Bell, Killingsworth, Fenton and Kriska 2003; McCormack, Giles-Corti and Bulsara 2005) and these associations may differ between males and females (Bengoechea, Spence and McGannon 2005; De Bourdeaudhuij, Sallis and Saelens 2003; Humpel, Marshall, Leslie, Bauman and Owen 2004; Suminski, Poston, Petosa, Stevens and Katzenmoyer 2005). In addition to perceiving their environments differently (Brownson et al. 2001; Bengoechea et al. 2005; Humpel et al.

2004; Huston, Evenson, Bors and Gizlice 2003; Lee 2005), women tend to be less active than men across all ages, with older women being among the least active groups in the American population (Barnes and Heyman 2007; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2005). While studies have examined environmental correlates of physical activity solely in a population of older women (King, Castro, Wilcox, Eyler, Sallis and Brownson 2000; King et al. 2003; King et al. 2005; Morris, McAuley and Motl 2007; Taylor, Sallis, Lees et al. 2007; Wilcox, Castro, King, Housemann and Brownson 2000) few have utilized objective measures of physical activity (King et al. 2003; King et al. 2005; Morris et al. 2007).

King and associates (King et al. 2003; 2005) used pedometers to count the number of steps that older women accumulated daily, and Morris and associates (Morris et al. 2007) used

accelerometers, which provide more detailed information to enable discrimination of the duration and intensity of physical activity. King, Brach and associates (King et al. 2003) found that women who had two or more destinations within a twenty minute walk from home and those who rated their neighborhoods as being more walkable accumulated more daily steps than their peers. King and colleagues (King et al. 2005) observed that older women living within a twenty minute walk from a golf course or post office accumulated more daily steps than those who did not live within walking distance of these destinations. Morris and associates (Morris et al. 2007) demonstrated associations between total daily activity counts and street connectivity, walking/cycling facilities, and neighborhood aesthetics. They did not utilize the accelerometer data to determine intensity and duration of activity.

The national physical activity recommendation states that adults should accumulate either thirty minutes of moderate intensity aerobic physical activity on five or more days, twenty minutes of vigorous intensity aerobic physical activity on three or more days, or a combination of moderate and vigorous intensity aerobic activities weekly in bouts of at least ten minutes to improve health (Haskell et al. 2007). Regular participation in physical activity has numerous physical and psychological health benefits (Brown, Burton, and Rowman 2007; Goodwin 2003; Hu, Tuomilehto, Silventinen, Barengo, Peltonen, and Jousilahti 2005; Man-

son, Greenland, LaCroix et al. 2002; Warburton, Nichol, and Bredin 2006). As the risk of disease and disability increases with age, an active lifestyle may decrease the physical and economic burden that will occur with the aging of the population (Centers of Disease Control and Prevention 2007; Chenowith and Leutzinger 2006). Interventions that include modifications to the physical environment may be a means of promoting active lifestyles among older adults (CDC 2007).

The purpose of this study was to assess the relationship between perceptions of the neighborhood environment with objectively monitored ambulatory activity in women aged 50-75 years. Specifically, the ability of the environmental factors to accurately predict physical activity was investigated.

## METHODS

### **Participant Recruitment and Eligibility**

Following approval by the institutional review board, participants were recruited from neighboring cities in the south-central United States using several methods. Advertisements were placed on university television and radio stations and in newsletters; mass emails were sent to university employees; announcements were made at community organization meetings; flyers were distributed at public facilities; and three short editorial items were published in area newspapers. Interested individuals were instructed to contact the re-



searchers via email or telephone to determine eligibility and to schedule an appointment to begin the study. Eligible participants were community-dwelling, apparently healthy women aged 50-75 years. Individuals were excluded from participation if they: (1) were pregnant, (2) were non-ambulatory, or (3) answered "Yes" to any questions on the Physical Activity Readiness Questionnaire (Canadian Society for Exercise Physiology 1994).

Two hundred sixty-eight individuals were prescreened for eligibility and 178 women met eligibility criteria. One hundred forty-three women scheduled appointments and completed the first visit.

### **Instruments**

*Neighborhood Environment Walkability Scale-abbreviated (NEWS-A)*. The *NEWS-A* is the abbreviated version of the *Neighborhood Environment Walkability Scale (NEWS)* (Saelens, Sallis, Black, and Chen 2003), which is used to assess perceptions of the immediate physical neighborhood environment specifically related to walking. *NEWS-A* consists of seven sections that evaluate residential density, diversity of land use mix, access to services, street connectivity, facilities for walking and cycling, neighborhood aesthetics, and neighborhood safety, and items from these sections are used to create 12 subscales (Saelens et al. 2003; Cerin, Saelens, Sallis, and Frank 2006; Saelens, and Sallis (n.d.)). Residential density asks respondents to report how common specific types of residences are within their immediate

neighborhood. Diversity of land use mix asks respondents to indicate how long it would take to walk to each of 23 destinations. The other sections include items that are scaled from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree), with higher scores generally representing a more positive perception of the neighborhood attribute.

Initial evaluation of the psychometric properties of *NEWS* demonstrated acceptable reliability (ICCs= 0.58-0.80) and construct validity for the individual subscales (Saelens et al. 2003). Validity of individual items measured against crime reports and rater reports in a separate study yielded correlations ranging from 0.21-0.93 (De Bourdeaudhuij et al. 2003). Concurrent validity of the *NEWS-A* with the *NEWS* resulted in strong correlations between subscales at the individual level ( $r= 0.82-0.94$ ) (Cerin et al. 2006).

*Accelerometer*. The ActiGraph GT1M (ActiGraph, Pensacola, FL) is an updated version of the ActiGraph Model 7164, which has acceptable test-retest reliability (ICC= 0.80) (Welk, Schaben, and Morrow 2004) and validity with counts (the summation of the acceleration signals per cycle) significantly correlated with energy expenditure and relative oxygen consumption during ambulatory activity (Freedson, Lelanson, and Sirard 1998; Hendelman, Miller, Baggett, Debold, and Freedson 2000). The GT1M is a uniaxial accelerometer capable of storing more than 1MB of data, measuring 1.5x1.44x0.70in, and weighing 27g. The GT1M detects vertical accelerations ranging in

magnitude from 0.05-2.0g. The signal is digitized by a 12-bit analog-to-digital converter at a sampling rate of 30 samples per second and the digitized signal is then filtered so that signals within the frequency range of 0.25-2.5Hz are recorded. The resulting counts are summed over a user-specified interval of time (ActiGraph LLC 2006).

### Procedures

Participants visited the lab twice. During the first visit, participants signed the informed consent and HIPAA forms and completed the prescreening items again to ensure eligibility. Researchers assessed participants' height with a portable stadiometer and weight with a physician's balance beam scale. Following these assessments, participants completed a demographic questionnaire and the *NEWS-A*. Participants then received a demonstration by the researchers on how to wear the accelerometer and were fitted with a belt that they used to attach the accelerometer to their body. Participants wore the accelerometer over their right iliac crest during all waking hours except during water activities for the next seven days. They also completed an accelerometer log sheet each evening when they removed the accelerometer. Participants were instructed to maintain their normal levels of physical activity during the week of monitoring.

After wearing the accelerometer for seven consecutive days, participants revisited to the lab to return the accelerometer and log sheet. All

individuals who participated in the study and wore the accelerometer as instructed received a physical activity and body composition report and a \$10 gift card.

### Data Reduction

Sixty-second epochs were used in this study. Both non-wear and wear time were calculated (Troiano, Berrigan, Dodd, Masse, Tilert, and McDowell 2008). Valid non-wear time consisted of bouts of at least sixty consecutive minutes of zero counts, with allowance for two consecutive minutes of counts between 1 and 100. After removing valid non-wear minutes, accelerometer wear time was determined by summing the remaining minutes. The accelerometer compliance requirements, determined *a priori* by the researchers, were that participants must have worn the device for at least 12 hours per day on four or more days (Masse, Fuemmeler, Anderson et al. 2005).

Each valid minute of wear was assigned to an intensity category using the following criteria: moderate intensity,  $2020 \leq$  counts/minute  $< 5999$ ; vigorous intensity, counts/minute  $\geq 5999$ ; moderate-to-vigorous intensity, counts/minute  $\geq 2020$  (Troiano et al. 2008). Counts per minute, total counts per day, and accumulated time spent engaging in moderate, vigorous, and moderate-to-vigorous physical activity were determined. Time spent engaging in 10-minute bouts of moderate, vigorous, and moderate-to-vigorous physical activity, with allowance for 1-2 minutes below threshold values, were also deter-

mined (Troiano et al 2008).

The percentage of participants meeting the physical activity recommendation as defined by accumulating, in bouts of at least 10 minutes, 30 minutes of moderate intensity activity on five or more days, 20 minutes of vigorous intensity activity on three or more days, or a combination of activities using accelerometer-derived data was assessed (Haskell et al. 2007). *NEWS-A* subscales were scored according to scoring procedures (Saelens et al. (n.d.)). The walking distances from home to each of 23 destinations listed in *NEWS-A* and the total number of destination within a 5-, 10-, and 20-minute walk from home were computed.

### Data Analysis

Of the 143 volunteers who began the study, two women were unable to complete the study for personal reasons and accelerometers malfunctioned for seven women during the week of monitoring. Another eight women did not meet the *a priori* criteria of wearing the accelerometer for at least twelve hours per day on four or more days. The final sample of 126 women represents 88.1% of the participants who began the study. The majority of demographic characteristics were not different between participants who remained in the final sample ( $n=126$ ) and those who did not ( $n=17$ ;  $p>0.05$ ), with the exception of weight (69.9 vs. 78.9kg, respectively;  $p=0.01$ ) and BMI (26.2 vs. 29.1kg/m<sup>2</sup>, respectively;  $p=0.01$ ).

Participants ( $n=126$ ) wore the

accelerometer for 14.4±1.0 hours on 6.2±1.0 days, exceeding the *a priori* criteria for accelerometer wear time. Ninety-one percent of the participants ( $n=126$ ) wore the accelerometer on at least one weekend day, and there were no differences in physical activity between those who wore the accelerometer on at least one weekend day and those who did not ( $p>0.05$ ).

Descriptive statistics were calculated for all demographic, physical activity, and environmental subscale variables and the distributions were assessed. Because data from the *NEWS-A* subscales were skewed according to Shapiro-Wilk tests for Normality ( $p<0.05$ ), median and interquartile ranges are presented for these data. Wilcoxon Rank Sum Tests were performed to assess differences in perceptions of the environment according to activity status (meeting versus not meeting the recommendation). Logistic regression was performed to assess the relationship between perceptions of the environment and meeting the physical activity recommendation. Data reduction and analysis was performed using SAS version 9.1 (SAS Institute Inc., 2002-2003).

## RESULTS

### Participant Characteristics

Participants were aged 59.9±6.9 years, weighed 69.9±12.8kg, and measured 163.0±6.0cm in height. Their BMI was 26.2±4.3kg/m<sup>2</sup>. The majority of participants were Caucasian, married, had a yearly household

income of at least \$50,000, had received a post-secondary education, and were employed. A description of the participants' socio-demographic characteristics is presented in Table 1.

**Time Engaging in Physical Activity**

Participants engaged in 12.0±15.1 minutes of moderate, 1.3±4.3 minutes of vigorous, and 13.9±16.9 minutes of moderate-to-vigorous intensity physic-

**Table 1. Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Participants, N=126.**

Variable	Count (%)
Race/Ethnicity: count (%)	
Caucasian	114 (90.5)
Other	12 (9.5)
Marital Status: count (%)	
Married	87 (69.0)
Other	39 (31.0)
Education	
Some high school	2 (1.6)
Grade 12/GED or some college/technical school	40 (31.7)
College graduate or graduate school	84 (66.6)
Employment Status <sup>a</sup>	
Employed for wages or self-employed	88 (61.9)
Other	47 (37.3)
Household Income <sup>b</sup>	
Less than \$10,000	2 (1.6)
\$10,000 to less than \$35,000	16 (12.8)
\$35,000 to less than \$50,000	26 (20.6)
\$50,000 or more	78 (61.9)

<sup>a</sup> No response from one participant.

<sup>b</sup> No response from four participants.

**Table 2. Objectively Measured Physical Activity of Participants, N=126.**

Variable	Mean ± SD
Counts/minute	286.1 ± 122.7
Total counts/day	247,857.6 ± 109,980.7
Daily minutes of moderate physical activity	
Accumulated	20.6 ± 17.8
10-minute bouts	12.0 ± 15.1
Daily minutes of vigorous physical activity	
Accumulated	1.5 ± 4.4
10-minute bouts	1.3 ± 4.3
Daily minutes of moderate-to-vigorous physical activity	
Accumulated	22.1 ± 19.3
10-minute bouts	13.9 ± 16.9

cal activity per day when examining activity in bouts of at least 10 minutes. Participants accumulated more minutes of moderate, vigorous, and moderate-to-vigorous physical activity when summing all minutes within each intensity category without the constraint of the minimum 10-minute bout (Table 2).

### Meeting Physical Activity Recommendations

Seventeen participants (13.5%) were meeting the current physical activity recommendation, defined as accumulating thirty minutes of moderate intensity physical activity on at least five days, twenty minutes of vigorous intensity activity on at least three days, or a combination of the two intensities of activity in bouts of at least ten minutes during the seven day monitoring period. Another twelve participants were accumulating the minimum quantity of physical activity, though not in ten minute bouts.

### Perceptions of the Environment

The residential density subscale asked respondents to report how common specific types of residences are within their immediate neighborhood. A score of 177 reflects a neighborhood consisting only of detached, single-family homes and a score of 475 reflects a neighborhood consisting exclusively of apartments or condos more than 13 stories high. Ninety-four (74.6%) participants reported that their immediate neighborhood consisted solely of detached single-family homes, and another 19 (15.1%) reported that

single-family homes were the most common type of home in their neighborhood, though other types of homes were present. One participant's immediate neighborhood consisted solely of townhomes or row homes, and two participants reported apartment or condominium buildings 1-3 stories high to be the only type of home in their neighborhood. No one reported the presence of apartments or condos higher than six stories in their immediate neighborhood.

The diversity of land use mix subscale asked respondents to indicate how long it takes to walk to each of 23 destinations, with scores ranging from 1 (more than 30 minutes) to 5 (1-5 minutes). The median subscale score for diversity of land use indicates that, overall, destinations were a 21-30 minute walk from home. Participants described  $1.7 \pm 3.3$ ,  $5.0 \pm 6.0$ , and  $8.1 \pm 7.0$  destinations to be within a 5-, 10-, and 20-minute walk from home, respectively. The most commonly reported destinations within walking distance from home were parks and small convenience/grocery stores.

Participants' median subscale scores for aesthetics, street connectivity, traffic hazards, crime, lack of cul-de-sacs, hilliness, and physical barriers indicated more walkable neighborhoods according to *NEWS-A* criteria, while scores for lack of parking denoted less walkable neighborhoods. Median subscale scores for land use mix-access and infrastructure and safety for walking were in the middle of the possible range of scores, indicating neither more nor less

**Table 3. Participants' NEWS-A Subscale Scores.**

Subscale	Median (IQR)	Participants' Ranges
Residential Density ( <i>n</i> =125)	177.0 (0.0)	173.0-261.0
Land Use Mix:		
Diversity ( <i>n</i> =117)	1.9 (1.5)	1.0-4.7
Access ( <i>n</i> =126)	2.3 (2.0)	1.0-4.0
Street Connectivity ( <i>n</i> =125)	3.0 (1.5)	1.0-4.0
Infrastructure and Safety for Walking ( <i>n</i> =122)	2.5 (1.3)	1.0-4.0
Aesthetics ( <i>n</i> =126)	3.5 (0.8)	1.8-4.0
Traffic Hazards <sup>a</sup> ( <i>n</i> =126)	2.0 (1.0)	1.0-4.0
Crime <sup>a</sup> ( <i>n</i> =124)	1.0 (0.3)	1.0-3.3
Lack of Parking ( <i>n</i> =126)	1.0 (1.0)	1.0-4.0
Lack of Cul-de-sacs ( <i>n</i> =126)	3.0 (3.0)	1.0-4.0
Hilliness <sup>a</sup> ( <i>n</i> =126)	1.0 (1.0)	1.0-4.0
Physical Barriers <sup>a</sup> ( <i>n</i> =126)	1.0 (1.0)	1.0-4.0

<sup>a</sup> Higher scores indicate lower walkability.

Note: Residential density subscale scores can range from 177 to 473. Scores for the other subscales generally range from 1 to 4, with land use mix-diversity ranging from 1 to 5.

walkability. Data for each of the 12 NEWS-A subscales is presented in Table 3.

#### *Environmental Perceptions and Meeting the Current Physical Activity Recommendation*

Comparisons of median NEWS-A subscale scores were made for those participants who were meeting the current physical activity recommendation by accumulating activity in 10-minute bouts and those who were not (Table 4). No differences were observed between the groups. Logistic regression was then performed to determine if relationships existed between each of the twelve subscales of NEWS-A and meeting the current physical activity recommendation. Again, no associations were evident ( $p > 0.05$ ).

Logistic regression was performed to assess the relationship between proximity of destinations and meeting the current physical activity recommendation. The mean number of destinations within a 5-, 10-, and 20-minute walk from home were not significant predictors of whether participants were meeting the current physical activity recommendation. However, there were associations between several specific destinations and meeting the recommendation (Table 5). The presence of a clothing store, a post office, a video store, a salon/barber shop, and a gym/fitness facility within a five minute walk from home increased the odds that participants were meeting the physical activity recommendation. Fewer destinations were associated with increased odds of meeting the

**Table 4. Comparison of Median (IQR) NEWS-A Subscale Scores by Recommendation Status.**

	Meeting Physical Activity Recommendation <i>n</i> =17	Not Meeting Physical Activity Recommendation <i>n</i> =109	<i>p</i> -value
Residential Density	177.0 (0.0) <sup>b</sup>	177.0 (0.0)	0.44
Land Use Mix:			
Diversity	2.2 (1.5) <sup>d</sup>	1.8 (1.5) <sup>c</sup>	0.14
Access	2.7 (1.3)	2.3 (2.0)	0.15
Street Connectivity	3.0 (0.5) <sup>b</sup>	3.0 (1.5)	0.74
Infrastructure and Safety for Walking	2.5 (1.3) <sup>c</sup>	2.5 (1.2) <sup>b</sup>	0.20
Aesthetics	3.8 (1.0)	3.5 (0.8)	0.50
Traffic Hazards <sup>a</sup>	2.0 (1.3) <sup>b</sup>	2.0 (1.0)	0.38
Crime <sup>a</sup>	1.0 (0.0) <sup>b</sup>	1.0 (0.3) <sup>b</sup>	0.10
Lack of Parking	1.0 (1.0)	1.0 (1.0)	0.86
Lack of Cul-de-sacs	2.0 (2.0)	3.0 (3.0)	0.81
Hilliness <sup>a</sup>	1.0 (1.0)	1.0 (1.0)	0.92
Physical Barriers <sup>a</sup>	1.0 (0.0)	1.0 (1.0)	0.06

<sup>a</sup> Higher scores indicate lower walkability.

<sup>b</sup> Missing data from one participant.

<sup>c</sup> Missing data from three participants.

<sup>d</sup> Missing data from six participants.

Note: All comparisons were made by Wilcoxon Rank Sum Test.

**Table 5. Univariate Logistic Regression between Destinations and Recommendation Status.**

Destination	Odds Ratio	95% Confidence Interval
Within a 5-minute walk from home:		
Clothing store	16.5	2.7-98.8
Post office	5.6	1.1-27.8
Video store	6.4	1.5-26.9
Salon or barber shop	8.1	1.8-36.2
Gym or fitness facility	5.6	1.1-27.8
Within a 10-minute walk from home:		
Clothing store	4.6	1.3-16.1
Post office	3.2	1.03-9.8
Video store	3.4	1.01-11.2
Salon or barber shop	3.5	1.2-10.2
Within a 20-minute walk from home:		
Clothing store	3.1	1.1-9.0

Note: Reference for each analysis is 'not within specified walking distance.'

recommendation when the walking distance to the destination was increased to be a ten minute walk from home (clothing store, a post office, a bookstore, and a salon or barber shop). A clothing store is the only destination within a twenty minute walk from home that was related to meeting the recommendation.

## DISCUSSION

This study was conducted to determine if specific factors within the neighborhood environment were associated with objectively measured physical activity in a sample of women aged 50-75 years. Results of this study indicated that the presence of specific destinations within close proximity to home was related to participants' meeting the current physical activity recommendation. Other factors of the neighborhood environment, such as residential density and aesthetics, were not associated with activity status.

Participants generally perceived the characteristics of their neighborhood environments to be supportive of walking activity. They described their neighborhoods as being aesthetically pleasing and having good street connectivity with few hills and cul-de-sacs. Participants also reported a lack of crime, traffic hazards, and physical barriers. On the other hand, almost 75% of participants reported living in neighborhoods that consisted solely of detached, single family homes. Participants indicated poor diversity of land use mix, with few stores and other facilities in the neighborhood.

They described most facilities as being a 21-30 minute walk from home, with fewer than two facilities being within a five minute walk from home. They noted that there was plenty of parking available at local shopping areas, thus making walking or cycling to shopping areas un-necessary.

Participants who were meeting the physical activity recommendation did not perceive their neighborhood environments differently than those who were not meeting the recommendation. These findings conflict with Saelens and colleagues (Saelens et al. 2003), who observed that individuals living in walking-friendly neighborhoods and reporting more positive perceptions of their neighborhood environment accumulated more time engaging in moderate-intensity physical activity as measured by an accelerometer when compared to those in less walking-friendly neighborhoods.

The *NEWS-A* was developed as a short questionnaire to assess how supportive respondents believed their neighborhoods to be for walking and cycling. The current study found no associations between subscales of *NEWS-A* and meeting the physical activity recommendation, which was unexpected considering other studies have shown associations between environmental characteristics measured by *NEWS* and walking (Cerin et al. 2007; De Bourdeaudhuij et al. 2003; King et al. 2006; Saelens et al. 2003), self-reported moderate and vigorous physical activity (Atkinson, Sallis, Saelens, Cain, and Black 2005; De Bourdeaudhuij et al. 2003; King et



al. 2006; Saelens et al. 2003), and objectively measured physical activity (Atkinson et al. 2005; Morris et al. 2007; Saelens et al. 2003). For example, De Bourdeaudhuij and colleagues (De Bourdeaudhuij et al. 2003) observed a positive relationship between diversity of land use mix and walking (semipartial  $r=0.15$ ) and accessibility of land use mix and moderate intensity physical activity (semipartial  $r=0.16$ ). In a multi-site study, King and colleagues (King et al. 2006) observed that residential density was associated with self-reported time spent engaging in at least moderate intensity activity, while residential density, street connectivity, and accessibility of land use mix were associated with self-reported weekly minutes of walking. Atkinson and co-workers (Atkinson et al. 2005) demonstrated that residential density correlated with both self-reported ( $r=0.35$ ) and objectively measured ( $r=0.39$ ) vigorous physical activity, and street connectivity correlated with objectively measured vigorous ( $r=0.25$ ) and moderate-to-vigorous ( $r=0.21$ ) physical activity.

Though analyses demonstrated no relationships between subscales of *NEWS-A* and meeting the recommendation, the presence of specific destinations within walking distance of home increased the likelihood that participants were meeting the physical activity recommendation. Studies have demonstrated that destinations within close proximity of the home are related to physical activity (Duncan, Spence and Mummery 2005; King et al. 2003; King et al. 2005; McCormack

et al. 2008) particularly walking for transportation (Cerin et al. 2007; McCormack et al. 2008; Suminski et al. 2005). In the current study, participants reported fewer than two facilities to be within a five minute walk from home. However, those who reported a clothing or video store, post office, salon or barber shop, or gym or fitness facility to be within five minutes' walking distance from home were at least five times more likely to engage in health-promoting activity. The relationships became weaker as the walking distance increased to ten minutes, and almost all disappeared when the distance was increased further. The only facility within a twenty minute walk from home to be associated with activity status was a clothing store.

That more health-promoting activity would be performed when a gym or fitness facility is in close proximity to the home makes intuitive sense; participants may attend the facility for exercise purposes. The lack of relation between activity status and a park or recreation center was unexpected, because it seems that individuals would be more active if they had easy access to such facilities. Brownson and associates (Brownson et al. 2001) found that individuals who indicated accessibility of places to exercise, trails, parks, and indoor gyms were more likely to be meeting physical activity recommendations. De Bourdeaudhuij and colleagues (De Bourdeaudhuij et al. 2003) observed that convenience of places to be active was positively correlated with vigorous activity among both men and women.

Likewise, King and associates (King et al. 2003) observed that older women living within a twenty minute walk of a biking/walking trail or park accumulated more daily steps as measured by a pedometer. On the other hand, Hoehner and co-workers (Hoehner, Ramirez, Elliot, Handy and Brownson 2005) and McCormack and colleagues (McCormack et al. 2008) noted few associations between perceived and objective measures of recreational facilities and self-reported physical activity.

Participants in this study were more likely to be obtaining the recommended dose of physical activity if a post office was nearby. This finding could be explained if it is considered that participants may walk to the post office, which would not be unusual if individuals were unencumbered by large packages. In fact, King and colleagues (King et al. 2005) found that the presence of a post office within a twenty minute walk from home was related to a greater accumulation of steps per day in a sample of women aged 52-62 years. Associations between activity status and the other types of facilities (e.g., clothing, video store) are not easily explained. However, Cerin and colleagues (Cerin et al. 2007) found that individuals more frequently walked to a retail store than a post office, and McCormack and co-workers (McCormack et al. 2008) demonstrated increased odds of individuals walking for transportation if they lived within a quarter-mile of a shopping mall. King and colleagues (King et al. 2003) demonstrated that older women living

within walking distance of a department, discount, or hardware store accumulated more daily steps than those who did not live within walking distance of these places. When assessing destinations grouped as general types rather than individually, Cerin and colleagues (Cerin et al. 2007) observed a positive relationship between the number of different types of destinations, and specifically with commercial destinations, within a five minute walk from home and weekly minutes of walking for transportation purposes. McCormack and associates (McCormack et al. 2007) demonstrated that the presence of utilitarian destinations such as convenience stores and shopping malls within 400-1500 meters of home were related to greater odds of walking for transportation.

The current study is one of the few studies assessing environmental correlates of physical activity that have utilized accelerometers to objectively measure activity levels in a sample of older women (King et al. 2003; King et al. 2005; Morris et al. 2007). That no environmental subscales from *NEWS-A* were significantly related to objectively monitored physical activity was unexpected considering the many advantages of using an objective measure of physical activity. An accelerometer worn at the hip, as was done in this study, monitors the duration and intensity of ambulatory activity. Accelerometers are non-invasive, unobtrusive, and are not subject to reporting errors, which is a concern with using questionnaires to

gather physical activity information (Janz 2006). In addition, the researchers utilized progressive methods of managing the accelerometer data in order to provide more accurate estimates of time spent engaging in moderate and vigorous physical activity (Troiano et al. 2008). However, participants in this study wore the accelerometer for all waking hours, thus capturing physical activity performed at home, at work, during leisure time, and for transportation. It is possible that perceptions of the neighborhood environment do not relate to the total amount of physical activity that is performed by an individual, but rather is related to the activity that is performed solely in and around the neighborhood.

### **Strengths and Limitations**

There are several strengths to this study. The relative homogeneity of the sample may have reduced the existence of potential confounders such as race and socioeconomic status. The use of an objective monitor of physical activity reduces possible respondent biases that can occur with self-report. Also, the Actigraph GT1M is the latest in accelerometer technology and is extremely useful as an objective measure of physical activity. The use of progressive methods to determine wear time and bouts of physical activity enabled more accurate estimations of objectively monitored physical activity (Troiano et al. 2008). Use of the *NEWS-A*, a comprehensive instrument that assesses many environmental factors and that has been used by other

researchers, was also a strength in this study.

Limitations existed in this study. First, participants were healthy volunteers and thus may have been more willing to participate and comply with the study protocol. Second, the majority of participants were Caucasian, highly educated, had a household income of more than \$50,000, and were relatively physically active, and may not be representative of the average female aged 50-75 years. Third, participants had very similar perceptions of their neighborhood environments, making it difficult to distinguish differences between groups. Fourth, accelerometers do not capture all types of physical activity, and the cut-points used to categorize accelerometer minutes into intensity categories may not accurately describe the intensity of activity. Fifth, although the *NEWS-A* is a comprehensive measure, it may not sufficiently describe all factors of the physical environment that are related to physical activity. For example, the hilliness subscale consists of a single item that is asking two questions, thus making it difficult for participants to accurately respond to the item. Two items inquiring about sidewalks are difficult to answer when participants do not have sidewalks in their neighborhood. Also, other destinations could be included in the land use mix-diversity subscale, such as biking/walking trails and department or discount stores.

### **Recommendations Future Research**

Evaluation of the influence of

physical environmental factors on physical activity has been an important area of research in the past decade. There exists a plethora of information with much contradiction, and differences that are evident based on the population of interest. Advances could be made in this area of research by standardizing assessment instruments, particularly those used to evaluate environmental perceptions. Further assessment of *NEWS-A* as a valid and reliable measure across age groups and populations should be performed. Similarly, the use of a standardized method of quantifying physical activity would enable more meaningful analyses and comparisons across studies. Use of an objective measure of physical activity, such as an accelerometer, would reduce potential respondent biases that are common with self-report measures. If the activity of interest is neighborhood physical activity participation, perhaps asking respondents to wear the device when they are engaging in any physical activity outside of their home but within their neighborhood would enable a better representation of neighborhood physical activity participation. In addition, the neighborhood should be defined for enhanced clarification. Finally, most studies of environmental perceptions and physical activity are cross-sectional, descriptive studies. Researchers cannot state whether individuals are more active in their neighborhoods because their environment motivated them to be active, or if individuals moved to their environment because it was a place that was conducive to their

already active lifestyle. Thus, longitudinal studies that evaluate changes in physical activity in conjunction with changing neighborhood environments may help to answer such questions.

### **Summary and Implications**

Engaging in moderate-to-vigorous intensity physical activities on a regular basis can provide health benefits (Haskell et al. 2007). Researchers have demonstrated correlations between environmental factors and physical activity, though there are differences in environmental perceptions, activity level, and the relationship between the two from one population to the next. Findings of the current study indicate that the presence of specific destinations within close proximity of home are associated with objectively measured physical activity among women aged 50-75 years. Although preliminary, findings suggest aspects of the environment that may be key when designing future communities that are supportive of participation in health-promoting physical activity.

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**RACE AND THE UNIVERSITY**  
**A Memoir** (ISBN 9780806141299)  
By George Henderson



Foreword by David W. Levy

In this stirring memoir, Henderson recounts his formative years at the University of Oklahoma, during the late 1960s and early 1970s. He describes in graphic detail the obstacles that he and other African Americans faced within the university community, a place of "white privilege, black separatism, and campus-wide indifference to bigotry." Capturing what was perhaps the most tumultuous era in the history of American higher education, *Race and the University* includes valuable recollections of former student activists who helped transform the University of Oklahoma into one of the nation's most diverse college campuses.



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## **THE TERRY D. LAWSUIT: TRANSCENDING TWENTY YEARS OF LITIGATION**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper discusses the issues of institutional abuse against children and the consequences given a lack of appropriate treatment to meet their psychosocial needs. An overview of the federal consent decree instituted in this case is presented as well as the results of an audit that was implemented and aimed for the dismissal of the decree after twenty years of litigation. Post-litigation changes are also highlighted.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The issue of institutional abuse against children residing in public facilities across the U.S. garnered much attention in the early 1970's (Wooden 1976). The State of Oklahoma was not exempt from scrutiny during this period (Sherwood and Hanchette 1982). This monograph sets the context for the Terry D. lawsuit by summarizing some of the turning points over the two decade history of the litigation. Moreover, findings are presented from an audit examining the assessment and case planning practices in the State child welfare system. The results of this audit were instrumental in obtaining the final order of dismissal in the lawsuit (Herrerías 1999). Finally, a highlight of substantive improvements in child welfare demonstrates the Oklahoma Department of Human Services' (ODHS) attempt to help ensure the safety, well-being, and permanency of its children and youths.

### **Background**

In 1978, attorneys from the Legal Aid of Western Oklahoma, National Center for Youth Law, and the American Civil Liberties Union's National Prison Project filed a class action suit in federal court alleging violation of human rights and unconstitutional practices against youths in Oklahoma's institutions (Terry D. et al. v. L.E. Rader et al. 1978; Trzcinski 1996). The Terry D. vs. Rader lawsuit identified institutions as situated in isolated rural areas and improperly staffed. Four of the five facilities were located in small rural locations –Boley, Helena, Pryor, and Taft. The fifth institution was near Tulsa (Beyer et al. 1990; Trzcinski 1996). Moreover, the suit alleged that deprived and delinquent youths were housed together and that deprived minors were occasionally moved from non-secure settings to more restrictive placements in secure facilities intended for delinquent youths (Trzcinski 1990). Another allegation

pointed to physical punishment and use of extreme restraint procedures (Beyer et al. 1990; Trzcinski 1990).

A consent decree was agreed to by the parties to the lawsuit in 1984 (Terry D. et al. v. L.E. Rader et al. 1984). Some of the conditions of the Consent Decree included removing deprived children from large congregate care, restrictions on the use of physical restraints and isolation in institutions, and a requirement for the State to obtain professional accreditation for its child welfare and juvenile justice programs. Youth were being physically restrained and sometimes housed with prisoners. Staff had to learn how to restrain without physically touching the minors. Youth had little outside contact because of their proximity to family.

In 1982, legislation was passed that made accreditation a statutory mandate (Trzcinski 1990). This involved pursuing certification by three separate accrediting organizations. The Consent Decree (Terry D. et al. v. L.E. Rader et al. 1984) required the Department comply with the American Correctional Association (ACA) Standards, "...except where such standards are inconsistent with the terms of this Decree... (p. 8)." The Department's treatment centers were required to comply with the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals (JCAH) Standards. Juvenile justice programs received accreditation from the ACA in 1986. Then in 1992, accreditation was attained from the Council on Accreditation (COA) for the Depart-

ment's child welfare programs with the distinction of being the first state child welfare system in the country to reach this milestone (Trzcinski 1990).

The Terry D. Consent Decree served as a catalyst for two other benchmarks. The first was the development of community-based supportive programs for youths in ODHS custody (Trzcinski 2001). The second resulted in the closing of five large institutions; two that served deprived children and three that served delinquent youths (Trzcinski 2001). A third requirement of the Consent Decree was the development of a "strengths and needs based" assessment and treatment plan.

Trzcinski (1996) indicated that at least three efforts were made between 1984-1991 to produce an acceptable response to bring an end to the lawsuit. The first two efforts were unsuccessful. In 1989, the Honorable Ralph G. Thompson, U.S. District Court judge, appointed a panel consisting of three members to assist the parties involved with the development of the implementation plan required by Section XIV of the Consent Decree (Terry D. et al vs. L.E. Rader et al. 1984). Panel members designed and completed a comprehensive study of programmatic and service needs of class members (defined as youths ages ten and older) who were at risk of becoming delinquent, in need of supervision, in need of treatment, or deprived (Beyer et al. 1990). This report yielded thirty specific recom-

mendations emerging from three principles: (1) The need to re-invest dollars in the front end of the system, (2) the need to expand and diversify the service delivery system, and (3) the need for openness and accountability.

On April 30, 1991, the Court Plan of Implementation was approved, ordering specific required actions necessary to bring an end to the litigation (Terry D. et al., v. L.E. Rader et al. 1991; Trzcinski 1996). The Implementation Plan also ordered the appointment of a court monitor who "...will review, assess, and report to the court on the Department's progress and compliance (Terry D. et al. v. L.E. Rader et al. 1991, p. 29)." At about the same time, the ODHS developed a Request for Proposals (RFP) for contracted community-based services that would provide an array of needed supports to class members under the Oklahoma Children's Initiative (OCI). Services comprised educational advocacy, home-based services, independent living, day treatment, and non-residential substance abuse treatment (Trzcinski 2001).

In addition to the existing provisions under Terry D. the court instituted the requirement that the two ODHS youth shelters for deprived children (those removed from their parents' custody or abandoned) (Pauline Mayer in Oklahoma City, and Laura Dester in Tulsa) would cap admissions to the facilities. The expectation was that there would be no admissions for

those five and younger (less than 24-hour stay) and those six and older would not remain in the youth shelter for more than thirty days. The numbers of the youth transitioning through the shelter were more than the established cap. This was a result due to the relatively small number of available foster homes. Some of the children were actually returned to their homes without foster home placement.

In 1994, another significant change took place—the signing into law of the Oklahoma Juvenile Reform Act [H.B. 2640, Oklahoma Session Laws, 1994, Ch. 290]. The Act made both substantive changes in the state law relative to juvenile offenders and created a new state agency—the Office of Juvenile Affairs (OJA), which assumed responsibility for the State's juvenile offenders and youths in need of supervision (Terry D. et al. v. L.E. Rader et al. 1995b). The ODHS continued to maintain responsibility for child welfare programs. Little more than a year later, the Court approved a revised implementation plan for ODHS (Terry D. et al. v. L.E. Rader et al. 1995a; Terry D. et al. v. L.E. Rader et al. 1995b). Each agency proceeded to successfully bring closure to the lawsuit with their respective legal representatives and renegotiated implementation plans (Trzcinski 2001). An Order of Dismissal was entered on April 5, 1996 for OJA with the condition that substantial compliance would have to be maintained with the terms and conditions of both the Consent

Decree and the Amended Plan of Implementation for six months. If substantial compliance was found at the end of the six months' period, the dismissal of the lawsuit would be complete. If not, OJA's inaction might reinstate a motion by the plaintiffs (Terry D. et al. v. L.E. Rader, et al. 1996). On the other hand, the Department's Order of Dismissal contained no carryover requirements saying that once the Court Monitor certified that the DHS defendants had achieved substantial compliance with the Revised Implementation Plan, the Settlement Agreement would be deemed "fully satisfied" (Terry D. et al. v. L.E. Rader, et al. 1998).

### **THE INDIVIDUALIZED SERVICE PLAN AUDIT**

The Individualized Service Plan (ISP) audit was the final condition for dismissal of the Terry D. Settlement Agreement. The objectives of the audit were designed to determine the extent to which: (1) unique family assessments and treatment plans were completed by child welfare workers on each child in ODHS's custody, (2) family assessments and treatment plans were completed on each of the siblings that had been named in court petitions, (3) children's needs were reflected in each of the treatment plans, and (4) children's needs as identified on the needs assessment were met through the provision of appropriate services as delineated in the Settlement Agreement (Terry D. et

al. v. L.E. Rader et al. 1998).

It was expected that the ISP audit be conducted on a random sample of children in the ODHS's custody. However, a random sample was not feasible due to there being insufficient numbers of children in each of the counties in Oklahoma. Hence a nonrandom sample of Child Welfare cases of children 8-18 years old in the department's emergency, temporary and permanent custody were sampled. A second modification needed to be made to the original audit design, which changed the required lower age range of ten years old to be pushed back to eight years old, again because there were insufficient numbers of children in each county. The audit's design was descriptive-exploratory in that it would describe the status of children's needs assessments and treatment plans at the same time that it would suggest questions for further examination. Control or comparison groups were not employed.

### **Procedures**

A sample of 125 was drawn from all opened or re-opened cases of [deprived] custody children on or after 02/01/1998 through 07/15/1998 in Oklahoma ( $n=59$ ) and Tulsa ( $n=40$ ) counties. The remaining sample was taken from all cases opened or re-opened on or after 10/01/1997 through 07/15/1998 in four other counties (Caddo, 6; Kay, 11; LeFlore, 6; and Pittsburg, 3). The initial timeframe was 02/01/1998 to 07/15/1998, but the sample pool needed to be expanded in the latter

counties.

A 43-item questionnaire was used on which the seven-person audit team would record data. Items on the questionnaire included basic demographics, type of placement, specific needs and strengths for both family and child, congruency of strengths and needs with treatment goals, services to meet the child's identified needs, and the extent to which the case plan was complete in each case. In general this process examined whether the needs of the entire family were documented and addressed in a timely, appropriate manner.

In order to gather the data, a series of case planning documents (e.g., Treatment Plan, Court Report, Child Placement History, Case Summary, etc.) were printed in advance for review and extraction of the data. Personal interviews were also conducted as a part of the audit. A total of 147 interviews were conducted with parents ( $n=31$ ), children ( $n=38$ ), child welfare supervisors ( $n=25$ ) and workers ( $n=25$ ), and private vendors ( $n=28$ ) providing services under Oklahoma Children's Services (OCS). OCS was established and implemented in July 1998 and consisted of comprehensive home-based services to families of deprived youth.

### **Demographics**

Children had a mean age of 12.2 years. Thirty-seven (29.6%) were between 8-10 years old, 45 (36%) were between 11-13, and 43 (34.4%) were between 14-18 years

old. Females accounted for 62.4%. Fifty-six percent of the children were preadolescent. Racially children were 26.4% African American, 21.6% Native American, and 49.6% Caucasian. Ethnic/racial background was indiscernible in three or 2.4% of the children. Class members had an average of 1.9 siblings with a mean of 1.4 in ODHS's custody. Nearly 95% of the children had up to three siblings in Department's custody. Almost 6% had four to eight siblings in custody.

### **Findings**

Most class members were placed in Oklahoma (35.2%) or Tulsa (31.2%) counties. The remaining 42 children were placed in 13 different counties across Oklahoma. Ninety or 72% of the class members had a treatment plan goal of returning to their own home. Another 10% had a goal of long-term out-of-home placement. Only 6% of the class members were being maintained in their own homes. Eight (6.4%) youths had a treatment plan goal of independent living. Details of the ISP can be found in Herrerías (1999).

The Family Strengths and Needs Assessments were completed in 95.2% of cases. There was congruence between each Family Strengths and Needs Assessment and the Treatment Plan in 96.8% of the cases. Services identified on the Treatment Plan were actually provided to class members in 89.6% of the time. The underlying causes of problems identified in the Family Strengths and Needs Assessment

were addressed in the Treatment Plan in 95.2% of cases. Of 82 Treatment Plans needing to be updated during the audit period, 91.5% had incorporated relevant changes. Treatment Plans were signed by at least one parent or primary caretaker in 80.8% of the time. Treatment Plans were actually found in 99.2% of the cases. The latter was instrumental in the dismissal of the consent decree.

Regarding the class members' understanding regarding being under ODHS's care, all of the children knew of their status and who their child welfare worker was. Children responded that of all the services they had received, they best liked counseling, new clothing, foster/relative placements, and visits with their mother and siblings. Children indicated that there needed to be better design in services for them to include staff who understood children's experiences, staff who asked children what they liked or needed, stable foster or relative home placements and frequent contact with friends and kin. During interviews with a select number of children yielded many comments. Two examples are:

*"Try another home for one or two weeks and see how it works out—do something about what happened— but go back to mother. Ask [perpetrator] what they did. Persons [perpetrators] should go to jail."*

*"Listen to kids—especially little kids, and give importance to what they say; don't always*

*give great weight to adults. Also loosen up restrictions on overnight visits to homes— if someone is in your life for a while, you should be able to spend time with them."*

There were some statements directed to Child Welfare workers. An example of one was: *"Tell me what you know about plans for me. Who will I live with and what is the house like? Give me more input. I know me best!"* A large number of children posed a question they would like their mothers to answer. *"When are you going to get well?"* An example of a message for their caretaker (other than a parent) was voiced by one who exclaimed:

*"You're unfair! You treat your natural children differently. You're in [foster care] for the money. Stop lying to us—we're not little children, and we can find out the truth!"*

Parents indicated seeing a copy of the treatment plan in 67.7% of the cases. Parents also reported seeing their child welfare worker at least monthly in 77.4% of the time. Ninety percent of parents perceived services they received were at the very least somewhat helpful. Parents reported being involved in developing the Treatment Plan in 45.2% of the cases. They indicated having received from one to five services from Child Welfare in 80.6% of the cases.

Child welfare workers said that they always discussed risk-related

issues with respective parents. Nearly 61% of service providers (those entities external to ODHS) felt there was no communication with child welfare workers concerning children on their caseloads. Workers believed that counseling, home-based services and stable placements were the most beneficial to children in ODHS's custody. It was felt that children were still lacking sufficient specialized placements, mentoring/tutoring, independent living services, and medical/dental services. Workers believed that workload, staffing, foster care and other specialized placement resources, and management issues as central to improving the Child Welfare system overall. Workers said that workload issues and receiving support from all levels (e.g., Legal Division, court, management, State Office, community, clericals, and case aides) were the two most influential actors in performing their jobs.

Child Welfare supervisors yielded that home-based services and counseling were the most beneficial services for families in 72% of the cases. Supervisors indicated that drug and alcohol services were the most critically needed resource for families followed by counseling, psychological evaluations, and parenting skills development. Overall, supervisors believed that Child Welfare provided quality services, safety/protection for children, and responded well to priority referrals. Supervisors reported that resolving staffing, workload and management

issues would improve the Child Welfare system in general. It was felt that resolving workload issues, receiving better support from all levels, having well-qualified staff, and better training would help them perform their supervisory responsibilities more effectively.

Finally, service providers were surveyed and found that Child Welfare workers always discussed risk-related issues and Treatment Plans with them. The Child Welfare system worked well regarding preventive/home-based services, other services/resources, good communication between providers and Child Welfare, and child protection. Nearly 61% of providers said the Child Welfare workers needed smaller caseloads and that the staff turnover was too great. As a matter of fact, more than 50% of Child Welfare staff has been with the Department less than one year. Thirty-nine percent of providers felt there were no communication problems between themselves and Child Welfare, while 25% wanted return telephone calls to be made in a more timely fashion. More than two-thirds of the service providers had at least weekly contact with Child Welfare staff; nearly all had monthly contact.

The ISP audit contained several limitations. First, the cases were selected from a narrow field of eligible participants within an abbreviated timeframe of cases being opened for service. Staff was aware of the time parameters for the audit and likely "crammed for the test."

Admittedly, a random sample of all open foster care cases may have yielded different results. Second, the audit focused on quantitative issues, such as whether assessments and treatment plans were completed on class members and their siblings. Issues of the quality of assessments, treatment plans, and actual services provided to class members were not evaluated. Third, there were no process questions, which frequently allow for the identification of impediments to client engagement, service delivery, and overall efficacy of a service system. Fourth, some of the interview questions may have yielded socially desirable responses thereby affecting their general reliability.

## DISCUSSION

Based on the data, the court felt that the issues of compliance under the Terry D. Consent Decree were resolved overall. Notwithstanding the high rate of compliance regarding all of the objectives of the ISP audit, there remain a number of compelling issues requiring the Department's attention and continuing effort.

Both the case information data, as well as interviews with class members and parents indicated the need to significantly improve in the areas of client engagement and parents' participation in the development of strengths-based assessments and treatment plans. The findings showed that less than half of the parents were involved in the actual development of the treatment

plan and that only slightly more than two-thirds recall seeing the document. While nearly 81% of the parents actually signed their treatment plan, neither the significance of that activity nor its inherent expectations seemed to have made the necessary impact.

Close examination of the contents of the Family Strengths and Needs Assessments of class members and their siblings found that Child Welfare staff frequently recorded the same strengths and needs for all of the children being assessed. Hence, there must be an emphasis on the uniqueness of the children as individuals and the importance of addressing their specific needs. The "cookie cutter" assessment process obscures and even conceals underlying needs and personal resiliency, which are essential in appropriately treating children and building on their strengths.

Service providers reported having good working relationships with Child Welfare. Even so, 25% of contract staff indicated that telephone calls were not returned timely. This aspect of the working relationship must be improved as a means of positively reinforcing professional collaboration with our private partners, who represent an integral part of our children's treatment team.

Concern over Child Welfare workloads and caseload size were expressed by Child Welfare workers, supervisors, and service providers as negatively impacting the ability to deliver effectual services to children



and their families. Moreover, better training and support from county directors and the State Office were cited as critical toward ensuring more effective job performance. These issues must be carefully examined and satisfactorily resolved.

Most Child Welfare workers, supervisors, and contract (service provider) staff agree with the need for the ongoing development of specialized placement resources; increased capacity for immediate, flexible services for their clients; and a better foster care system overall. The need for viable foster homes has grown to more than 500% over the last decade yet the net increase of homes has been less than 25%. The Child Welfare system must engage in a parallel planning and retooling process to ensure that all sides of the complex, compelling issues referenced herein are addressed to everyone's benefit.

### **HIGHLIGHTS OF CHANGES POST-TERRY D.**

A number of action steps have been taken by ODHS toward ameliorating some of the issues brought to light by the audit. Some of the responses go beyond addressing what was found to encompass broader issues of need, concern, and future development. The Department's commitment towards enhancing staff's ability to more effectively engage client families in the case planning process resulted in specialized training being

provided to all Child Welfare workers, supervisors, Child Welfare field liaisons, county directors, area directors, and State Office personnel [responsible for oversight and policy] by the Child Welfare Policy and Practice Group. More than forty sessions were offered in five regional locations in Oklahoma to best accommodate all of the participants. Training participants were expected to complete seven full days of instruction, presented in didactic, role play, group discussion, and case illustration format. Supervisory staff participated in the same seven days of instruction as their social work staff, plus one additional day of training. The seven days of instruction has been permanently added to the supervisory training for all new supervisors.

A short-term expectation was that trained staff would immediately apply the newly acquired knowledge with children and families on their caseload. The longer term expectation involved a reconceptualization of the case planning process within a more user-friendly framework that would facilitate purposeful connections and assure efficacious work with clients. There was an additional training opportunity for staff in their area.

In response to the second area that impacts workers, a Child Welfare Summit was convened by ODHS Director Howard Hendrick, which involved a cross-section of Child Welfare and other administrative program staff (e.g., Family Support, Data Services, Finance,

and Human Resources Management). Representatives from across the state were included in this event. The intention was to identify the Child Welfare system's strengths, limitations, and areas for improvement. Several work groups that emerged from the Summit were actively engaged in strategic planning sessions toward implementing, correcting, or otherwise enhancing system functioning. A follow-up to the Summit was held where work groups shared their plans and next steps were identified. Immediately preceding the Summit, a workload study commenced that provided critical information in the structure and management of workload responsibilities across Child Welfare. There is an annual meeting to discuss where Child Welfare is, what it hopes to accomplish, and strategies to reach those goals.

In-classroom and field training were re-conceptualized for all new Child Welfare workers attending the Child Welfare Academy to allow for a deeper understanding of the subject area and greater interaction with actual cases. This practice has enhanced novice workers' experience and greatly facilitated their transition into this area of work. A secondary expectation of this is to minimize attrition, which is 25% annually. The two most significant changes ushered in as a result of the Terry D. Consent Decree and its Order of Dismissal have been the KIDS system and OCS. As the glitches have been worked out of the KIDS system, it has emerged as the

single most important innovation that ODHS has realized. It electronically connects every Child Welfare employee in the state of Oklahoma. The KIDS system has made it possible for the hundreds of pages of forms and documents used by the department to become paperless. The KIDS system has also helped facilitate electronic county-by-county audits of Child Welfare cases in lieu of annual 3-4 day visits by a team of quality assurance staff. This has yielded considerable savings in time and resources.

The changes brought about by Oklahoma Children's Services (OCS) have been far reaching. In short, OCS elevated the standard of service in Child Welfare to children at risk of child abuse and neglect. It also provided intervention in the cases where a child in out-of-home placement was at risk of placement disruption. The third aspect of OCS was being instrumental in facilitating the successful reunification of children in out-of-home placements with their families. Under OCS, Child Welfare workers were given relief from providing primary services for some of these families as they were referred to private contractors. Private contractors serve more than 4,000 children annually through OCS.

One of the more perplexing problems in Child Welfare is attrition. One half of the Child Welfare workers have been with ODHS less than one year. In order to help stem the tide of the 'revolving door,' the Continuous Service Incentive Plan

(CSIP) became effective in July 2008 (J.A. Jones, personal communication). It is for Child Welfare Specialist I and IIs, as well as other ODHS staff with social service duties. Child Welfare Specialists must have completed the Child Welfare Academy training and have continuous employment. If so, the incentive amounts are \$1,000 at six months and \$500 quarterly up to a maximum of \$4,000 for 24 months. Program effectiveness of the CSIP will be evaluated sometime in 2012.

### CONCLUSION

Presently, there is an annual review that is completed on every county in the state in Child Welfare—perhaps not as extensive as originally done for the ISP audit— but containing the elements that in part brought about the Terry D. Consent Decree into existence. Staff conducting quality assurance audits is examining the extent to which compliance is found with ODHS's policy, reporting, and documentation requirements. Also under review is the quality and quantity of services being provided to children and their families. Issues of noncompliance are noted and plans for corrective action are written up and provided to county directors with a date by which to respond. Each county director replies with a detailed plan of action for rectifying each of the items found to be out of compliance. This plan of action is discussed upon receipt by the quality assurance team before accepted or further negotiation

ensues.

The truth is that every child Welfare department in the country stands at the brink of a potential lawsuit. The needs of children are tremendous, the issues that families face are staggering, and the Child Welfare workloads are overwhelming. Children have never been a priority. Children do not have a voice—they do not vote. Funding for children's services is low on the totem pole. Child Welfare workers are expected to accomplish a difficult, sometimes dangerous job with extremely limited resources. Staff burnout occurs frequently resulting in rapid employee turnover. It has a cyclical effect on the quality, quantity and cost of services provided.

The ODHS systematically worked toward the dismissal of the Terry D. Consent Decree over the course of twenty years of litigation. Since the Order of Dismissal, it has taken different steps and put different mechanisms in place to ensure that, among others, the lack of information to clients, absence of engagement with families, absence of treatment plans, and lack of congruence between identified problems and issues on the treatment plan are not repeated. In particular, the innovation of its statewide electronic information system (KIDS), the statewide contractors' electronic system that connects to KIDS (eKIDS), and the establishment of OCS have made significant improvements to the infrastructure. These innovative changes help relieve some of the

administrative work for Child Welfare workers that in turn allows for more face-to-face time being devoted to children and their families. The one-on-one worker-client relationship is key toward effective problem resolution and successful treatment planning. These are definitely steps in the right direction.

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## THE STATE OF THE GREAT SIOUX, PART ONE

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### Abstract

By the late 1600s, the Great Sioux had settled in what is now known as Minnesota as village farmers. As a result of conflict with other First Americans, the Sioux –then known as Dakota– began to divide and to migrate west. The result of the division was three groups –the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota. Within four decades the population of this great nation had been decimated and the nation itself had been reduced to a defeated and despondent people totally dependent on the United States for the resources necessary for its survival. This manuscript provides an historical overview of the Great Sioux, and identifies four events as critical in understanding this massive societal collapse.

### INTRODUCTION

They call themselves the OYATE KIN meaning “The People.” (Marshall 2004:xxiii-xxiv) They are known to whites as the Sioux, a name many of them despise. It derives from the language of one of their traditional foes –the Ojibwa– and means snake or enemy. (Coleman and Camp 1988) In the early 1800s the Great Sioux was the most powerful Indian nation in the upper Great Plains, and arguably one of the two most powerful nations in what is now the continental United States –the United States itself being the second (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a; Biography 1996). Yet within four decades the population of this great nation had been decimated and the nation had been reduced to a defeated and despondent people totally dependent on the United States for the resources necessary for their survival.

Four events can be identified as critical in understanding this massive societal collapse. Three of those events are reasonably well known while the fourth is not. The best known are (1) the Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Big Horn, (2) the illegal confiscation and continued occupation of the Black Hills, and (3) the Massacre at Wounded Knee. The fourth event –the one least known– is the Great Dakota Conflict, otherwise known as the Little Crow’s War, The War of 1862, or The Great Sioux Uprising.

Described in this manuscript is a brief history of the Great Sioux and of the first two events instrumental in their collapse. The final two critical events and an over summary of their current status will be described in THE STATE OF THE GREAT SIOUX, Part Two.

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE GREAT SIOUX<sup>1</sup>

Information on the ancestral Great Sioux prior to European contact in the mid-1600s is very limited. However, there is enough to conclude that they had lived at the headwaters of the Mississippi River in the north woods of the Mississippi Valley and later in Minnesota for several thousands of years (Gibbon 2003). They were hunters and gatherers, living in semi-permanent villages. They hunted large wild animals such as deer, elk and bison, small animals such as rabbit and beaver, and gathered wild plants such as wild rice, berries, nuts, and roots. They might have planted some crops (Coleman and Camp 1988; Gibbon 2003)

The earliest Euro-American reports concerning the Great Sioux, then known as the Dakota, are dated from the 1640s and the earliest recorded contact was in the winter of 1659-1660 (Gibbon 2003). At that time, there were as many as 20,000 Dakota who occupied a vast territory from the woodlands of central Minnesota to the prairies of the eastern Dakotas spread among dozens of villages. (Coleman and Camp 1988; Gibbon 2003)

By 1500 the Dakota had begun to divide and by the mid to late 1600s had separated into three subdivisions, becoming distinguishable by their own territory, language,

and way of life. The three were the Dakota (also known as the Isanti and later the Santee), the Nakota (also known as the Ihankton, later anglicized into Yankton), and Lakota (the Titunwan later anglicized into Teton) (Grobsmith 1981:6-7; Marshall 2004:xxiii-xxiv).

By the mid-1700s, the territory of each division was established. The Dakota occupied territory east and northeast of the Missouri River into Minnesota, the Nakota occupied territory on the Great Plains just west of the Dakota but east of the Missouri River, and Lakota occupied the Great Plains west of the Missouri River into Montana and Wyoming (Grobsmith 1981:6-7).

Taken together, the Great Sioux territory encompassed a vast area mainly including parts of seven states—Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

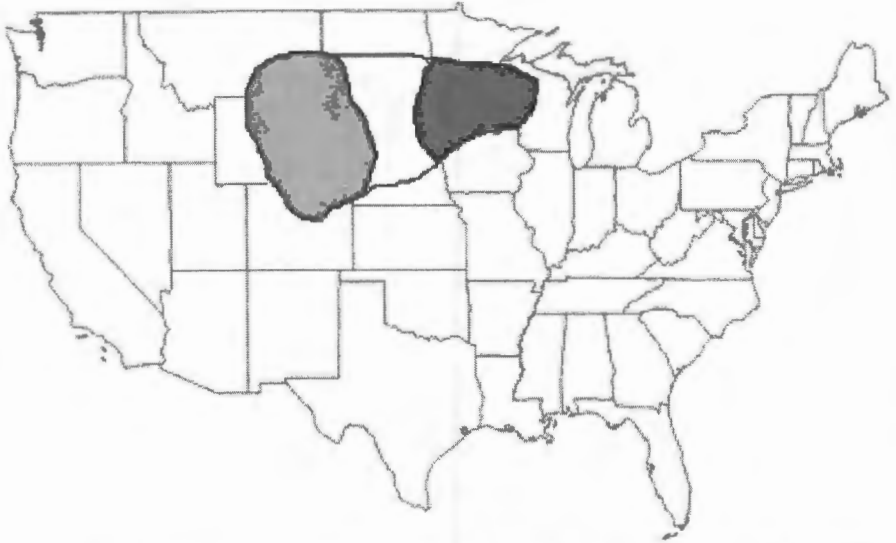
Each summer, the Great Sioux convened large encampments, bringing together all three subdivisions. These encampments provided the opportunity for large community bison hunts, feasts, sports, trade, and the celebration of important ceremonies such as the Sun Dance. This was also the time when their councils met to discuss important tribal matters such as the future scheduling of the encampment, the Sun Dance, and for consideration of war and treaties.

### The Dakota

The yearly pattern of the eastern Sioux was heavily influenced by the

<sup>1</sup> Given the need to distinguish periodically among the three constituent parts of this society—the Dakota, Nakota, and Lakota—the appellation The Great Sioux will be used.

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



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

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

seasons. Overall, their subsistence pattern was based on hunting a variety of animals and gathering a wide variety of plants (Gibbon 2003:82-83). They fished. They hunted moose, deer, elk, and even a few buffalo, eventually adding muskrats as prey for use in the fur trade. They gathered non-cultivated plant food such as wild turnips, wild berries, chokecherries, and wild rice. In the spring, they left their winter bark-covered lodges and moved to maple-sugar and hunting camps. Since they had few horses even after the middle eighteenth century when horses became much more widely spread on

the northern plains, women and dogs transported supplies from one camp to the next. "In the summer, Dakota bands congregated in large villages along wooded river valleys, where they lived in rectangular bark-covered lodges with gabled roofs that were large enough for an extended family of a dozen or more people" (Gibbon 2003:83).

#### **The Nakota**

The middle Sioux lived most of the year in permanent villages of a few hundred inhabitants (Gibbon 2003: 83-86). Since there were few trees in the region, there were no bark

covered lodges, although there were occasional earth lodges. Instead they lived in tipis. They farmed some. Women planted corn and other vegetables in the flood plains of the rivers. A major source of food came from hunting. Yearly, there were two large scale multi-village bison hunts, one in the spring and one in the fall. Bison were hunted at other times as well, as were deer, bear, antelope, elk, and other game. The Nakota supplemented their bison hunts with fishing, gathering of uncultivated crops, and trade with the Dakota and Lakota.

### **The Lakota**

During the early and middle part of the 1800s, the western Sioux developed into the archetype mobile, horse and bison based Plains culture (Gibbon 2003:86-92). With the adoption of the guns and horses they obtained from the Europeans, the Lakota came to depend almost entirely on the bison for virtually all of their needs (Gibbon 2003). They did, however, supplement their bison hunting with the hunting of smaller game, the gathering of wild plants such as wild onions, peas, fruits, and berries, and with trade with the Dakota and Nakota. Because they were following the bison, except in the winter they were almost always on the move, maintaining no permanent villages. Throughout the year, they lived in tipis.

As noted earlier, the Lakota participated in summer encampments with the Dakota and Nakota. It was here they engaged in important religious and social activities and in

important political discussions.

Aided by the adoption of guns and the horses, the Lakota became one of the most militarily successful of all of the Plains cultures. "The westward surge of the Western Sioux in the early nineteenth century seized territory from the Iowas, Poncas, Pawnees, Arikaras, Manans, Hidatsas, Asiniboin, Kiowas, Crows, and Cheyennes" (Gibbon 2003:88). They ultimately came to dominate the upper Plains. With the increased trade they developed with white American society, they became economically successful as well. As Gibbon noted, "It was an era of unprecedented prosperity for the Lakota" (2003:90).

It is important to note that the adoption of the gun and horse by the Plains Indians had initiated an ecological catastrophe—a precipitous decline in buffalo. This decline began long before whites engaged in their relentless slaughter of the buffalo. Prior to the adoption of both the gun and horse from the Europeans, the hunting of buffalo on the Plains had been far less productive and far more difficult than after their adoption. Relatively few bison were killed in the hunts. First, hunting on foot made it very difficult to kill many buffalo. Second, given the necessity to carry the bison meat, or use dogs to carry it, the processing and transportation of a large amount of buffalo meat were difficult. The widespread adoption of the horse after about 1650 (Fagan 2000:132) and of the gun after about 1800 (Gibbon 2003:88) disrupted the prior ecological balance between the hunter and the buffalo. It



became easy and desirable to kill many buffalo quickly. The use of the horse made it easy to find the buffalo, to kill many while keeping up with the stampeding herds, and to transport the processed buffalo meat. Further, killing a buffalo was far easier with a gun than with a bow and arrow. As a consequence, the buffalo herds declined substantially (Fagan 2000:132; Lowie 1963). In terms of inter-tribal relations, the decline in the herds led to the intensification of warfare among regional groups as they fought for access to this declining resource (Gibbon 2003:88).

#### **FOUR CRITICAL EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT SIOUX COLLAPSE**

Until the early 1800s, the relationship of the United States with the Great Sioux can be characterized as benign neglect (Berg 1993, Discovery Channel Communications 1993a; Fagan 2000; Gibbon 2003; Lowie 1963). There was little contact between the two nations. Few whites were in the upper Great Plains and there was little competition for resources.

As noted earlier, four events can be identified as critical in understanding the massive societal collapse of the Great Sioux. They are the Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Big Horn, the illegal confiscation and continued occupation of the Black Hills, the Massacre at Wounded Knee, and the Great Dakota Conflict.

#### **The Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Big Horn**

The amicable relationship between whites and Indians—a sort of mutual hands-off—began to fray as more and more whites migrated into Great Sioux territory (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a). By the mid-1800s, the Sioux-United States relationship had turned confrontational as the white migrants began coveting Sioux territory. That change was driven by three separate instances of the discovery of gold. The Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Big Horn was the consequence of the Sioux response to the frenetic reaction of whites to those three gold rushes.

#### **California Gold Rush (1848)**

The first gold rush occurred far from Sioux territory. When Americans heard about the gold strike in California in 1848, many decided to head west to make their fortune. However, getting to California from the eastern United States was a challenge. The Panama Canal would not be completed and opened until 1914, another 66 years. Sailing around the Cape Horn at the tip of South America was very expensive and very time consuming. A sailing ship traveling from New York to San Francisco could easily take four or more months to complete the 14,000 mile trip.

Because of the cost in money and time to sail from the east coast to California, thousands of Americans chose to travel by foot, horse, or wagon train straight across middle

America. As they migrated west, many Americans crossed Sioux territory, ignoring the fact they were crossing another nation's land. Within ten years, as many as a quarter of a million whites passed through Sioux territory (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a). They apparently considered the Great Plains untamed wilderness even though the territory had been occupied by the Sioux for generations. The Sioux, as other Plains nations, were powerless to stop the avalanche of white trespassers.

### **Montana Gold Rush (1862)**

The second gold rush happened in 1862 in Montana. Again gold fever infected whites and they again invaded Sioux territory creating a route through the middle of prime hunting territory of the Sioux that became known as the Bozeman Trail. This time the Sioux responded violently to protect their territory. Under their leader Red Cloud, the Sioux attacked the invading whites. In response to the attacks, the U.S. Army established a series of forts along the Bozeman Trail to protect the white gold seekers (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a; Gibbon 2003). The Sioux, in turn, attacked the Army detachments assigned to protect the forts and killed many U.S. soldiers (Biography 1996; Josephy 1994). Army casualties mounted; in one encounter, an entire detachment of 80 soldiers led by Captain William J. Fetterman, was ambushed and annihilated (Utley and Washburn 1977). The Sioux leader of

the successful assault on Fetterman's command was a warrior soon to become known as the Sioux nation's greatest warrior –Crazy Horse. As U.S. Army casualties mounted, Americans sued for peace. Red Cloud agreed to negotiate, but only if the U.S. Army abandoned the hated forts. It did. Within hours of their abandonment, every fort had been burned to the ground by the celebrating Sioux. In effect, Red Cloud had led the Great Sioux to victory in its war with the United States (Biography 1996; Josephy 1994).

The peace treaty Red Cloud signed –the last treaty ever signed between an Indian nation and the United States– was called the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. From the standpoint of this summary, there were two critical provisions. The first was that the Great Sioux gave up their ownership claim to all land in Iowa, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, the eastern half of South Dakota, and Wyoming although they did retain the right to hunt this land.

In exchange for giving up claims to that land, the Sioux accepted the creation of the Great Sioux Reservation. It was essentially western South Dakota, a huge swath of land in South Dakota from the Missouri River to the western boundary of South Dakota (Gibbon 2003). According to the Treaty, the Great Sioux Reservation was created for “the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians” (Wilkins 1997:218). The Treaty guaranteed there would

be no unauthorized whites allowed within the boundaries of the Reservation. That dominion included exclusive ownership of the Black Hills – the most sacred of all Sioux land (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a; Marshall 2004).

The second provision was the agreement by the Sioux to give up their nomadic lifestyle, to settle in or near federally established Indian agencies within the Great Sioux Reservation, and to become farmers. As an incentive to develop a farming lifestyle, the United States agreed to provide the resources such as food, clothing, medical care, farming supplies and advice to help in the transition.

It is important to note that not all Sioux accepted the provisions of the treaty Red Cloud had signed. About two-thirds of the Lakota honored the treaty. The other one-third, led by Lakota leaders such as Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, neither of whom ever signed the treaty, simply ignored it (Gibbon 2003). Neither of these leaders nor their followers had any intention of abandoning the nomadic lifestyle they loved so much (Marshall 2004).

### **Black Hills Gold Rush**

The third gold rush occurred in South Dakota only six years after the signing of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. In 1874, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, responding to rumors of gold, led a federal expedition of 110 wagons into the Black Hills (Utley and Washburn 1977:268). He found gold and

announced its discovery to the world (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a; Gibbon 2003; Utley 1984; Utley and Washburn 1977).

Whites again flooded into Sioux territory. Even though the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 guaranteed that no unauthorized whites would be allowed on Great Sioux Reservation, President Ulysses S. Grant made no effort to remove the trespassing whites (Gibbon 2003). In fact, there is evidence that the Grant administration knowingly and secretly acted to encourage the violation of the treaty; "By quietly withdrawing the Army from the Black Hills, the government was signaling to interested whites that the Black Hills were open territory" (Wilkins 1997:220). Not only did President Grant not try to keep whites out of Sioux lands, he acted to protect them if they did trespass. In 1875, he threatened to withhold meat rations from the Lakota if they resorted to violence against the whites (Gibbon 2003).

The white trespassers demanded that the American government force the Sioux to sell their land (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a; Marshall 2004; Utley 1984). The Sioux balked. The U.S. Army then issued an ultimatum stating that all Sioux not already settled at the Indian agencies were either to come into the agencies as they had agreed to do under the provisions of the Fort Laramie Treaty or be declared as hostile and tracked down and forcibly settled at the agencies.

Those not living at the agencies simply ignored the demand consider-

ing it to be ludicrous (Biography 1996; Gibbon 2003). They refused to accept that the United States had the right to tell them they could not hunt on their own land (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a; Marshall 2004).

In response to the refusal of the Sioux to come to the agencies, the Army sent out numerous detachments to scour the northern Great Plains looking for them. The Sioux reacted to this military action. In early June, Sitting Bull –now considered to be their overall leader– tried to instill a sense of collective identity and pride among all Sioux –both agency and non-agency Sioux– by bringing them together at one encampment. As many as 5000 Sioux, including 600 fighting men, gathered in the Valley of the Rosebud in eastern Montana (Marshall 2004: 219).

Pursuing the Sioux was the army of General George Crook. On June 17th, the two armies engaged in the battle now known as The Rosebud Fight. Led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, and despite being outnumbered and outgunned, the Sioux with a small contingent of Sahiyela (also known as the Northern Cheyenne) fought General Crook's army to a standstill, only withdrawing from the battle when critically low on ammunition (Marshall 2004; Utley and Washburn 1977).

### **THE RESULTANT BATTLE**

News of the successful encounter with the U.S. Army spread, and the number in the encampment swelled

to an estimated 7,000 to 10,000 including more than 2,000, perhaps as many as 3,000, warriors within a few days. It is now believed to be the largest gathering of the Sioux and Cheyenne ever assembled (Gibbon 2003:117; Marshall 2004:222 and 225; Utley 1984:178).

Searching for grazing for their horses, Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse moved the encampment to the Greasy Grass Valley and camped along the Greasy Grass River, known to whites as the Little Big Horn. It was there on June 24th that the scouts from one of the detachments of General Crook's army –the Seventh Cavalry commanded by Lieutenant Colonel G.A. Custer– discovered them. Early the next morning, Lt. Colonel Custer led the Seventh Cavalry in a surprise attack against the encampment. He and 260 of his soldiers were killed. "The Battle of the Little Big Horn was the greatest of all Indian victories during the course of the Plains wars and the last great Indian military victory on the Plains (Gibbon 2003:117)."

Within eight days, the Great Sioux had had two military successes against the U.S. Army. Despite these successes, Sitting Bull could not maintain the sense of unity among the Sioux. The agency Sioux drifted away and those remaining in the large encampment splintered into several much smaller ones. "Despite the best efforts of Sitting Bull, the people scattered" (Marshall 2004: 233).

It has been suggested that the Sioux and northern Cheyenne could

not have imagined the reaction of whites to what was arguably one of the worst defeats ever suffered by the U.S. Army (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a; Utley 1984). After all, from the standpoint of the Sioux, they were merely defending themselves on their own land against a sneak attack by the U.S. Army.

The U.S. Army, stunned and embarrassed, reacted quickly and violently. It concentrated one-third of all of its forces against the Sioux and launched a ceaseless total war campaign against the Sioux and northern Cheyenne (Biography 1996; Gibbon 2003; Marshall 2004).” Describing the total war strategy, Gibbon states, “The goal of the strategy was to break the will of the renegades by attacking their villages when they were at their most vulnerable, in the winter. During the winter, the Lakota lived in smaller, more scattered villages and were less mobile than in the summer because of snow and cold. Warfare between Plains Indians was fought, therefore, mainly during the warmer months of the year. Sherman (the proponent of the total war strategy) aimed to destroy the shelter, food, and horses of the “renegade” Sioux, and to capture the families of fighting men. No peace was to be made with a tribe until it admitted defeat” (Gibbon 2003:115). For the next year, the U.S. Army tracked down, captured, and forced Indians bands to return to the agencies. Sitting Bull and his followers escaped to Canada (Discovery Channel Communications 1993a; Discovery Channel Communi-

cations 1993b; Marshall 2004). It was at this time that Crazy Horse decided that in order to enable his followers to survive, he would have to accept defeat. After being promised his own agency which he and his followers could locate in their Powder River hunting grounds and the resources necessary for his followers to survive, on May 6, 1887 Crazy Horse led his starving band of about 900 Lakota to Fort Robinson, Nebraska and surrendered (Gibbon 2003:117; Marshall 2004).

Four months later, after learning the promises of the U.S. Army for his own agency and for adequate supplies were not to be honored, Crazy Horse left Fort Randal. The Army sent Lakota leaders to urge him to return to Fort Randal to try to resolve the problems that had arisen between them. Knowing he could not adequately provide for his followers, Crazy Horse reluctantly agreed. When he arrived at the fort, he was told to give up his horse and his gun. He did. He then found himself pushed into a stockade to be arrested since the U.S. Army considered him dangerous. He struggled to leave the stockade. History recounts that in the struggle, there was a soldier grasping his left arm, another grasping his right and a third with a rifle equipped with a bayonet trailing behind. Seeing Crazy Horse struggle, the third soldier bayoneted Crazy Horse. He died that night (Gibbon 2003; Marshall 2004).

### **THE ILLEGAL CONFISCATION AND CONTINUED OCCUPATION OF THE BLACK HILLS**

Eight months after the Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Big Horn, the U.S. Congress confiscated the Black Hills. In 1877, as a direct response to the defeat of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the Agreement of 1876 was passed into law by the U.S. Congress (Wilkins 1997:221-222). The Agreement reduced the Great Sioux Reservation by almost eight million acres. Included among those eight million acres were the Lakota's Black Hills. In passing this Agreement, the U.S. Congress ignored the provisions of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 they had approved only nine years earlier which accepted the ownership of the Black Hills by the Sioux and which had promised to honor that ownership in perpetuity unless a majority of all Sioux adult males agreed to sell the Black Hills.

A century after losing their sacred Black Hills, the Sioux finally were able to present their case before the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1980, in the *United States vs. Sioux Nation of Indians* Supreme Court Decision, the Supreme Court ruled in an 8-1 decision that in fact the United States had illegally appropriated the Black Hills. The Supreme Court based its decision on the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 which guaranteed that the recognized Sioux land would never be subject to purchase by treaty within the U.S. "...unless [said treaty was] executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male

Indians..." (Wilkins 1997:218). To force the Sioux to sell the Black Hills, Congress attached a rider to the 1876 Appropriations Bill which denied all further appropriations and treaty-guaranteed annuities to the Sioux unless they agreed to sell the Black Hills. Such a denial of funds was a clear violation of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty.

Representatives of Congress could only get ten percent of the adult Sioux males to sign the treaty despite the threat to starve them. The U.S. Congress asserted that the ten percent (rather than the three-fourths called for by the Fort Laramie Treaty) could be assumed to represent the Lakota and in 1877 took the Black Hills (U.S. Supreme Court 1980; Wilkins 1997). Clearly the provisions of the Fort Laramie Treaty had not been honored.

Further, the Supreme Court decision stated that several Constitutional provisions were violated when the government confiscated the Black Hills. The 5th Amendment clause stating that land can only be confiscated for public purpose, not to give to other people, was violated, as was the 5th Amendment clause requiring that those having their land confiscated must be given just compensation. Finally, the 14th Amendment that the confiscation must be accorded due process of law was violated (U.S. Supreme Court 1980; Wilkins 1997).

Unfortunately for the Sioux, the U.S. Supreme Court does not have the power to force the U.S. Government to return their land. It

can only require compensation and it made compensation a part of its decision. The U.S. Government has offered compensation. However, many have argued the amount offered represents only a tiny fraction of the true value of the Black Hills. At present, the amount offered is irrelevant since the Sioux have shown no interest in accepting any amount of compensation for what they believe is their most sacred territory. The case is at present unresolved.

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## SHOOTING FROM THE LIP



## THE LIFE OF SENATOR AL SIMPSON

### **Shooting from the Lip The Life of Senator Al Simpson** (ISBN 9780806142111)

By: Donald Loren Hardy

Shortly before Wyoming's Alan K. Simpson was elected majority whip of the United States Senate, he decided to keep a journal. "I am going to make notes when I get home in the evening, as to what happened during each day." Now the senator's longtime chief of staff, Donald Loren Hardy, has drawn extensively on Simpson's personal papers and nineteen-volume diary to write this unvarnished account of a storied life and political career. *Shooting from the Lip* portrays a statesman punching sacred cows, challenging the media, and grappling with some of the nation's most difficult challenges.



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**CHILDHOOD TRAUMA, FAMILY STRESS AND DEPRESSION  
AMONG MEXICAN AMERICAN GANG  
NON-INJECTING HEROIN USERS**

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**Abstract**

This paper examines childhood trauma, depression and psychological family and cultural stress among Mexican American male non-injecting users (NIU) of heroin in San Antonio, Texas. The research enhances the findings from a National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) study, "Drug Related Gang Violence in South Texas", conducted from 1995-1997. A high rate of non-injecting heroin use among these young male Mexican-American gang members emerged as a special concern because of the serious health consequences associated with non-injecting heroin use. HIV and AIDS among Hispanics are attributed primarily to injecting drug use, followed by sexual transmission among heterosexuals and male-to-male sexual contact.

**INTRODUCTION**

This paper examines childhood trauma, depression and psychological family and cultural stress among Mexican American male non-injecting users (NIU) of heroin in San Antonio, Texas. The research enhances the findings from a National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) study, "Drug Related Gang Violence in South Texas", conducted from 1995-1997. During the course of this study, the high rate of non-injecting heroin use among these young male Mexican-American gang members emerged as a special concern because of the serious health consequences associated with non-injecting heroin use. Funding obtained from the Hogg Foundation

supported the administration of three psychometric instruments. The instruments included: the Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ), the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CESD), and the Hispanic Stress Inventory (HSI) Family/Cultural Conflict Subscale. These instruments measure psychosocial dimensions that have been linked to drug abuse and other problems associated with delinquent youth and young adults.

Hispanics in the United States, the fastest growing minority group, are a heterogeneous population by ethnicity, generation, and region of residency (U.S. Census 2000). Moreover, Hispanics in the United States have higher rates of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) than does the

population in general. AIDS is currently the sixth leading cause of death among Hispanic adults, compared to the tenth leading cause among non-Hispanic whites. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) recently reported that 18% of all AIDS cases were Hispanic (CDC 1999). For Hispanics, the prevalence of AIDS is almost double their proportion (10%) of the total population. In 1998, 7,511 Hispanic men were diagnosed with AIDS in the United States. Of these cases, 29% (2,164) were attributed to injecting drug use (IDU), and 8% (638) were infected heterosexually. In the same year, 2,055 Hispanic women were diagnosed with AIDS, 44% of whom were infected heterosexually, mostly through contacts with male injecting drug users. Hispanic women had a higher proportion of cases attributable to sexual contact with an injecting drug user than any other racial/ethnic group. Overall, HIV and AIDS among Hispanics are attributed primarily to injecting drug use, followed by sexual transmission among heterosexuals and male-to-male sexual contact.

### **Problems in Perspective: Non-Injecting Users**

There has been a dramatic increase in the use of non-injecting heroin over the last several years (French and Safford 1989; Schottenfeld and O'Malley 1993; Ouellet and Jimenez 1993; Community Epidemiology Work Group 1999). The emergence of large numbers of non-injecting heroin users has

important implications for HIV transmission among Hispanic injecting drug users (IDUs), IDUs in general, and their sexual partners. Many drug users begin using heroin as a non-injecting user (NIU), but later transition to injecting (Des Jarlais and Casriel 1992; Strang and Griffiths 1992; Strang, Des Jarlais, Griffiths, Powis, and Gossop 1992; van Amerijden and van den Hoek 1994). If non-injecting users (NIUs) transition to injecting and use contaminated syringes or other contaminated injecting equipment, then they are at high risk of acquiring and transmitting HIV as well as Hepatitis B (HBV) and Hepatitis C (HCV).

The overall increase in heroin use among youth has also been identified by several sources. Most new users are under the age of 26 and were smoking, snorting, or sniffing heroin rather than injecting. The National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA 1995) issued a report, "Heroin Update: Smoking, Injecting Cause Similar Effects: Usage Patterns May be Shifting," which studied subjects who used heroin non-intravenously. NIDA reported an increase in heroin use overall, although the mode of administration had changed (NIDA 1995). NIDA attributes this increase, in part, to the availability of high quality heroin and the common belief that non-injecting heroin is low risk for addiction. Nevertheless, while many start out sniffing or snorting heroin, they may transition to the next step, injecting (Strang et al. 1992), and may also become involved in other high risk behaviors

that are related to HIV/AIDS. In addition to the intranasal use of heroin, an ethnographic study of San Antonio heroin users conducted by Ramos and colleagues (Ramos, Shain and Johnson 1995) found that a large number of adult respondents smoked heroin. He reported that heroin was smoked in a marijuana or regular cigarette called a "primo."

### **Non-Injecting and Injecting Heroin Use and Its Implications in San Antonio**

San Antonio has a population of approximately 1.4 million persons (U.S. Census 2000), 54% of whom are persons of Mexican origin. The vast majority of these persons are second and third generation Mexican Americans. Arrestee Drug Abuse Data (ADAM) historically has reported that those Mexican American youth (males and females) who have been arrested more frequently test positive for heroin use than other groups in San Antonio. ADAM statistics for Mexican American youth between 1995-1999 indicate an increase in heroin use among these arrestees. However, for adults there was a slight decrease in arrestees testing positive for heroin for the ADAM sample during this time period (ADAM 2000).

San Antonio, over the years, has had a relatively high rate of heroin use compared to other large cities (Desmond and Maddux 1984; DUF 1995, 1996; ADAM 1998). An increasing number of these heroin users are reportedly using heroin intra-nasally and by other non-

injecting methods (Maxwell 1999; Ramos, Aguilar, Anderson and Caudillo 1999). Recent data on male heroin users entering publicly funded drug abuse treatment centers in the state of Texas in 1998 indicate that nine percent reported intranasal use (CEWG 1999). Using a capture-recapture statistical method, the Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse (TCADA) estimates that the number of heroin users in San Antonio (Bexar County) is approximately 8,936. Based on state and county treatment data, we estimate that over 80% of these heroin users are Mexican Americans (Maxwell 1999). We also know that 7% of clients (whose primary drug of choice was heroin), admitted to publicly funded treatment facilities in San Antonio, reported non-injecting heroin use. There is an average lag of nine years between the first regular use of heroin and the initial date of treatment admission for all heroin users in Texas (Maxwell 1999). This percentage is likely to underestimate the extent of non-injecting heroin use in Texas in the population at large. In previous studies we encountered increasing rates of NIUs (heroin) among the Mexican American population. These observations are derived from studies on Mexican American male gang members, female adolescents associated with these male gang members, and an estimation study of heroin users (Yin and Valdez 1996; Valdez and Kaplan 1995).

In 1998, there were a total of 237 AIDS cases in San Antonio, with

Mexican Americans comprising 61% of the cases. Although the recent prevalence of HIV among IDUs in San Antonio at 3% (Holmberg 1996) is low, the prevalence of Hepatitis C (HCV) is extremely high at 85% to 90% (Zule and Desmond, under review). Drug injectors in San Antonio may be at extremely high risk of acquiring HCV. In a study conducted between November 1997 and November 1998 among 397 active drug users (NIUs and IDUs), 87% of the subjects with a history of IDU were seropositive at baseline compared to 22% of those without a history of injection. Among the 15 injectors who were seronegative at baseline, four were HCV positive at follow-up. The computed annual incidence rate was close to 50% (Zule and Desmond, under review). None of the non-injectors became infected with HCV. HCV follows a similar route of transmission as HIV, primarily through blood-to-blood contact associated with injecting drug use, indicating that the behavioral and risk network conditions for an epidemic outbreak of HIV in San Antonio may already be present.

HIV can spread rapidly through IDU populations at an alarmingly high rate. For example, after a long period of low prevalence of HIV among IDUs in Vancouver, British Columbia, HIV rose to a level of 25% (Strathdee, Patrick et al. 1997); and in Odessa, Ukraine, HIV among IDUs in the span of one year increased from 1.4% in January 1995 to 31% in January 1996. Similar rapid upsurges in HIV prevalence among IDUs have

occurred in a number of other cities, particularly in cities that have undergone major changes in the drug use environment, such as disruptions and shifts in drug markets and increases in injecting drug use (Rhodes 1999). Thus, an increase in non-injecting heroin use among Mexican Americans in San Antonio, in the context of high HCV prevalence among IDUs in that city, may indicate that the risk for an epidemic outbreak of HIV among IDUs in San Antonio has greatly increased.

The emergence of large numbers of non-injecting heroin users has important implications for HIV transmission among IDUs since there is a substantial risk of NIUs transitioning to injecting and then becoming infected with HIV, HBV, and HCV, which are also transmitted through injecting with contaminated equipment. Van Ameijden and van den Hoek (1994), in a study of 184 NIUs in Amsterdam, reported that 33% ( $n=60$ ) had injected by follow-up. The non-injected use of heroin was a predictor of becoming an injector.

### **Cultural Perspective with Regard to Heroin Use**

Cultural differences among, between, and within racial/ethnic groups may be associated with differences in the rate of transitioning to injecting. For example, differences in the degree of aversion to needles or of stigmatization of IDUs might affect the rate at which NIUs become injectors (Shedlin and Deren 1992;

van Ameijden and van den Hoek 1994; Griffiths and Gossop 1992).<sup>1</sup>

One aspect of Hispanic culture that has direct relevance to the risk of transitioning to injecting is the meaning of needle use among Hispanics. A study of Dominican, Mexican, and Puerto Rican drug-using women found that needle use was less stigmatized between Mexican and Puerto Ricans than among Dominicans (Deren and Shedlin 1997). Among Mexicans, the meaning of needle use may be affected by the extent by which needles are used in other legal contexts, e.g. injecting vitamins and antibiotics. The fear of using needles, which is often cited by non-injecting heroin users as a reason why they do not inject (Neaigus and Friedman 1998a; Sotheran, Goldsmith et al. 1999), may be lessened if friends and relatives inject in a legal context. Thus, cultural norms and practices which legitimize injecting needle use, as well as reinforcement of this cultural trait by observing and/or knowing about social network members who engage in the practice, may be a determinant of transitioning to injecting among Mexican American NIUs.

The extent to which Mexican American NIUs are acculturated to the dominant United States culture may also influence their risk for transitioning to injecting. Acculturation refers to the process of cultural learning and behavioral adaptations that take place when an individual is exposed to a new culture. Latinos have varying levels

of acculturation, depending on the number of years lived in the United States and an individual's generational status. High levels of acculturation have been associated with substance abuse among Latinos (Amaro, Whitaker et al. 1990; Vega and Gil 1998; de la Rosa, Khalsa and Rouse 1990). Other cultural measures such as ethnic identity, familism, and gender roles have also been associated with drug use among Latinos (Amaro et al. 1990; Mendoza 1989; Vega, Zimmerman, Gil, Warheit and Apospori 1993; Felix-Ortiz and Newcomb 1995; Cervantes, Padilla and Salgado de Snyder 1991).

### **Mental Health Issues with Regard to Substance Abuse**

Previous traumatic events that occur in early childhood may make some individuals more susceptible to begin using heroin non-parenterally (NIU), and then to progress to injecting. Childhood trauma has been defined as including physical, psychological, and sexual abuse (Bernstein, Ahlulvia, Pogge and Handelsman 1997; Medrano, Zule, Hatch, and Desmond 1999b). For women and (although less studied) for men, a prior history of sexual abuse may be a predisposing factor among non-injecting heroin users to progress to injecting drugs. Early substance use, including injecting drugs, by sexually abused women may be an attempt to self-medicate against the psychological pain associated with such trauma (Fullilove, Lown and Fullilove 1992;

Rohsenow, Corbett and Devine 1988; Root 1989; Paone, Chavkin, Willets, Friedman and Des Jarlais 1992; Seligman 1992). This problem has been described as being even more acute among Mexican American and other Latina women (Amaro 1995; Amaro, Nieves, Johannes, Cabeza and Nirzka 1999; Medrano, Desmond, Zule and Hatch 1999a; Medrano, Zule, Hatch and Desmond 1999b). In addition, high levels of physical and emotional abuse are often more prevalent among substance abusing populations (Medrano et al. 1999a; Cohen and Stahler 1998).

The relationship between depression and substance use is not as clear as that between childhood abuse and substance use, but associations between the two have been documented (Neighbors, Kempton, and Forehand 1992; Khantzian 1985). Depression may be a result of differing factors, including the stress of everyday life events. Mexican immigrants have been reported to have lower levels of depression in certain areas than do Mexican Americans born in the United States (Cervantes and Castro 1985). Among Mexican Americans, stressful events and how stress is perceived may differ from other ethnicities and even within their own ethnic group. The acculturation of Latinos has been linked to many behavioral problems among adolescents including poor school performance, delinquency, and substance abuse (Perrino, Gonzalez-Soldevilla, Pantin, and Szapocznik

2000; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Aranalde 1978). Additionally, there exists an inter-generational problem among Latino adolescents who exhibit high levels of acculturation, relative to their parents, and also reject the culture of origin to which the parents often continue to adhere (Santisteban, Szapocznik, and Kurtines 1994). Moreover, as acculturation increases, the quantity and frequency of substance use increases as well, approximating the pattern in non-Hispanic whites (Caetano and Medina Mora 1988).

Depression, however, has been linked to substance abuse among adolescents in a number of other studies (Coelho, Rangel, Ramos, Martins, Joana and Barros 2000; Capaldi 1992; Neighbors et al. 1992; Simons, Whitbeck, Conger, and Melby 1991). These studies have theorized that substance use is a stress and coping mechanism for adolescents in order to help them calm down when they are depressed (Miller-Johnson, Lochman, Coie, Terry, and Hyman 1998). In addition, depression in adolescents was found to be related to life events and the psychosocial environment of the subjects at home, school, and with peers (Steinhausen and Metzke 2000). It has been shown in other studies that depressive mental disorder is one of the most common mental disorders in adolescents (Lewisohn, Rohde, Seeley, Klein, and Gotlib 2000; Lewisohn, Hops, Roberts, Seeley, and Andrews 1993).

The aim of this study is to

determine the relationship between acculturative and family stress, depression, and childhood trauma to high-risk substance use between two groups of Mexican American males, NIU gang members and a matched community sample of NIUs. High-risk substance users are identified as individuals in this population who are non-injecting heroin users. The study also addresses the relationship between these three psychological factors and the risk of transitioning to injecting heroin and other high-risk substance abuse behaviors.

## METHODS

### Study Design

The NIDA parent study, "Drug Related Gang Violence in South Texas," examined the epidemiology of violence and drug use among male members of 26 Mexican American gangs in San Antonio. The purpose of the study was to identify and distinguish the relationship of gang violence, illicit drug use, and high-risk sexual behavior. Three data collection methods were used: (a) focus groups, (b) social and economic indicators and (c) life history/intensive interviews. A supplementary cross-sectional descriptive study was designed to further explore specific high-risk drug behaviors within this population. This supplemental study measured childhood trauma, depression and family stress using standardized psychometric instruments in a sample of 25 self-identified male gang members who are also non-injecting heroin

users (NIU) and a matched comparison group of 25 community male NIUs. The study design is cross-sectional and descriptive, allowing for comparisons on levels of childhood abuse and neglect and depression among NIU gang members, NIU community members, and to other groups.

In the original NIDA study, a stratified proportional sample of 160 persons was drawn from the rosters of 26 male gangs and administered the life history/intensive interview (Yin and Valdez 1996). For this study, the sub-sample of 25 NIU gang members was selected from the gang rosters collected during the NIDA study. Originally, 37 gang members reported recent NIU heroin use (within the last 30 days). Of these 37, fourteen were re-contacted and administered the instruments relevant to this study. The remaining 23 were not located, either because they were incarcerated ( $n=11$ ), had moved out of town ( $n=3$ ), or could not be located because they were either fugitives or in hiding ( $n=9$ ). An additional 11 gang members from our original NIDA sample were identified as NIUs and were also administered the instrument.<sup>2</sup>

### Sample Criteria

The gang sample roster included all gang members who reported NIU heroin use in the NIDA gang study who could be located.<sup>3</sup> Sample inclusion criteria for the community sample required that study subjects (SS) report having used non-injecting heroin in the last 30 days. Inclusion

in the non-gang NIU community sample also required that these SS have no current injecting heroin use. The inclusion criterion for a "non-gang member" was defined as not belonging to a gang within the preceding six months.

The process of selecting the 25 NIU community members involved nominations from the gang members. We utilized snowball sampling techniques in order to identify the comparison group (*N*=25). By using both gang and non-gang referrals, we were able to tap into a wide range of NIUs in the targeted area. All participants were drawn from nine defined geographic areas of San Antonio. These areas are located on the west and south sides of the city and have the highest level of gang activity. None of the nominated community members refused to participate. Although this study's primary objective is focused on heroin use, the population from which the gang sample was drawn (*N*=160)

reported high rates of current (the last 30 days), marijuana (75%), cocaine (53%), and heroin (26%) use in their initial interviews. While this data was not gathered for this study's sub-sample of 25 gang members, these previously gathered data reflect characteristics that can be generalized to them.

### INSTRUMENTS

#### Non-Injecting Heroin Use Community and Gang Short Form Questionnaire

This instrument consists of five components: (1) demographics, (2) gang and community information, (3) heroin use patterns, (4) NIU nominations and referrals, and (5) locator items. These measures allow for assessing the study subjects' lifetime and current mode of heroin use as well as frequency of use. Questions regarding injection risk practices are also included for those gang members who have transitioned

**Table 1. Social Characteristics by Gang, Community, and Total Samples (Percentage and Means)**

	Gang ( <i>N</i> =25)	Community ( <i>N</i> =25)	Total ( <i>N</i> =50)
Mean Age	22	20	21
Mean Education level	9.2	9.4	9.3
Marital status: (Percent)			
Single	52	72	62
Married	12	4	8
Common law / Live-in	32	20	26
Other	4	4	4
Employed (either full- or part-time) (Percent)	48	40	44
Been arrested in last 12 months	44	52	48
Family member(s) use heroin	48	56	54



to injecting heroin since the initial interview as well as those in the community sample who had injected in the past. In addition, the questionnaire examines the social networks of the subjects which include gathering information on friends and family members who also use heroin. The nomination and referral section allows for estimations to be made on this hidden population of high-risk substance users.

### **Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ)**

The Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ) is a 28 item self-administered instrument that assesses the experiences of abuse and neglect in childhood and adolescence. The CTQ consists of five clinical subscales: emotional abuse, emotional neglect, physical abuse, physical neglect, and sexual abuse. Each subscale consists of five items. The CTQ also includes three items that are used as a minimization/denial scale.<sup>4</sup>

Emotional abuse is defined as "verbal assaults on a child's sense of worth or well-being, or any humiliating, demeaning, or threatening behavior directed towards a child by an adult or older person" (Bernstein et al. 1997). This subscale includes such items as: being insulted and humiliated by family members, the child feeling that the parents wished they had never been born, feelings of being hated, and believing they were emotionally abused.

Emotional neglect refers to the "failures of the caretakers to provide

for a child's basic emotional needs, such as love, encouragement, belonging and support" (Bernstein et al. 1997). Items associated with emotional neglect include: no one in the family making the child feel special or loved, the child's feeling that the family is neither close nor supportive of each other, and the child's feeling that the family was not a source of strength or support. Physical abuse is described as "bodily assaults on a child by an adult or older person that poses a risk of or result in injury" (Bernstein et al. 1997). Items used for this subscale include being hit with belts, boards, or cords, being hit so hard the child either had to seek medical treatment or bruises were noticed by a neighbor or teacher, and the child feeling that he was physically abused.

The physical neglect is referred to as the "failure of caretakers to provide for a child's basic needs, including food, shelter, safety, supervision, and health" (Bernstein et al. 1997). Items comprising this subscale are not having enough to eat, having to wear dirty clothes, not being taken to the doctor when necessary, having parents too drunk or high to take care of the child, and the child not feeling protected.

The sexual abuse subscale measures "sexual contact or conduct between a child and an older person; explicit coercion is a frequent but not essential feature of these experiences" (Bernstein et al. 1997). Items include someone trying to touch the child in sexual ways or forcing the

child to touch the adult in sexual ways, threatened with being hurt unless the child did something sexual with the adult, forcing the child to watch sexual things, a child having been molested, and a child's feeling that he was sexually abused.<sup>5</sup>

### **Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CESD)**

The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale is a 20-item self-administered depression symptom scale validated among adolescents and young adults (Radloff 1991). The instrument asks the respondent to identify how often he/she experienced different feelings or emotions in the week prior to administration. The items on the scale are symptoms associated with depression that were chosen from previously validated scales. The respondent answers on a four-point Likert scale in which 0 indicates "rarely or none of the time (less than 1 day)", 1 "some or a little of the time (1-2 days)", 2 "occasionally or a moderate amount of time (3-4 days)", and 3 "most or all of the time (more than 4 days)." The scoring of three items on the scale was reversed in order to be consistent with the other items, with higher scores indicating higher levels of depression. The total CESD score ranges from a low of 0 to a high of 60.<sup>6</sup> This cutoff score is used in this study in order to determine high levels of depression.

### **Hispanic Stress Inventory (HSI) Family/Cultural Conflict Subscale**

The Hispanic Stress Inventory

(HSI) is a culturally sensitive instrument developed to assess psychological stressors among U.S. Hispanics (Cervantes, Padilla, and Salgado de Snyder 1990; Cervantes, Padilla, and Salgado de Snyder 1991). The HSI is self-administered and asks the respondent to indicate whether the stressor incident described in each item has occurred to him/her in the last three months. If the respondent answers in the affirmative, then he/she must appraise on a five-point Likert scale how tense or worried the event made him/her.<sup>7</sup>

There are two versions of the HSI, one for immigrant families and one developed for U.S. born Hispanics. This study utilized the latter, which in its entirety, consists of 59 items and 4 subscales: Family/Cultural Conflict (22 items), Marital Stress (14 items), Parental Stress (9 items) and Occupational Stress (14 items). We utilized only one subscale, the Family/Cultural Subscale in a 13-item format. Thus, the *Stress Event Frequency Score* ranges from 0-13 and the *Stress Event Appraisal Score* ranges from 13-65.

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

Means and standard deviations of the total scale and item scores on the psychometric instruments were analyzed for the gang and community samples. Assuming that the two groups would have significantly unequal variances, differences between the two samples were calculated using an independent samples

*t*-test. Pearson product correlations among the total and subscale scores on the instruments were calculated separately for the gang and community samples.

A reliability analysis of each of the three instruments was also conducted. Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficients were calculated on the pooled samples using the covariance matrix method. The reliability of the CESD total scale ( $\alpha=0.87$ ) and three of the CTQ subscales, physical abuse ( $\alpha=0.76$ ), emotional abuse ( $\alpha=0.86$ ), and emotional neglect ( $\alpha=0.81$ ) were acceptable. The physical neglect scale scored a lower reliability ( $\alpha=0.55$ ). The sexual abuse scale yielded a very low reliability and thus was not considered in the analysis for this particular population.<sup>8</sup> For the HSI, a reliability analysis of the Stress Event Frequency items yielded an adequate score with this population ( $\alpha=0.76$ ), as well as an adequate score for the Stress Event Appraisal items ( $\alpha=0.79$ ). These two alpha scores indicate that all 13 items of the Family/Cultural Conflict subscale produce a relatively reliable scale of psychosocial stress.

## RESULTS

### Heroin Use Patterns and Transition to Injecting Drug Use

Table 2 presents heroin use characteristics associated with the study's gang and community populations. One of the major findings from this data is that 60% ( $n=15$ ) of the gang sample had transitioned to

injecting drug use from the initial gang interview. Nearly the same percent (64%) were currently using heroin, although among those only 44% ( $n=7$ ) were current injectors. This is an exceptionally high transition rate when compared to other NIU populations (Neaigus 1998b).

Data also indicate that 28% of the community sample injected other drugs compared to only 5% of the gang sample. Fieldwork findings provide evidence that another drug they commonly injected was cocaine. Interestingly, approximately 86% of both groups indicated they have attempted to quit using heroin. This figure is more significant when compared to the small percent of both groups reported they have overdosed on heroin at one point in their lives. These findings suggest age of those that have been in treatment in the past year (12%). There is a need for more intervention and treatment services in this community.

In regards to current users among the gang sample, other methods of ingestion of heroin included intranasal use/snorting (88%) and, "shabanging" (25%). Shabanging is a method of nasally ingesting heroin mixed with water, usually through a nose dropper. These data clearly indicate that current heroin users used multiple modes of ingestion. The community sample also used various methods of ingestion including snorting (100%), shabanging (48%) and a couple even smoked or inhaled (popularly known

**Table 2. Heroin Use Characteristics by Gang, Community and Total Samples (Percentage)**

	Gang (N=25)	Community (N=25)	Total (N=50)
<b>Lifetime Drug Use</b>			
Ever injected heroin	60**	28	44
Ever tried to quit using heroin	5	28	24
Been in treatment in last 12 months	84	88	86
Ever overdosed on heroin	8	16	12
Current heroin use (past 30 days)	64*	100	82
<b>Mode of Ingestion:</b>			
	(N=16)	(N=25)	(N=41)
Inject	44	0	17
Snort	88	100	95
Shabang	25	48	39
Smoke/Inhale	0	4	2

\*Data indicates use at the time of the initial NIDA interview (1996/1997).

\*\* The transition rate could only be calculated for the gang sample

**Table 3. Heroin Use and Needle Sharing Practices by Gang, Community and Total Sample (Percentage)**

	Gang (n=15)	Community (n=7)	Total (n=22)
<b>Those who have injected who have:</b>			
Shared a syringe	47	78	58
Backloaded/frontloaded a syringe	20	33	25
Shared a cooker, cotton filter, or rinse water	80	89	83
Rented a syringe	13	22	17
Injected in a "shooting gallery"	53	56	54

as "chasing the dragon").

**High-Risk Needle Use Practices**

Table 3 indicates that 44% (n=22) of the combined gang and community sample reported a history of injecting heroin. Over half (58%) of the injectors had shared a syringe with another user. This appears to be more prevalent in the community sample, with over three-fourths

(78%) of those that had injected reporting such needle sharing practices. Over half of the respondents have injected heroin in a "shooting gallery", a place where other injectors go to shoot up, often paying cash or in kind in order to utilize the space. Another alarming figure is that one-third of the community respondents and one-fifth of the gang sample admitted to

"backloading" or "frontloading" their syringes (injecting with a syringe that another injector squirted drugs into from his/her syringe). Finally, over

80% of the injectors reported they had shared a cooker, filter or rinse water with other injecting drug users. These high-risk behaviors make

**Table 4. Childhood Trauma Questionnaire: Items, Scales and Total Means and Standard Deviations**

	<b>Gang</b>		<b>Community</b>	
	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>
Emotional Abuse Scale	8.48	3.99	9.40	4.86
People in my family called me things like "stupid", "lazy" and "ugly".	2.24	1.36	2.20	1.15
I thought my parents wished I had never been born.	1.28	0.84	1.56	1.04
People in my family said hurtful or insulting things to me.	2.12	1.13	1.96	1.24
I felt that someone in my family hated me.*	1.44	0.82	2.16	1.40
I believe that I was emotionally abused.	8.20	4.03	7.56	3.44
Physical Abuse Scale	8.20	4.03	7.56	3.44
I got hit so hard by someone in my family that I had to see a doctor or go to the hospital.	1.44	1.16	1.12	0.33
People in my family hit me so hard it left me with bruises or marks.	1.96	1.40	1.44	0.96
I was punished with a belt, a cord or some other hard object.	2.16	1.46	2.36	1.32
I believe that I was physically abused.	1.36	0.81	1.28	0.84
I got beaten so badly that it was noticed by someone like a teacher, neighbor or doctor.	1.28	0.68	1.36	0.91
Emotional Neglect Scale	11.24	4.76	9.56	3.62
There was someone in my family who helped me feel important or special. (R)	2.12	1.09	1.84	1.11
I felt loved. (R)	2.32	1.31	1.80	0.96
People in my family looked out for each other. (R)	2.12	1.33	1.84	0.90
People in my family felt close to each other. (R)	2.32	1.31	2.04	0.93
My family was a source of strength and support. (R)	2.36	1.38	2.04	0.84
Physical Neglect	7.72	2.98	8.48	2.99
I didn't have enough to eat.	1.64	0.95	2.04	1.57
I knew there was someone in my family to take care of me and protect me. (R)	1.56	0.92	1.72	1.02
My parents were too drunk or high to take care of me.	1.48	0.92	1.76	0.93
I had to wear dirty clothes.	1.44	0.92	1.28	0.61
There was someone to take me to the doctor if I needed it. (R)	1.60	0.91	1.68	1.03
<b>Total</b>	<b>35.64</b>	<b>12.88</b>	<b>35.20</b>	<b>11.02</b>

\* Significant at 0.05 level (R) Item reversed

these users highly susceptible for HIV/AIDS and Hepatitis B and C infections.

**Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ)**

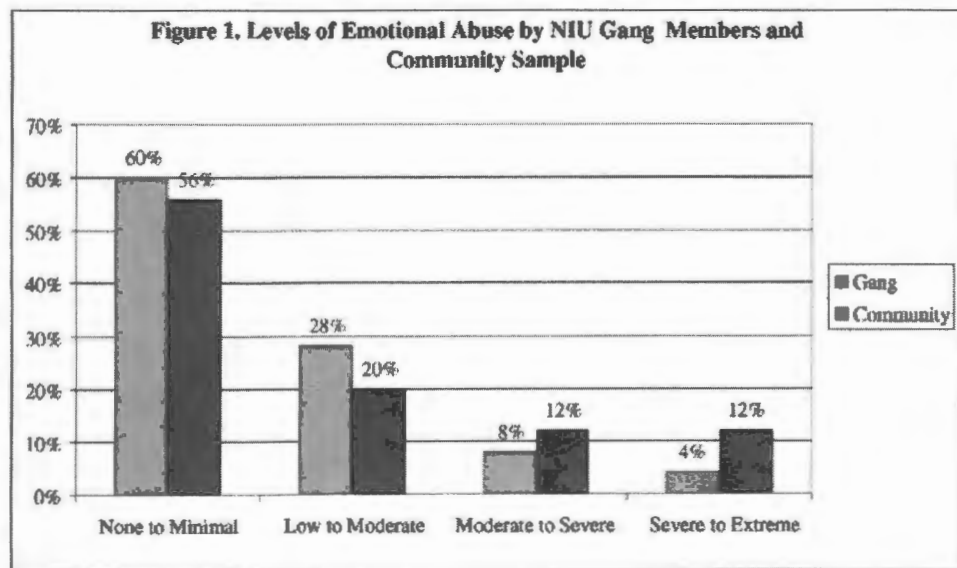
Findings related to the CTQ are presented in Table 4. There was no significant difference between the two groups on the total score or on any of the subscales. Only one item, "I felt that someone in my family hated me," on the emotional abuse subscale proved to be statistically significant. Here, the NIU community respondents scored higher ( $t=-2.2$ ,  $p<0.032$ ) than the gang members. However, there were some trends found among the four subscales when comparisons were made. For instance, on the emotional neglect subscale gang members tended to score higher than the other group.

On the physical neglect subscale there was a tendency for the community sample to experience higher scores, except for the item, "I had to wear dirty clothes."

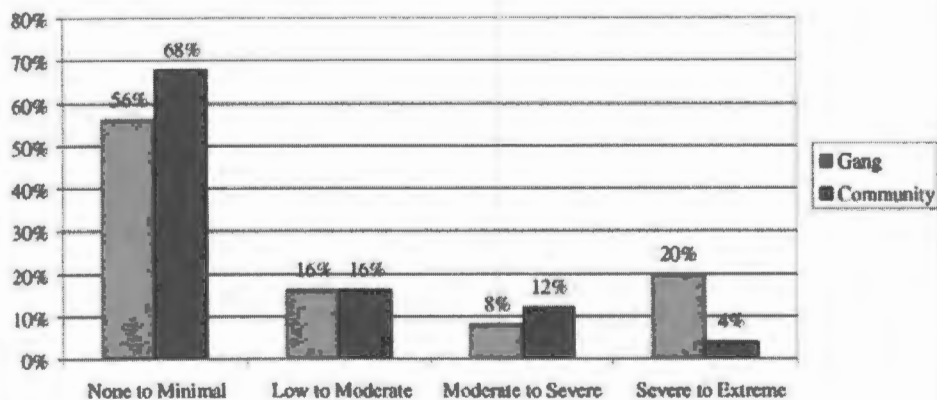
Figures 1-4 show four levels of severity ("none or minimal," "low to moderate," "moderate to severe," "severe to extreme") on the five subscales for both the NIU gang sample and community sample. Figure 1 indicates that the two groups are closely matched in experiencing "none or minimal" levels of emotional abuse (60% v. 56%).

The community members were three times as likely as the gang members to have experienced extreme levels of emotional abuse (12% v. 4%), as well as having higher levels of moderate to severe abuse (12% v. 8%). Figure 2 indicates that the community mem-

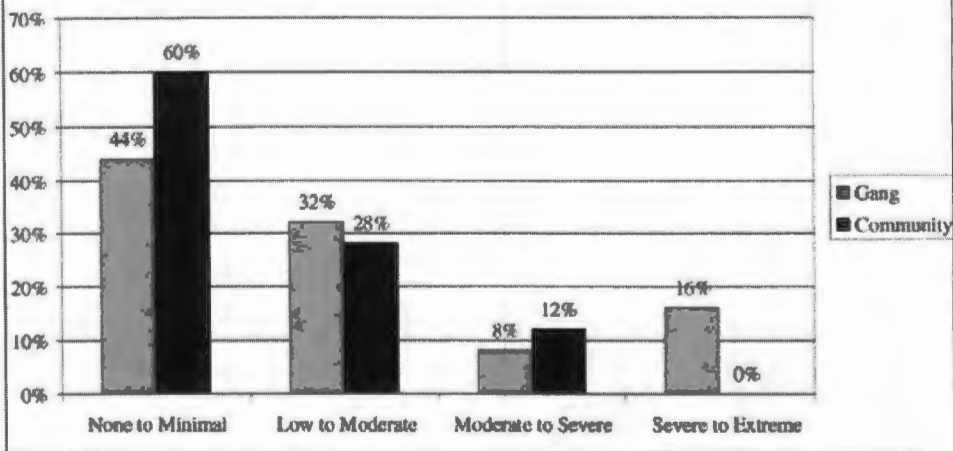
**Figure 1. Levels of Emotional Abuse by NIU Gang Members and Community Sample**



**Figure 2. Levels of Physical Abuse by NIU Gang Members and Community Sample**



**Figure 3. Levels of Emotional Neglect by NIU Gang Members and Community Sample**



bers were more likely to have no or minimal levels of physical abuse (68% v. 56%). In addition, the NIU gang members are five times more

likely to have experienced extreme levels of physical abuse than the NIU community sample (20% v. 5%).

Figure 3 presents the emotional

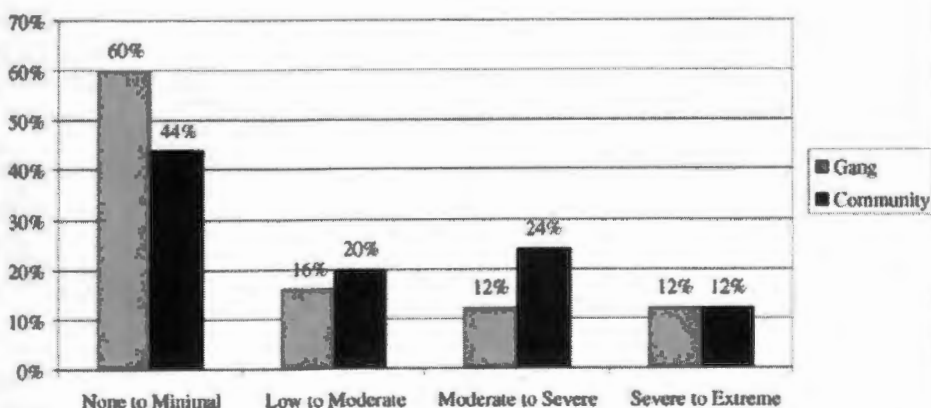
neglect data. Sixty percent of the community sample indicated minimal levels of emotional neglect compared to 44% of the gang respondents. In contrast, 16% of the gang members reported severe to extreme levels of emotional neglect while none of the community members reported this level of emotional neglect. These data indicate that community respondents had lower levels of emotional neglect overall than the gang members, although this was not statistically significant. Figure 4 indicates that the community sample was more likely to have experienced physical neglect in their childhood. They were twice as likely to have experienced moderate to severe levels of physical neglect than the gang cohort (24% v. 12%). Yet, in terms of severe to extreme levels of physical neglect the two groups were

equal (12%).

Figure 5 provides the mean scores for the NIU gang and community sample, a sample of substance-abusing men in San Antonio ( $N=361$ ) (M. Medrano, personal communication, February 17, 2001), and a group of male undergraduate volunteers (Berstein et al. 1997). The two NIU matched with the sample of drug-abusing men. In fact, as this graph shows, there is no outlier in this group. Even the undergraduate group is matched with the other three samples on most of the scales. The NIU community sample has the highest emotional abuse score (9.4), followed closely by the drug-using male sample. Interestingly, the gang members and undergraduate volunteers reported virtually the same amount of emotional abuse.

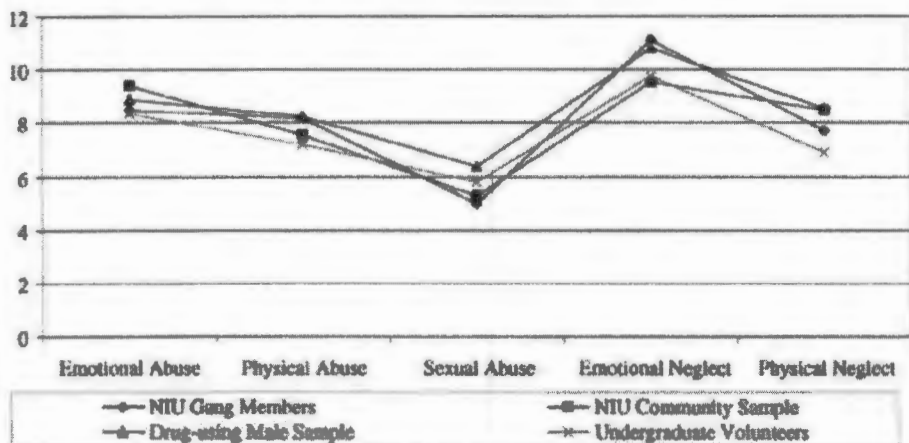
The NIU gang members and male

**Figure 4. Levels of Physical Neglect by NIU Gang Members and Community Sample**

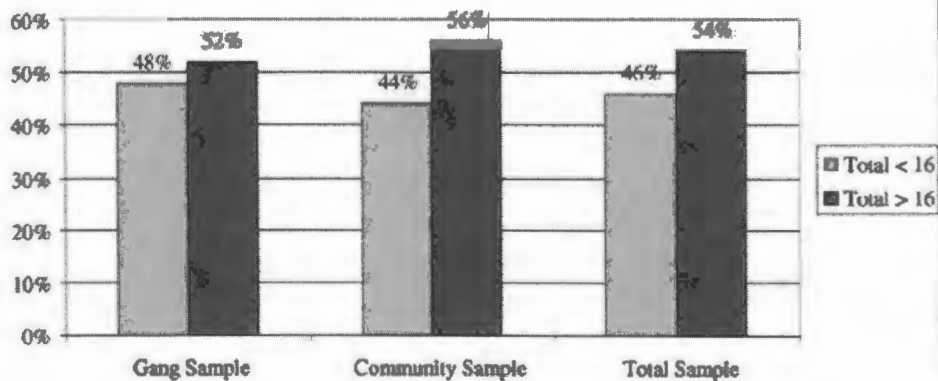




**Figure 5. CTQ Subscale Means for NIU Gang Members, NIU Community Sample, Sample of Drug-Using Males and Undergraduate Volunteers**



**Figure 6. Subjects Scoring 16+ on the CESD by Gang, Community, and Total Samples (Percentage)**



drug-users were the highest on the physical abuse subscale (8.2), and the undergraduates had the lowest score (7.2). The sample of drug-

using males had the highest score on the sexual abuse subscale (6.4), and the gang members had the lowest (5.0). The NIU gang members had

the highest level of emotional neglect (11.1), with the NIU community sample reporting the lowest (9.6). The sample of drug-using males and the NIU community sample had the highest levels of physical neglect (8.5), with the undergraduates reporting the lowest (6.9). Overall, the NIU gang members' childhood trauma scores were quite similar to the NIU community members and the drug-using sample from Medrano's study. However, out of these four samples, it would be difficult to assess which group experienced the highest levels of overall childhood trauma. Even the undergraduate group reported higher levels of sexual abuse than either NIU sample and the undergraduates were on par with the gang members in regard to emotional abuse.

### **Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CESD)**

Figure 6 presents the percentage of gang, community, and total sample respondents who scored in the 16+ range on the CESD scale. As previously mentioned, this is the mean cutoff score that has been established to indicate high levels of depression in respondents. Our results reveal that 52% of the gang members and 56% of the community NIUs scored in this range (54% of our total sample). Both groups scored well above the cutoff mean score of 16 (gang:  $x=20.08$ , community:  $x=18.44$ ).

Individual item findings related to the CESD for both the community and gang sample are presented in

Table 5. Only one item was found to be statistically significant, "I talked less than usual." Here, the NIU gang sample scored significantly higher than the community sample ( $t=2.38$ ,  $p<0.022$ ). Overall, there was no significant difference between the two groups in the total score.

However, what is significant with this scale is the unusually high percentage of respondents who are classified as depressed by scoring 16 or greater on the CESD. As there was only one item on this scale which was significantly different, the high total scores for both groups were due to their similarities rather than their differences. Both groups scored high (cumulative percent of one day or less) on items such as "I was bothered by things that don't usually bother me" (68% gang v. 72% community), "I did not feel like eating" (64% v. 64%), "I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing" (68% v. 72%), and "I felt that everything I did was an effort" (80% v. 84%). In addition, 88% of the gang members reported that their sleep was restless during the past week and 68% of the community sample felt sad the week before the interview.

### **Hispanic Stress Inventory (HSI) Family/Cultural Conflict Subscale**

Results from the Family/Cultural Conflict subscale of the HSI indicate that both the gang and the community samples are experiencing average levels of psychosocial stress when compared to a large normative sample (Cervantes et al. 1991). Both

samples reported having experienced, on average, about five stressor events in the past three months prior to survey administration (gang and community:  $x=5.24$ ). For example, 76% of the gang sample ( $n=19$ ) and 68% of the community sample ( $n=17$ ) indicated that "having a serious argument with a family member" was a recent stressor. In addition, "conflicts among members of the family" was another stressor, in which 68% of the gang sample and 52% of the community sample an-

swered affirmatively. Fifty-six percent in both samples ( $n=14$ ) replied that "having an argument with other members of their family because they have different customs" was also a stressor, pointing to the importance of culture change and "acculturation stress" that is often described by researchers and clinicians working with similar families. Another family stressor identified equally by both groups (60%,  $n=15$ ) was that the respondents felt they have been around too much violence.

**Table 5. Percentages, Means, and Standard Deviations on Items on the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CESD) by NIU Gang Members and Community Samples – Gang Members**

Items	Gang				x
	None	1-2 days	3-4 days	>4 days	
I was bothered by things that don't usually bother me.	32	56	8	4	0.84
I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.	32	28	24	12	1.12
I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with the help of my family or friends.	40	36	16	8	0.92
I felt that I was as good as other people. (R)	36	20	20	24	1.32
I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	32	40	16	12	1.08
I felt depressed.	48	24	12	16	0.96
I felt everything I did was an effort.	20	24	16	40	1.76
I felt hopeful about the future. (R)	44	16	12	28	1.24
I thought my life had been a failure.	60	20	12	8	0.68
I felt fearful.	52	20	12	16	0.92
My sleep was restless.	12	52	16	20	1.44
I was happy. (R)	40	24	24	12	1.08
I talked less than usual.	28	32	16	24	1.36
I felt lonely	52	24	8	16	0.88
People were unfriendly.	60	24	12	4	0.60
I enjoyed life. (R)	68	12	8	12	0.64
I had crying spells.	68	20	4	8	0.52
I felt sad.	48	24	12	16	0.96
I felt that people disliked me.	56	20	16	8	0.76
I could not get "going".	44	24	20	12	1.00
<b>Total</b>					<b>20.00</b>

\* Significant at 0.05 level

Overall, when comparing the two groups (gang and community) there was no significant difference of experience in the frequency and appraisal scores of stress events. Remarkably, the gang and community samples reported experiencing the same frequency ( $x=5.24$ ) while the appraisal of family stress scores were slightly higher for the gang sample (gang:  $x=25.16$ , community:  $x=21.54$ ) (Table 6). The exceptions to this overall trend were

items related to divorce, physical violence, and conflict, where the community sample scored higher. At the same time, however, when comparing individual items within the area of family stress, the only significant difference found between the gang and community samples was the items related to members of the family losing their religion ( $t=-2.175, p<0.038$ ). For this item, the gang sample reported that they were more worried or tense that individual

**Table 5 (continued). Percentages, Means, and Standard Deviations on Items on the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CESD) by NIU Gang Members and Community Samples – Community Samples**

Items	Community				x
	None	1-2 days	3-4 days	>4 days	
I was bothered by things that don't usually bother me.	28	48	16	8	0.84
I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.	36	36	16	12	1.12
I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with the help of my family or friends.	48	32	16	4	0.92
I felt that I was as good as other people. (R)	28	32	32	8	1.32
I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.	28	32	32	8	1.08
I felt depressed.	44	24	20	12	0.96
I felt everything I did was an effort.	16	20	8	56	1.76
I felt hopeful about the future. (R)	32	36	12	20	1.24
I thought my life had been a failure.	36	32	28	4	0.68
I felt fearful.	56	32	4	8	0.92
My sleep was restless.	44	20	16	20	1.44
I was happy. (R)	52	28	20	0	1.08
I talked less than usual.	52	32	12	4	1.36
I felt lonely	60	20	16	4	0.88
People were unfriendly.	40	44	12	4	0.60
I enjoyed life. (R)	52	24	24	0	0.64
I had crying spells.	72	20	4	4	0.52
I felt sad.	32	52	4	12	0.96
I felt that people disliked me.	52	24	16	8	0.76
I could not get "going".	48	28	12	12	1.00
<b>Total</b>					<b>20.00</b>

\* Significant at 0.05 level

members of their family were more worried or tense that individual members of their family appear to be losing their religion.

### Relationships Between Scales

The Pearson product moment correlation matrix between the CTQ subscales, the CESD, and the HSI subscales are presented in Table 7. For the gang sample, it should be noted that due to the lack of variation

in responses on the sexual abuse subscale ( $\alpha=5.0$ ), correlations could not be calculated for that scale. Therefore, correlations were calculated on the other individual subscales. For the gang sample, the CESD was significantly correlated with the HSI Family/Cultural Conflict Subscale (0.54), the emotional abuse (0.49), emotional neglect (0.49) and physical neglect (0.53) subscales of the CTQ. The HSI subscale was

**Table 6. Hispanic Stress Inventory Family/Cultural Conflict Subscale Total Scores and Item Means and Standard Deviations by Gang and Community Samples**

	<u>Gang</u>		<u>Community</u>	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Stress Event Frequency Score	5.24	3.27	5.24	2.93
Stress Event Appraisal Scores	25.16	10.01	21.54	6.40
Individual Items				
I have felt that being too close to my family interfered with my own goals.	1.56	1.16	1.16	0.37
I have felt that members of my family are losing their religion.	1.72*	1.31	1.12	0.44
Members of my family have considered divorce as a solution to their marital problems.	2.20	1.41	1.80	1.12
Because of the lack of family unity, I have felt lonely and isolated.	1.24	0.83	1.40	1.00
There has been physical violence among members of my family.	1.84	1.37	1.36	.70
I have felt that family relations are becoming less important for people that I'm close to.	1.44	0.96	1.52	1.00
I had serious arguments with family members.	2.00	1.35	1.44	0.82
I have been around too much violence.	3.04	1.51	2.28	1.54
My personal goals have been in conflict with family goals.	2.84	1.80	2.10	1.52
I have noticed that religion is less important to me now than before.	1.72	1.37	1.76	1.30
There have been conflicts among members of my family.	1.68	1.25	1.72	1.37
Some members of my family have become too individualistic (self-centered).	1.96	1.27	2.20	1.32
<b>Total</b>	<b>35.64</b>	<b>12.88</b>	<b>35.20</b>	<b>11.02</b>

**Table 7. Correlation Matrix of CESD Total Score, HIS Stress Appraisal Score and CTQ Subscale Scores for Gang and Community Samples**

<b>Community Sample</b>	<b>CESD Total</b>	<b>HIS Stress Appraisal Score</b>	<b>Emotional Abuse</b>	<b>Physical Abuse</b>	<b>Sexual Abuse</b>
<b>CESD Total</b>	1.00	0.282	0.082	0.105	0.39
HIS Stress Appraisal Score		1.00	0.488*	0.298	0.210
Emotional Abuse			1.00	0.689**	-0.169
Physical Abuse				1.00	-0.93
Sexual Abuse					1.00

<b>Gang Sample</b>	<b>CESD Total</b>	<b>HIS Stress Appraisal Score</b>	<b>Emotional Abuse</b>	<b>Physical Abuse</b>	<b>Sexual Abuse</b>
<b>CESD Total</b>	1.00	0.543**	0.485**	0.079	<sup>a</sup>
HIS Stress Appraisal Score		1.00	0.584**	0.164	<sup>a</sup>
Emotional Abuse			1.00	0.499*	<sup>a</sup>
Physical Abuse				1.00	<sup>a</sup>
Sexual Abuse				0.00	<sup>a</sup>
Emotional Neglect				0.00	<sup>a</sup>
Physical Neglect				0.00	<sup>a</sup>

	<b>Community Sample</b>		<b>Gang Sample</b>	
	<b>Emotional Neglect</b>	<b>Physical Neglect</b>	<b>Emotional Neglect</b>	<b>Physical Neglect</b>
<b>CESD Total</b>	-0.159	0.162	0.488*	0.527**
HIS Stress Appraisal Score	-0.106	0.357	0.268	0.331
Emotional Abuse	0.354	0.296	0.628**	0.394
Physical Abuse	0.292	0.098	0.528**	0.539**
Sexual Abuse	-0.047	0.355	<sup>a</sup>	<sup>a</sup>
Emotional Neglect	1.00	0.491	1.00	0.678**
Physical Neglect		1.00		1.00

\* Significant at 0.05 level. \*\* Significant at 0.01 level.

<sup>a</sup> Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

significantly correlated with the CESD (0.54) and the emotional abuse subscale of the CTQ (0.59). For the CTQ, the emotional abuse subscale was correlated with the physical abuse (0.50) and emotional neglect (0.63) subscales. The physical abuse was correlated with both the physical neglect (0.54) and emotional neglect (0.53) subscales,

The emotional neglect was correlated with the physical neglect (0.68) subscale.

One of the major differences between two samples was that for the community sample the CESD was not significantly correlated with any of the subscales of the CTQ or the HIS. However, the community's HIS Family/Cultural Conflict Subscale

was correlated with the emotional abuse subscale of the CTQ (0.49). Among the CTQ subscales, the emotional abuse subscale was also correlated with the physical abuse (0.69) subscale. The emotional neglect subscale was significantly correlated with the physical neglect (0.50) subscale.

### **Transitioning to Injecting Heroin and the Psychological Indexes**

One of the aims of the study is to explore the possible relationship between childhood trauma, depression, family and acculturative stress, and transitioning into injecting heroin use among non-injecting heroin users. Only the gang sample was analyzed as the data collected from this group was based on a follow up interview, allowing for transition rates to be more accurately calculated. Two variables were selected to examine the transition to injecting heroin: (1) ever injected heroin and (2) currently injecting heroin. The means of the psychological indexes for those that had transitioned to injecting were compared to non-injectors. There was no statistically significant difference on any of these measures. The psychological indexes based on scores of 16 or higher (Roberts et al. 1990). The CTQ indexes were dichotomized into "none or low" and "moderate to extreme" based on cut off scores previously established: emotional abuse 13+, physical abuse and physical neglect 10+, and emotional neglect 15+ (Bernstein and Fink 1998). For the HSI, the two groups

were split along the mean. Due to the small sample size in this analysis, several statistically non-significant trends are reported here. These relationships may eventually reach statistical significance if the sample sizes are increased.

### **Ever Injected Heroin**

As mentioned earlier, 15 out of the 25 NIUs from the gang sample (60%) transitioned to injecting heroin. Of the fifteen that had ever injected heroin, eleven (73%) had high depression scores compared to three out of the ten (30%) who never made the transition to injecting (chi-square= 4.6,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.03$ ) (see Figure 7). Physical neglect was also related to having ever injected heroin. Forty percent of those that had injected heroin had moderate to extreme scores compared to none of those that had never injected (chi-square= 5.23,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.02$ ). There was also a trend for high emotional neglect to be related to injecting. Half of injectors reported high levels of emotional neglect compared to only 10% of the non-injectors (chi-square= 1.79,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.18$ ).

### **Current Injectors**

Of the current heroin users ( $N=16$ ), ten (63%) have injected heroin and seven (44%) continue to inject. There was a trend for current injectors to have high depression scores on this scale. Six out of the seven (86%) current injectors had high levels of depression compared to six out of nine NIUs (44%) (chi-square= 2.86,  $df=1$ ,  $p=0.09$ ). There

was also a trend for high levels of emotional neglect to be related to current IDU. Three out of seven (42%) of the injectors reported high levels of emotional neglect compared to only one out of nine (11%) of the non-injectors (chi-square= 2.1, *df*=1, *p*=0.15).

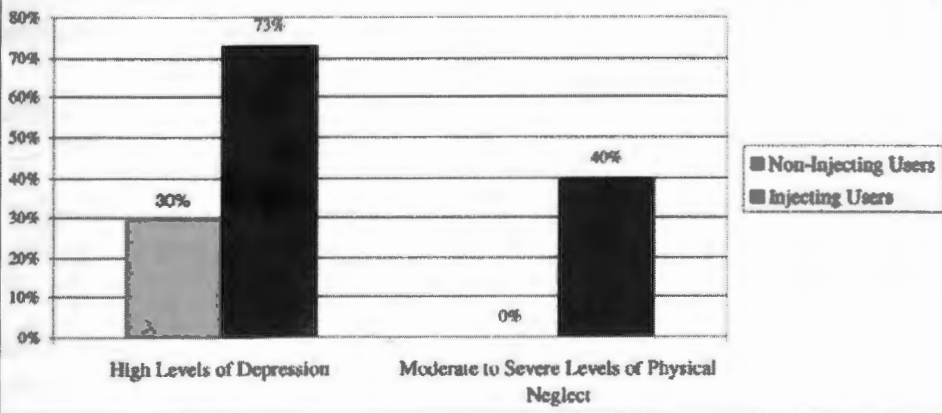
**Childhood Trauma, Stress and Depression, and Substance Abuse: Logistic Model**

A logistic model was used to analyze the relationship between the psychosocial characteristics and frequent heroin use. The model used the combined gang and community sample of fifty heroin users. The logistic model is the odds of being a frequent heroin user given characteristics of depression (CESD), stress (HSI), and childhood trauma (CTQ).

The dependent variable, frequent heroin use, is a dichotomous variable

formed by collapsing a continuous variable of the heroin use index into two categories around the mean. The index was created by adding the frequency of heroin use for each type of use (injecting, snorting, and shabanging). Half of the respondents reported using heroin (by any method) at least fourteen times in the last thirty days, indicating frequent heroin use. High levels of depression included scores of 16 or higher on the CESD. The high levels of stress included scores at the mean and above on the HSI. The childhood trauma consists of four subscales from the CTQ measuring physical abuse, physical neglect, emotional abuse, and emotional neglect (sexual abuse was not included due to low levels reported). Each of the subscales was collapsed into dichotomous variables contrasting "minimal" scores to other scores

**Figure 7. Percent Scoring High Levels of Depression and Moderate to Severe Levels of Physical Neglect on the CTQ by Non-Injecting and Injecting Heroin Users**





based on the cutoff scores suggested by Bernstein and Fink (1998). The percent falling into the scores above the "minimal" category ranged from 34-36%.

Table 8 presents the results from the logistic model. The results of the logistic regression reveal that depression and emotional neglect are positively related to frequent heroin use, while physical and emotional abuse are inversely related to frequent heroin use. Those with high levels of depression were five and a half times more likely to have more frequent heroin use than those with lower levels of depression (AOR=5.5,  $p=0.04$ ), while those scoring above the minimum on the emotional neglect subscale were 5.8 times more likely to have more frequent heroin use (AOR= 5.8,  $p=0.05$ ). On the other hand, those with scores higher than the minimum on the emotional (AOR=0.13,  $p=0.04$ ) and physical abuse subscales (AOR= 0.09,  $p=0.01$ ) had only a 13% and 9% probability of having frequent heroin use, respectively.

**DISCUSSION**

National data indicate that the current trend in non-injecting heroin use primarily affects adolescents and young adults. The implications of this trend among youth are vast and varied. This increase in non-injecting heroin use could lead to the need for more treatment facilities and newer and more innovative intervention models targeted at youth. Additionally, the use of non-injecting heroin increases the odds to transition to injecting drugs, and this has many public health implications that need to be examined. The transition to IDU places the user at high risk for HIV/AIDS, HBV, and HCV. This increase in NIUs who are at risk for transitioning to IDUs and are also engaging in other high-risk behaviors (i.e. sexual) may lead to an epidemic outbreak of HIV and/or HCV among IDUs at both the national and local levels. In order to prevent this from happening, transition rates of NIUs need to be more closely examined in

**Table 8. Logistic Regression on Frequent Heroin Use by the Childhood Trauma Questionnaire Subscales, the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression, and the Hispanic Stress Inventory**

	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig	R	Adjusted Odds Ratio
Emotional Neglect	1.75	0.90	3.8	1	0.05*	0.16	5.8
Emotional Abuse	-2.03	0.99	4.3	1	0.04*	-0.18	0.13
Physical Abuse	-2.39	0.97	6.0	1	0.01**	-0.24	0.09
Physical Neglect	1.30	0.83	2.5	1	0.12	0.08	3.7
Hispanic Stress	1.18	0.84	2.0	1	0.16	0.0	3.3
Depression	1.70	0.84	4.1	1	0.04*	0.18	5.5
Constant	-0.87	0.70	1.6	1	0.21		

\* Significant at 0.05 level

\*\* Significant at 0.01 level

order to provide more effective intervention and education models to these at-risk groups.

Data from this study clearly indicate that both samples of current heroin users use multiple modes to ingest heroin. More importantly, 60% of the gang sample had transitioned to IDU since the initial NIDA interview where they reported heroin use exclusively as NIUs. While this is a very high transition rate, the high-risk drug injecting practices that these young adults engage in once they have transitioned is equally disturbing. Over half of those who have injected have shared a needle with another user and over 80% of them have shared a cooker, filter or rinse water with another user. These behaviors make these individuals much more susceptible to contracting HIV/AIDS and HCV and other blood-borne pathogens. Once infected, they may also contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS to the more general population through unprotected sexual behavior. This suggests a need for more intervention and education in these populations of young high-risk Mexican Americans.

The results from the CTQ indicate that there was no significant difference between the gang and community groups on any of the subscales. This despite the existence of a general trend with the gang members reporting higher levels of physical abuse and emotional neglect and the community sample reporting higher levels of physical neglect and emotional abuse. There

are, however, limits to the applicability of this data because few studies have explored the relationship between substance abuse and various forms of childhood trauma other than sexual abuse.

Other forms of abuse should be examined, mainly because the various forms of abuse and neglect are not mutually exclusive. Physical abuse has been found to be related to later substance abuse (Dunn, Ryan, and Dunn 1994; Fullilove, Lown, and Fullilove 1992), and Medrano and colleagues (1999b) found that 81% of their participants experienced two or more types of childhood abuse and/or neglect using the CTQ instrument among a group of substance abusing women. While not as large a proportion, 54% of the combined sample of gang and community heroin users in this study experienced two or more types of childhood abuse/neglect. This indicates a need to examine the collective effects of the various forms of abuse and/or neglect throughout one's childhood and adolescence.

The CESD results from this study signify that both groups scored well above the cutoff score for depressive symptoms, with 54% of the total sample reporting scores 16 and above. This indicates that within this population of high-risk substance using young males, depression is widespread. Taking into account the logistic regression model used in this analysis, the CESD total score was found to be significantly related to the high-risk substance use of this population, corroborating the findings

of similar studies. The scores from the CESD in this study are much higher than those reported by college students or others of similar age in other studies (Steinhausen and Metzke 2000; Wells, Klerman, and Deykin 1987). Rather, these rates are comparable to high school students (Roberts et al., 1990), Native American adolescents (Manson et al. 1990), and Guatemalan adolescents (Berganza and Aguilar 1992). It should be noted that depression scores from the CESD are usually higher among females. However, for this particular population of substance using males, their scores were approximately equal to the scores of females in similar studies (Pumariega, Johnson, Sheridan, and Cuffe 1996; Berganza and Aguilar 1992).

Overall, the results of the HSI Family/Cultural Conflict subscale indicated that all the respondents experienced average levels of psychosocial stress when compared to a large normative sample (Cervantes et al. 1991). The results of the bivariate correlations analysis for both samples revealed that the HSI's stress appraisal score and the emotional abuse subscale of the CTQ are positively correlated with each other (gang: 0.58, community: 0.49). This indicates that for the respondent experiencing severe levels of emotional abuse, the likelihood of him also experiencing higher levels of familial stress increases as well. For the gang sample however, the bivariate correlations also revealed that the

HSI and CESD were positively correlated with each other (0.54); yet this was not found to be true for the community sample.

In the logistic regression model, the gang sample had a greater relationship between depression and high-risk substance use as well. This indicates that as various forms of abuse and neglect increase, depression also increases which, in turn, increases the likelihood for high-risk drug use. Additional studies are warranted, focusing on the cumulative effects of the various forms of childhood abuse and neglect, using instruments similar to the CTQ.

### **Questionnaire**

The lack of statistically significant relationships between many of these indexes and transitioning to injecting may be due in part to the small sample size. A larger sample may be useful, particularly with those items in which a trend emerged. Nonetheless, two variables emerged related to injecting heroin. High depression was significantly related to having ever injected heroin and there was also a trend with current injectors. The percentage of those injecting having high depression scores is over three and half times the rates found in community samples (20%) (Radloff 1991). Clearly the role of depression in transitioning to injecting heroin use and the decision to continue to inject heroin warrants further investigation. High physical neglect was also related to having ever injected with trends for emotional neglect relating to both having ever injected and

currently injecting. Given the strong correlation between physical neglect and emotional neglect with depression, the manner in which each of these contributes to transitioning to IDU needs to be further explored.

The finding that high levels of depression are related to frequent heroin use is important for several reasons. Although the relationship between depression and substance use has been documented, very few if any studies have examined the relationship of high depression with frequency of heroin use (Darke and Ross 1997; Malow, West, Corrigan, and Pena 1992). This finding is even more relevant since over half of the sample scored high on the depression scale. The factors that are related to high depression thus need to be explored further in order to help in the intervention of frequent heroin use. It is assumed that frequent heroin use is related to addiction to heroin, of which injecting is the most popular method of use.

While there have been reports of the relationship between substance abuse and childhood trauma (Medrano et al. 1999b; Cohen and Stahler 1998), the relationship of specific childhood trauma to the frequency of heroin use has generally not been explored. The finding that emotional neglect is related to frequent heroin use is nevertheless consistent with the general findings. However, why the inverse relationship for emotional and physical abuse? Both of these variables are examined while

controlling for the effect of depression and the other subscales of the CTQ on frequency of heroin use. As little research has been conducted isolating these forms of abuse in relationship to high-risk substance use, there is no clear indication as to the reason behind this inverse relationship. It may be that physical abuse and emotional abuse, though harmful in nature, are at least a form of negative attention. Those that do not receive this negative attention and are also compounded by emotional neglect may actually have higher levels of heroin use. It may be that those high-risk youth that are neglected and do not even receive negative attention experience more psychological pain and thus use heroin and higher levels of it in order to dull these feelings.

The dichotomous form of the CESD, on the other hand, was highly significant in the relationship with substance abuse in the logistic regression model. We believe that the reason for this significance lies in the cumulative effects of childhood stress and trauma that the CESD represents. Both groups experienced relatively high levels of childhood trauma. That there are few significant differences between the groups seems to indicate that while half of the respondents are gang members, there are no significant differences in their backgrounds with regard to childhood trauma. Abuse and/or neglect appear to have little bearing on gang affiliation. Rather, if these high levels of abuse and neglect contribute to depression within this

population, they may actually have a bearing on frequency and mode of drug use.

Family and cultural stress, as measured by the HSI, did not seem to be a predictor of higher frequency or transitioning to more dangerous modes of heroin use. What this appears to mean is that problems within the family or the stress caused by acculturation does not affect drug use by these young males. Thus, in dealing with problems in the family, these males do not necessarily turn to drugs as a coping mechanism. With over half of the total respondents (54%) reporting that at least one family member uses heroin, this drug seems to be somewhat normalized within their social environments and networks. Because of this, the use of drugs in the family may not necessarily be seen as a way to handle familial problems. Instead, it may be a normal outlet already present within the family, used for reasons other than coping or dealing with problems within the family.

### CONCLUSIONS

Data gathered from this study indicate that the rates of transition from non-injecting heroin use (NIU) to injecting use (IDU) among these Mexican American gang members are higher than among NIUs in other regions of the United States (Neaigus, 1998b). The emergence of an increase in non-injecting heroin and transition to IDU has important public health implications for HIV trans-

mission in San Antonio and South Texas. Similar to other studies, these data reveal that once an NIU makes the transition to IDU, they are involved in multiple risk behaviors related to HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases such as HBV and HCV. These risk behaviors include sharing contaminated syringes and other injecting paraphernalia, and back and front loading needle practices. As important, depression was related to transition to injecting use and current injecting among the gang members and frequent heroin use between both samples. These findings strongly suggest that there is a need for allocating resources to prevent the transition to injecting drug use among Mexican Americans NIUs, and reduce risk related injecting practices that will reduce the spread of HIV.

The findings from this study also revealed that these Mexican American heroin users had relatively moderate levels of childhood trauma and stress, but high rates of depression. Overall, the childhood trauma results indicate that on the five subscales, the majority of subjects revealed that they had experienced minimal levels of abuse or neglect. Although over half of the subjects (both gang and community) experienced at least two forms of abuse, these experiences were not much different from the comparison groups that included undergraduate university students. Emotional neglect was related, however, to frequent heroin use. Additionally, moderate levels of physical and emotional

abuse were inversely related to frequent heroin use. There was also no significant difference between the results of the gang and community sample. Obviously, more research is needed in order to expand and or confirm these initial findings.

Based on these results, and those of previous studies focused on this population, families of these delinquent substance abusing males seem to have provided for many of the emotional and physical needs of their children. This is astonishing given the structural and social characteristics of these families (i.e. single-family households, drug using adults, etc.) Rather than linking delinquent behavior to dysfunctional families (and psychological characteristics), this behavior may be more associated with larger social structural deficiencies such as declining economic opportunities, joblessness and a lack of social services.

Contrary to what was expected, this young heroin using population scored average levels of psychosocial stress. Most of the items that the two groups scored high on were related to normal adolescent family conflict issues such as having serious arguments with family members. One item that may be different among these young Mexican American drug users is related to conflicts over adhering to ethnic family customs and traditions. This is consistent with other findings regarding Mexican American adolescent youth and young adults that emphasize problems associated with acculturation. While this may be an

important factor, family conflict may also be related to Mexican American gang street culture that emphasizes contemporary musical genres (rap and hip-hop), fashion (baggy clothes), and body modifications (body piercing and/or tattoos). In other words, this conflict may go beyond that associated with ethnicity and be more related to cultural factors that counter mainstream values and norms.

One of the major findings from this study is that more than half of both samples were experiencing symptoms of depression that are exceptionally high when compared to the general population. Furthermore, in comparing the gang and community sample there was no significant difference except on one item. The analysis also revealed that depression was related to substance abuse among these Mexican American heroin users. The high levels of depressive symptoms among this population adds validity to the "self-medication" hypothesis, theorizing that substance abuse is an avoidant type of coping mechanism for adolescents and young adults.

One of the more salient findings of this study is the cumulative effects of childhood abuse, depression and stress on substance abuse among this population. These data imply that as the symptoms associated with family stress increase so too does the amount of depression and subsequent drug abuse. However, we need to be cognitive that other factors may be influencing this relationship before assessing a

causal link between these variables. For instance, the influence of social context should be taken into consideration in examining the influence of these psychosocial measures on substance and other delinquent behavior. That is, among members of ghetto-based street gangs, such as these individuals, depression and stress may not be as important as they are among conventional adolescents (non-gang youth in working and middle-class neighborhoods) as predictors of substance abuse.

This is a special population, gang members and high-risk drug users from the same low-income disadvantaged neighborhoods. A population that is embedded in a street-based and ethnic culture that promotes the ideal of a strong, aggressive masculine gender role, i.e. machismo. Given these special characteristics, these males are likely to underreport incidents of childhood abuse, especially those involving sexual abuse. It should be noted that this is not exclusively an issue with Mexican American males since other studies have found that males are less likely than females to report such forms of abuse (Gill and Tutty 1997; Farber, Showers, Johnson, Joseph, and Oshins 1984; Groth and Birnbaum 1979). Furthermore, collecting data in street settings, as we did in this study, as opposed to more clinical settings, may have resulted in less direct answers to the more sensitive questions. In any case, there appears to be a strong argument for further research in this

area, principally in the issue of the development of reliable instruments to measure different forms of abuse, particularly sexual abuse among males.

There are some limitations associated with this study. A major problem is the relatively small sample that prevents us from conducting a more sophisticated analysis. The small numbers also limit the generalizability of these findings. Another problem is the deficiency associated with the items used in the childhood trauma questionnaire, particularly those measuring sexual abuse. Due to problems with the reliability of responses to questions concerning sexual abuse with this population, other measures need to be developed. This research, however, is important in that it contributes to the development of culturally relevant and class-based drug prevention and mental health intervention models targeting highly vulnerable populations such as delinquent and drug using Mexican Americans in South Texas.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> In the Netherlands, NIUs of Surinamese descent were less likely to initiate injecting drug use (van Ameijden and van den Hoek 1994), and Griffiths and colleagues in the United Kingdom found that West Indian/Afro-Caribbean non-injecting drug users were less likely to be injectors (Griffiths and Gossop 1992).

<sup>2</sup> These additional 11 study subjects did not report heroin use in the

actual NIDA interview, but through qualitative fieldwork they were identified as non-injecting heroin users and were asked to participate in this follow-up study.

<sup>3</sup> Upon contacting the potential study subject, the project was thoroughly explained to him. Each respondent was required to sign an informed consent form prior to participating in the project. For those participants under the age of 18, a parent or guardian was also required to sign the informed consent form prior to participating in the study. The instruments were administered in the field office of the Center for Drug and Social Policy Research at the University of Texas at San Antonio, the subjects' homes, or at the field site. The average time for administering the entire questionnaire was 45-60 minutes.

<sup>4</sup> The instrument has been validated on a number of populations including adolescents (Bernstein, Fink and Handelsman 1994; Bernstein, et al. 1997). This can help identify individuals with a tendency to give socially desirable responses or individuals likely to produce false negative reports (Bernstein and Fink 1998).

<sup>5</sup> Each item is answered on a five-point Likert scale in which 1 indicates "never true", 2 "rarely true", 3 "sometimes true", 4 "often true", and 5 "very often true". The scoring of all five of the emotional neglect items and two of the physical neglect items are reverse coded to be consistent with the

other items with higher scores indicating higher levels of neglect and abuse. The total CTQ scores range from a low of 25 to a high of 125, with individual subscales ranging from 5 to 25.

Cutting scores were previously established for indicating levels of abuse and neglect. These are divided into four levels of abuse/neglect: none (or minimal), low to moderate, moderate to severe, and severe to extreme. Cut scores varied depending on each individual clinical subscale. On the emotional abuse subscale, 5-8 indicated "none (or minimal)" abuse; 9-12 indicated "low (to moderate)"; 13-15 indicated "moderate (to severe)"; and 16 or greater was classified as "severe (to extreme)". On the emotional neglect subscale, 5-9 was classified as "none (or minimal)"; 10-14 as "low (to moderate)"; 15-17 as "moderate (to severe)"; and 18 or greater as "severe (to extreme)". The physical abuse and physical neglect subscales were scored the same, with 5-7 classified as "none (or minimal)"; 8-9 as "low (to moderate)"; 10-12 as "moderate (to severe)"; and 13 or greater as "severe (to extreme)". The sexual abuse subscale was scored as 5 indicating "none (or minimal)" abuse; 6-7 as "low (to moderate)"; 8-12 as "moderate (to severe)"; and 13 or greater as "severe (to extreme)" abuse.

<sup>6</sup> A score of 16 or greater has been proposed as a criterion of depression "caseness" (Roberts et



al. 1990). This was the approximate 80th percentile in the original Community Mental Health Assessment (CMHA) study (Radloff 1991), meaning that 20% of those participating in this community study were assessed as experiencing depressive symptoms.

<sup>7</sup> The appraisals range from 1 to 5, with 1 indicating "Not at all worried/tense", 2 "A little worried/tense", 3 "Moderately worried/tense", 4 "Very worried/tense", and 5 "Extremely worried/tense". Thus, two scores are obtained from this instrument, a Stress Event Frequency Score obtained from adding all the "Yes" responses to the instrument as well as a Stress Event Appraisal Score which is obtained by adding the level of stress experienced from each event as measured by the Likert Scale.

<sup>8</sup> The sexual abuse scores were not included in this report because the reliability was too low ( $\alpha = -0.037$ ). Of the 25 gang members, all scored the lowest possible score on this scale, 5. Thus there was no variation among this sample. Additionally, among the 25 community respondents, only three reported any level of sexual abuse. This problem will be addressed in the discussion section.

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**A Letter to America** (ISBN 9780806139449)

By David L. Boren

*A powerful wake-up call to all Americans*

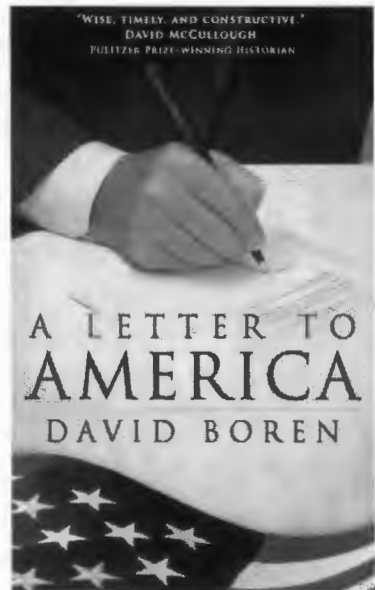
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- Mason, Karen O. 1974. *Women's Labor Force Participation and Fertility*. Research Triangle Park, NC: National Institutes of Health.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1960. *Characteristics of Population*. Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

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### Foreign Language Books, Journals and Articles

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

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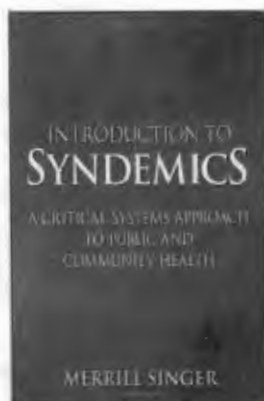
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