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THE DILEMMA OF EVALUATING FAITH-BASED CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS IN INSTITUTIONAL AND COMMUNITY SETTINGS

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ABSTRACT

Faith-based correctional programs are intended to produce inner change in participants. Research confirming positive effects of these programs may then support program continuation or expansion. Empirical evaluations can measure ethical action, but not redemption in terms of transcendent reality. This paper argues that evaluations of faith-based programs are incorrectly tied to empirical designs based in social science, rather than on understandings about the true redemptive changes that can occur in the lives of participants in the programs. We suggest that grace and redemption are beyond the reaches of scientific inquiry and that empirically-based evaluation studies of such programs miss the mark.

On January 29, 2001, President George Bush, by executive order, created the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in eleven Federal agencies to provide a wide array of social services (The White House 2001). The eleven Federal agencies include the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Education, Health and Human Services, Homeland Security, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, Labor, and Veterans Affairs, the Small Business Administration, and the Agency for International Development. Eight years earlier, President Bill Clinton signed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (RFRA). This Act requires government to demonstrate a compelling interest in legislation that might pose a substantial burden to religious interests. The Supreme Court invalidated a portion of the RFRA Act as it applied to states and localities. As a consequence, Congress passed the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act of 2000 requiring the government to make accommodations to the religious interests of prisoners or to demonstrate a compelling interest in imposing substantial burdens on the free exercise of religion by inmates. President Clinton also had signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act of 1996 that included a charitable choice section designed to allow a level playing field and equal opportunity for faith-based organizations to compete for federal welfare block-grant funds. However, participating faith-based organizations receiving funds were prohibited from discriminating against clients on the basis of religion or from using funds provided by the government for "sec-

tarian worship, instruction or proselytization (Personal Responsibility 1996)."

Each of these initiatives and Acts reflect the growing role of religion in contributing to the improvement of lives in the community and in certain institutions (i.e., prisons). In some ways they may even suggest a governmental reawakening in the tradition of evangelical movements such as the Great Awakening begun by Jonathan Edwards in New England during the 1730s and 1740s, the Second Great Awakening of the first third of the 19th century which led to a wave of social activism and reform, and the Third Great Awakening of the last half of the 19th century which ultimately produced the Social Gospel Movement built on the application of Christian principles for dealing with the serious social problems of the day (McRoberts 2002). But the evangelical movement from the early 1980s to the present represents the first time that religion has been directly used as a legal and political force to affect change. A clear ringing of the social gospel can be heard in President Bush's words establishing the Faith-Based and Community Initiative:

Faith-based and other community organizations are indispensable in meeting the needs of poor Americans and distressed neighborhoods....The paramount goal is compassionate results, and private and charitable community groups, including religious ones, should have the fullest opportunity permitted by law to compete on a level playing field, so long as they achieve valid public purposes, such as curbing crime, conquering addiction, strengthening families and neighborhoods, and overcoming

poverty. (The White House 2001)

Each of these awakenings has had strong supporters and critics; the last of these has even been soundly thumped by a federal appellate court. This paper focuses on the most recent of these awakenings and its infusion of religion and issues of faith into the prevention of crime and delinquency and the rehabilitation of undeterred criminals and the difficulties in empirically validating the products or outcomes of faith-based programs designed to accomplish these goals.

RELIGION AND THE PENITENTIARY

Religion has been an integral part of the institutional correctional process from the very beginning. During the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Walnut Street prison and Eastern State Penitentiary at Cherry Hill required inmates to read the Bible, contemplate God and their sins, renew their faith, and repent. They also allowed representatives of the local churches to visit inmates and talk about faith issues and their need for redemption (DeGirolami 2006). Quakers desired to transform the offender's character, to convert the criminal from sin to a God-fearing life of good and decent behavior (George & Bradley 2006). This emphasis on redemptive rehabilitation of inmates continued through the middle half of the 19th century when it was replaced by the Progressive era emphasis on punishment of criminals and rehabilitation based on the applications of medical, biological, and behavioral science positivistic understandings of criminality as a sickness. Crime, believed to be similar to a disease, could be compulsorily cured. The criminal no longer needed to be converted, but only be subjected to therapeutic treatment aimed at altering one's personal maladjustment (Skotnicki 1996; George & Bradley 2006; Lewis 1970). It was not until the late 1970s and a widespread disillusionment with contemporary approaches to rehabilitation that evangelical Christians saw an opening for their return to prison. Since simple warehousing of inmates and forced therapy appeared to have failed in affecting crime rates and recidivism of ex-prisoners, perhaps a return to touching the soul and introducing inmates to the potential of grace through faith was due (Martinson 1974; Colson 1976).

EVANGELICALS, PRISONS, AND THE COMMUNITY

While prisons continued to have faith-based services available to inmates, whether Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, or otherwise, the introduction of evangelical Christian programming during the past three decades has transformed the role of faith-based activities. One of the earliest, and most prominent, prison ministries is Prison Fellowship, founded in 1976 by Charles Colson (Prison Fellowship 2006). Prison Fellowship currently has more than 50,000 volunteers serving in a wide variety of prison programs in all 50 states (Loconte 1997). Programs range from Bible studies and in-prison seminars to life-plan seminars for inmates preparing to leave prison as well as operating full-scale, day-to-day faith-based programs in prisons in Texas and, until 2006, in Iowa (Johnson 2004). In 1997, Prison Fellowship established its InnerChange Freedom Initiative (IFI) which became an independent organization operating in prisons in various states.

The Kairos Prison Ministry, established in 1976, operates faith-based programs in prisons in Florida, Ohio, and Arizona. In 2003, Corrections Corporation of America, partnering with the Dallas-based Bill Glass Champions for Life, launched a plan to implement faith-based programs in each of its correctional facilities (Corrections Corporation of America 2003). A year later, in 2004, the nation's first faith-based prison program for women opened in Tampa, Florida (Farrington 2004). Florida is also home to H.E.L.P., a Jewish faith-based prison program designed to promote the

rehabilitation of inmates and improved family, social, and work ethic accomplished by behavior modification modalities that integrate principles of Jewish Law and tradition. (Aleph Institute 2006)

Religion has also become directly infused in community corrections, primarily through re-entry and crime/delinquency prevention programming. For example, CORE (Corrections Organized for Re-Entry) is a Louisiana faith-based initiative combining pre-release faith-based prison ministry programming with post-release Freedom of Spirit Ministries at the New Orleans Re-Entry Center (Louisiana Department of Public Safety and Corrections 2006). The Rest Philly Project

combines pre-release and post-release in its faith-based program IRAP (Inmate Restoration and After-Care Program). Begun in 2001, more than 1400 inmates have gone through the 14 week group therapy program (I-Rest 2006).

Other community faith-based correctional programs include Ready4Work, which combines the efforts of community and faith-based organizations to address the needs of offenders released back to the community. Operating in 11 cities, Ready4Work was designed as a set of demonstration projects in which faith-based organizations take the lead at six of the sites; at three other sites, secular nonprofit organizations direct programming (Farley & Hackman 2006). Bethany Christian Services partners with the Kent County Department of Social Services in Grand Rapids, Michigan, to provide faith-based foster care for at-risk children and residential care for juvenile sex offenders as well as for abused and neglected children (Sherman 1995).

THE FEDERAL COURTS AND FAITH-BASED CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMMING

It would appear that faith-based correctional programs have become well established in both prisons and the community. However, two important questions arise from this intersection of faith and correctional programming. First, are faith-based programs involved in public ventures (i.e., operating in state prisons or using public tax dollars) constitutional? Might they be constitutional if the faith-based program guarantees that it will not mention or teach about its faith aspects or proselytize to participants in the program? Second, assuming there is no significant church-state conflict, are faith-based correctional programs effective, and what is it that they are effective in doing? That is, are they effective in reducing recidivism or preventing delinquency? Are they more or less effective than secular programs? But most importantly, at least for this paper, are faith-based correctional programs designed to help offenders find and strengthen their faith, to find grace and redemption, and to change as whole persons amenable to empirical measurement of their effectiveness in achieving such goals?

With regard to the constitutionality of faith-based programs in correctional settings, it appears that, at least at this moment, the

jury is still out (although at least one judge has spoken). In June of 2006, U.S. District Court Judge Robert Pratt ruled that the faith-based InnerChange Freedom Initiative program operating within the Iowa correction system violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment by receiving public money in support of its efforts to bring about religious change in inmates as part of its program to reduce recidivism (*Americans United for Separation of Church and State v. Prison Fellowship Ministries* 2006). InnerChange is essentially a transformational, rather than therapeutic, model for changing offenders into good citizens, to reduce the recidivism of current inmates, and to prepare inmates for their return to society by providing educational, ethical, and religious instruction (InnerChange 2006).

A similar case has been filed in the United States District Court in the District of New Mexico (*Freedom from Religion Foundation, Inc., et al., v. Governor Bill Richardson, et al.*, 2005). The plaintiffs argue that the New Mexico Department of Corrections, through its contract with Corrections Corporation of America, Inc. provides faith-based programming to inmates designed to encourage the inmates involved to establish or strengthen a relationship with God and convert them to a fundamentalist interpretation of Christianity. According to the New Mexico Department of Corrections, the underlying premise of faith-based programming is that a relationship with God, and involvement in a Christian faith community, is necessary to prevent criminal recidivism.

On February 28, 2007, the Supreme Court heard oral arguments in another case brought by the Freedom from Religion Foundation. This case, *Hein v. Freedom from Religion Foundation, Inc, et al.*, (2007), was another challenge to federal funding of faith-based initiative programs. The essential argument in the case focused on whether taxpayers have legal standing to challenge an executive program not created by Congress, specifically to challenge the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives and Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. One of the programs noted in the suit, MentorKids USA, was alleged to have received federal grant monies "directly and preferentially funded with Congressional taxpayer appropriations," and to have used the funds for services that "integrate religion

as a substantive and integral component" of their program in violation of the Establishment Clause. MentorKids USA, established in 1997 in Phoenix, Arizona, matched

caring Christian adults with youths ages 8-17 who showed warning signs of becoming criminal offenders. Youth targeted for mentoring included those who had either trouble with the law, significant school problems, dysfunctional family backgrounds, or drug or alcohol abuse. (MentorKids USA 2006)

CONVERSION, REPENTANCE, GRACE, AND REDEMPTION

In 1976, Charles (Chuck) Colson published his first book, *Born Again*, in which he describes his fall from power and influence in the White House and eventual incarceration in a federal prison. The key factor in the book, however, is not his fall, but rather his conversion and redemption experience while in prison. Accounts of prison and jailhouse conversions have been widely disseminated and read by the faithful and skeptics alike. The truth or reality of the conversion experience gets debated in the media, among lawmakers, and by the public.

Sometimes a conversion experience makes it to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1981, William Payton was tried and convicted of a brutal rape and murder. During the penalty phase, his defense attorney focused on Payton's conversion and commitment to God that had occurred during the year and a half he spent in jail awaiting trial and argued that this should be considered by the jury to be a mitigating circumstance in their deliberations. In his closing argument, the prosecutor incorrectly told the jury that California law prohibited them from considering anything that happened after the crime and that "you have not heard any evidence of mitigation in this trial," suggesting that the jury should disregard Payton's conversion. The judge instructed the jury that the prosecutor's statements were merely argument, but did not clearly explain that California law requires juries to consider "any other circumstances which extenuates the gravity of the crime even though it is not a legal excuse for the crime." The jury found special circumstances in the crime and returned a verdict recommending a death sentence, which the judge then imposed. The California Supreme Court af-

firmed the sentence and Payton appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which overturned the California Court's decision, arguing that the prosecutor's statements may have misled the jury (*Payton v. Woodford* 2003). The case was then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which in 2005 reversed the Ninth Court's ruling, thus allowing the original sentence to be enforced (*Brown v. Payton* 2005). Part of the argument by the U.S. Supreme Court was that "it was not unreasonable to find that the jurors did not likely believe Payton." Apparently, they were not offered empirical proof of his conversion. But what proof could have been offered? Could social scientists have confirmed his conversion or the conversion of others?

According to professor of theology Andrew Skotnicki, a conversion experience involves "a positive and demonstrative transformation in character" (Skotnicki 1996). He suggests this involves the

idea of falling in love with the transcendent, which involves mimesis, a conscious patterning of one's life on that of the deity from whom one has formerly felt separated, (Skotnicki 1996 37)

Skotnicki also suggests that most writers dealing with the nature of conversion emphasize that the experience is "personal but not individualistic." An individual's religious conversion brings the individual into communion with others of the particular faith community.

The conversion process also typically includes a strong sense of repentance and reconciliation. Repentance, or atonement, not only allows for reconciliation between God and man, but establishes the basis for reconciliation between an offended party and the offender. To repent means more than to simply become aware of one's wrong, sin, or crime, rather it involves a turning to God whose gift of grace makes the process of self-understanding and repentance possible in the first place (DeGirolami 2006).

What are we to make of the number of recent cases in which inmates facing the death penalty have provided accounts of conversion experiences? Are these conversion experiences real? Was there a moment of true grace and redemption (a reconciliation to one's salvation that would lead the person away from sin and crime) involving an

inmate facing execution? Because it is impossible to confirm or deny scientifically such a conversion experience, the conversion is regarded as something unverifiable, and the execution proceeds. If conversion was verifiable, is that sufficient to mitigate punishment by the State for the condemned person's crime?

In Flannery O'Connor's (1955) short story, "A Good Man is Hard to Find," O'Connor describes the moment of possible grace and redemption the Misfit (an escaped murderer) faces. The Misfit may be what Camp et al. (2006) refer to as a seeker, a person just beginning to look through the window at a possible religious experience. The Misfit has actually been obsessed with religion but cannot bring himself to act on the notion that Jesus is God incarnate. Consequently, he believes there is "no pleasure but meanness," which is a not uncommon criminal stance. However, at the end of the story, the Misfit, having just murdered five family members on vacation, glimpses momentarily the power of God to redeem him just as he shoots and kills the grandmother. O'Connor seems to be suggesting that a person may be likely to commit crimes, even horrific ones, to test the no-pleasure-but-meanness world view. Would a criminologist have been able to provide scientific evidence of the Misfit's experience? Might demographic and other social data on inmates experiencing conversions or criminals like the Misfit facing but then rejecting Christ really tell us much on which to develop policies or establish programs? Certainly, descriptive survey data correlating conversion experiences and reported subsequent behavior can suggest a possible causal relationship. Yet, while we can reasonably accept self-reported offending as modestly valid, it would take a leap of faith for most social scientists to accept the validity of the conversion. At best we would be left with demographics of those who "claim" conversions correlating at some level with behavior. Can we measure ethical or moral reform or redemption in terms of transcendent reality (a belief in something beyond life with which we must reckon)? We can measure criminal acts or the absence of criminal acts over a period of time for particular individuals, but can we accurately tap into the deeper religious dimensions of that person's motivations?

MEASURING THE UNMEASURABLE

Social scientists have gone about measuring the relationship of religious commitment or involvement and delinquency (Hirschi & Stark 1969; Johnson, Li, Larson, & McCullough 2000; Baier & Wright 2001; Jang & Johnson 2001), religion as a tool for delinquency prevention (Johnson, Larson, Li, & Jang 2000; Bauldry & Hartmann 2004), denominational differences among delinquent youth (Ellis 2002), the effect of religion on inmate behavior (Clear & Sumter 2002; Pass 1999; Dammer 2002), and the role of religion in offender reintegration and recidivism (Johnson 2004; Johnson, Larson, & Pitts 1997; Young, et al. 1995; O'Connor & Perrey-clear 2002).

Empirical explorations of religion, offenders, prevention, and prison are increasingly available. For example, Scott Camp and his colleagues (2006) identified factors associated with inmates who volunteer to participate in a faith-based prison program and suggested that knowledge of such factors may help us to understand better the differences in prison outcomes, including prison adjustment and post-release success. The most important distinguishing characteristic appears to be that participants are likely to be "seekers" or inmates who have typically only begun their faith journey since entering prison. Camp et al., also seem to suggest that faith-based programs are not only more attractive to seekers, but that future research might demonstrate that these programs facilitate participating seekers in experiencing more positive prison outcomes. Research confirming the effects of faith-based programs would then provide support for expansion of these programs.

Another example of these empirical studies includes Johnson and Larson's (2003) use of a matched design to evaluate the faith-based InnerChange Freedom Initiative program in a Texas prison. Inmates who were eligible for participation in the program were randomly selected from a pool while the control group was composed of inmates who had applied, met the criteria, were initially selected for admission into the program, but randomly assigned to another pre-release facility.

A final example is found in an evaluation of the Kairos Horizon prison ministry program (Lewis 2004). The Kairos Horizon program assists prisoners, ex-prisoners, their fami-

lies, communities, correctional institutions, and state social service agencies in building important social bonds that will lead to reduced recidivism and increased independence.

For many faith-based institutional or community crime prevention or reintegration programs there is little or no difference between them and similar nonreligious programming aimed at the same problems other than denominational affiliation, mission statement and overtly religious name (Harden 2006; Lawrence et al. 2002). For example, tutorial and GED services, providing psychological counseling, job placement, life skills training, arts programming, mentoring, anger and stress management, improving family relations and fatherhood, alcohol and drug treatment, and financial management. Evaluating the impact of faith-based programs in such instances would be no different than evaluating the impact of secular programs (McNabb 2003; Annie E. Casey Foundation 2003; Spring Research Forum 2003). As the Annie E. Casey Foundation (2003) notes:

Faithfulness takes many forms, some of which make the worth of faith-based groups and non-faith groups appear similar. What differentiates the two groups, however, is that [faith-based] programs also focus on faith as a means of transformation and sustained change.

Similarly, in their report on the role of faith-based organizations in the social welfare system, the Spring Research Forum (2003) states that "the faith-based organizations and the nonsectarian organizations really are quite similar to each other." In fact, in many instances, volunteers in faith-based correctional programs are prohibited from sharing their faith beliefs with participants, encouraging church attendance, Bible study, or any other act that might be considered stepping over the fine line prohibiting the mingling of church and state. The activities of the faith-based groups are limited to secular services and secular outcomes.

How might social scientists measure those "successes" that are at the core of the faith itself? Although President Bush's comments on the key elements of his faith-based initiative appear to assume that the "results" to be delivered can be measured and separated from the religious practices of the faith-

based groups, such separation is often impossible (The White House 2002). Indeed, the outcomes of faith-based programming that involve conversion or transformation of individuals are not amenable to empirical measurement.

The problems social scientists run into in studying faith-based programs are not much different from those who attempt to study evil from a scientific perspective. Evil, like faith, is beyond empirical explanation, although numerous social correlates of both evil and faith can be tentatively measured. According to Thomas Kubarych (2005), evil reflects non-empirical value judgments. Others, such as M. Scott Peck (1983), suggest that even though evil includes such things as intentional harms, the use of overt or covert coercion against others, the destruction of both corporeal life and the human spirit, and even narcissistic personality disorders, we still are ultimately unable to apply rigorous scientific research to its true nature.

Paul Knepper (2003) suggests that the exercise of faith is not just another social institution and that an explanation of how social control is exerted by or through faith requires a metaphysical examination, rather than a scientific one. Can social scientists move beyond thinking about faith as little more than another mechanism of social control or as a social variable to be manipulated for the sake of public policy? Knepper argues that an evidence-based approach to faith-based programs and interventions, claiming objectivity and refusing to specify whether religion is true or false, eventually leads to "an argument for the irrelevance of moral beliefs in human activity" (Knepper 2003 343). It may well be, as Knepper contends, that policy makers might do better to seek out the observations and beliefs of the faithful themselves, rather than relying on an

intellectual narrow-mindedness that might be best described as *academic fundamentalism* (italics in original). (Knepper 2003 347)

Faith, grace, and redemption are notions poorly understood by secular social scientists. Even social scientists of faith too easily compartmentalize their desire to adhere to the rigors of the scientific method and seem to forget that the practice of religion involves much more than measurable expressions

of faith (i.e., church attendance, reading the Bible or other religious tracts, or adherence to particular commonly held religious beliefs). Yet the faithful, as well as seekers progressing toward belief, also have little understanding of exactly how faith works. *Not* being able to understand fully is an essential element of faith, and as Knepper (2003 342) suggests, "social scientists cannot know more about any social activity than the participants themselves."

Positive change, even redemptive change, within the individual, whether brought about by traditional rehabilitative treatment techniques or a religious conversion experienced by a seeker participating in a faith-based program, is obviously a desired outcome for those we incarcerate. Such change might, but does not necessarily, lead to a reduced inclination to commit new crimes. This stems in part from the sociolegal construction of crime, which is often, but not always, related to notions of morality. Changes in the moral character of an offender as the result of participation in a faith-based program may not be sufficient to overcome the overwhelming social, economic, and biosocial forces that contribute to individual criminality.

More importantly, a religious conversion of a "seeker" in a community or institutional correctional program, at least a Christian conversion experience, is only the beginning of change in a person. The notion of being "born again" comes from the Bible. In John 3:3, Jesus teaches, "Unless one is born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." In 1 Peter 2:1-2 we read:

Therefore, putting aside all malice and all guile and hypocrisy and envy and all slander, like newborn babes, long for the pure milk of the word, that by it you may grow in respect to salvation.

Rebirth is only the start of learning about grace and how faith may work in one's life. Although the inmate has accepted forgiveness and begins to walk down the path of change, it could be years before there is sufficient clarity in his or her salvation to notice measurable change in behavior. However, even if these internal changes fail significantly to reduce recidivism or immediately correct an offender's behavior, to those of faith they are likely to have profound impact on the per-

son, but again in ways social scientists may find impossible actually to measure.

Do the limitations of social science to measure grace, redemption, and salvation that may occur in offenders mean that we should not support faith-based programs or even expand their availability? Of course not! The argument we are presenting here is that faith in faith-based correctional programs has been incorrectly tied to empirical findings from social science, rather than to the true redemptive changes that occur in the lives of many participants in the programs. Funding for faith-based prison programs, as well as for faith programs in the community, should be provided because offenders or would-be offenders are given opportunities through these programs to have their lives affected and redirected through grace. Rather than make funding available based on positive findings from research, support should be extended because we have faith in these programs and their ability to provide the possibilities of redemptive change.

Should social scientists *not* apply their research tools to the study of religion and faith? On the contrary; as criminologists we have great faith in the ability of social science to explore and explain much of our social world, especially the observable behaviors and expressed attitudes of people of different faiths. Yet as people of faith, we strongly believe that grace and redemption are well-beyond the reaches of scientific inquiry. We also believe faith-based programs give those providing community and institutional correctional programs one more element for bringing about change in the lives of those offenders they work with.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY

On a practical basis, what kind of policy recommendations might emerge from this perspective? We would argue that although community and institutional corrections is largely the business of the state, and one could therefore argue that it is a secular activity, radical change within offenders may be better viewed as a personal commitment. Regarding offenders in prison, it is common for inmates to be subjected to various forms and degrees of punishments and treatments while in prison. Traditionally, treatments have been at the hands of secular psychologists and counselors, operating well-removed

from the potential of religious intervention. And as C. S. Lewis (1970 293) notes, many of those in the field of psychology regard religion as a neurosis. Lewis goes on to imply that the practice of correctional reform and its emphasis on secular change is largely misguided. According to Lewis (1970 292-293):

The practical problem of Christian politics is not that of drawing up schemes for a Christian society, but that of living as innocently as we can with unbelieving fellow-subjects under unbelieving rulers who will never be perfectly wise and good and who will sometimes be very wicked and very foolish.

If Lewis is correct, then it might behoove us to develop correctional policies that recognize the fully legitimate role of religion and religious programming in state-funded correctional systems and programs. It should not be a question of using federal tax dollars to "support" religious enterprises. Instead, we should embrace the potential of what those of faith might bring into our prisons and community-based programs. Radical change, conversion, grace, and redemption are not tools of the state, but are real forces that work in the lives of people. Faith-based programs should be widely permitted and encouraged, largely unfettered by secular administrators and counselors, and permitted to provide the opportunity for offenders to experience the power of God to redeem. Not all will accept the grace and redemption God offers, but we should do all we can to ensure the opportunity for such offers to be made.

One last policy issue needs to be addressed, and it has to do with how the state should respond to offenders who have had conversion experiences while in prison. Should an inmate have a reduced sentence, gaining early release based on our faith in his or her redemption? Should William Payton or other inmates on death row have their death sentences commuted because they testify to encounters with grace? We would argue that decisions about state-imposed sentences should not be tied to inmates' participation in faith-based prison programs or to behavioral changes in participants as a part of their faith journeys, except as those same behaviors would also determine policy with regard to the treatment given non-believers.

In the final moments of "A Good Man is Hard to Find," the grandmother finds grace just before she is shot and dies. Grace and redemption do not preclude facing physical punishment and death. Decisions about sentencing and its reductions or commutations are not in the realm of faith. In Matthew 22:21, Christ says, "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's; render unto God that which is God's." Sentencing is the province of the state, and conversion experiences should not be used to seek changes in sentences. Incarcerating or executing an offender should be tied to questions of innocence and guilt. Good conduct and early release are also matters of state policy determined by observable behavior—available to non-believers as well as believers. People of faith commit crimes, and criminals sometimes become people of faith. Faith-based prison programs should not become involved in managing Caesar's policies on crime and punishment. But Caesar also should not interfere with opportunities for offenders to find grace.

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SOCIAL VARIANCE AS IT EXISTS BETWEEN CONFORMITY AND DEVIANCE: FOLLOWING SOME ADVICE FROM OGBURN

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to introduce social variance as the "stuff" that exists between conformity and deviance in modern sociology. We often over-emphasize the either-or qualities of conformity and deviance, presuming that nothing lies between them. A foot-long ruler is not intended to look at 0 or 12 on a stick, so why do we do that very thing? By borrowing generously from novels, distance measurements, and art, social variance represents aberrations from conformity and from deviance as a new subject in a discipline which has been dedicated to traditional definitions, dualisms, and labeling theory.

It all simply comes down to good guys and bad guys. (Jimmy Buffett, *A Salty Piece of Land*, 2004)

...no venal or meretricious enterprise existed without a community's consent. (James Lee Burke, *Jolie Blon's Bounce*, 2002)

As a civilization, through consensus, we agree on what is normal, but this consensus is as wide as a river, not as narrow as the high wire above a big top. (Dean Koontz, *Life Expectancy*, 2004)

We were discussing duels and when they were, by general consent, permissible, when they were universally condemned, and when they were absolutely required. (Patrick O'Brian, *The Truelove*, 1992)

No one Sampson or I spoke to that morning had seen anything out of the ordinary around Sojourner Truth School. We heard the usual complaints about drug pushers, the zombie-like crackheads, the prossies who work on Eighth Street, the growing number of gang-bangers... *But nothing out of the usual*. (James Patterson, *Jack & Jill*, 1996)

Something can be legal but not moral. (Steve Perry, *Cybernation*, 2001) and

[Joan had] read about religious fanatics who fondled snakes, but a turtle fixation was borderline deviant. (Carl Hiaasen, *Lucky You*, 1997)

INTRODUCING SOCIAL VARIANCE

Novelists often exist on the periphery of core social institutions (Steward 1955) as one type of *peripheral activist*, writing stories

containing ideas about key social and sociological issues, like conformity and deviance, in ways that audiences can access and understand, easily. Singer-songwriter-novelist-actor Jimmy Buffet writes that we often dichotomize social phenomena for reasons of convenience, comprehension, and clarity, and some of those visions can serve as bases for social labeling. James Lee Burke, author of the popular Dave Robicheaux detective/mystery series, reminds us that communities often permit an illegal activity, such as prostitution, to exist because it is deemed useful, just as poverty and unemployment have been called functional (Gans 1971). Dean Koontz states that in a pluralistic society consensus of opinion regarding social morality may be difficult to achieve. Some conduct codes are designed with broad parameters of application, resulting in multiple reactions and sanctions which are differentially enforced. Patrick O'Brian, author of the Jack Aubrey "Master and Commander" naval series, confirms that norms are not universal, needing to be seen in cultural context which Konty (2007) calls defining deviance "sideways" because "...rules are not evenly distributed with and across societies..." (Konty 2006 630). Detective Alex Cross, created by James Patterson, confirms that citizens and public officials have become inured to open and unattended activities which were once considered to be unacceptable, but are now commonplace. Steve Perry, a writer for the Tom Clancy-created *NetForce* series, informs us that legally-accepted behaviors do not always meet the ethical ideals of a community: A city in central Illinois, for example, is the location of a famous adult night club, a strip joint, which was once featured on a *Donahue* television episode. Finally, Carl Hiaasen, who usually writes comic

tales about ecological and exile politics in southern Florida, reminds us that even mildly deviant behavior can have limited social tolerance.

These authors are, of course, novelists with much literary license who are not required to cite data and sources, so we should not treat them authoritatively. Still, they identify collectively a triptych of key themes in sociology: It is often difficult to have unequivocal definitions for conformity and deviance and their applications; we often think in oppositional frames of reference; and we do love our labels. Consequently, we can no longer subscribe to conformity and deviance as depicted in the following way:

Conformity ————— Deviance

Instead, we could think about the range of tolerance for both conformity and deviance as being extremely fluid, existing on sliding scales, in the following visual manners.

Conformity —————> Deviance
 Conformity <————— Deviance

There is, though, yet another way to visualize the issues of conformity and deviance because they, and peoples' responses to them, are not always what they seem to be.

Mathematicians use rulers to measure the infinite number of discrete distances between 0 and 12 on a foot-long stick: the end points are used only as places of reference. Artists, in similar fashion, do not rely solely on the primary colors of red, blue, and yellow in their creations: they blend them, varying the originals, making an endless array of hues. Moralists and sociologists, however, may not yet have reached this same level of pragmatic sophistication because that which is "right" and "wrong," "normal" and "abnormal," "approved" and "disapproved," "conformity" and "deviance," "good guys" and "bad guys," "criminals" and "non-criminals," and "legal" and "illegal" are ideologically charged ideas, sitting at opposite ends of scales of propriety as ideal types. Actual illustrations of them exist somewhere between the opposites, as can be shown visually.

Conformity ———> Variance <—— Deviance

The term *social variance* is introduced here as that which exists somewhere be

tween the polarized ideas of conformity and deviance. This new term was created to reflect a wide range of illustrative legal-but-not-totally-acceptable, illegal-but-not-totally-unacceptable, once-stigmatized-but-now-defined-down, as well as the quirky/odd/idiosyncratic/unusual/strange behaviors which exist in a community. There are often lingering questions of doubt, for example, when others tell us that they are *exconvicts*, *recovering* alcoholics/addicts, *former* mental patients, *seeing* a therapist, *between jobs* right now, or *work-release* convicts like many of my fellow workers; and Chambliss (1973) wonders how the community's people would really view the Saints if their actual delinquency was known, just as he wonders whether or not the Roughnecks could have actually been assigned grades higher than "Cs?"

Much of instructional sociology is dedicated to "buzz word" approaches, encumbered by ideal types and dualistic reasoning, and bound to shopworn illustrations for the phenomena we study. Instead, we need to provide students and ourselves with opportunities and accreditation to play with new approaches, thinking "outside the box," relying on non-traditional sources of inspiration and sponsorship of new research, and there is a sociological precedent for such an approach. It was Ogburn (1930) who said that we should sometimes leave the laboratory, refresh ourselves, and return to work renewed. It can be tempting to look at the world with myopic vision – reality as seen through sociology - rather than reality as seen through the eyes of others. Those "others" such as novelists, have made their own observations which are often molded into their stories. Even though such thoughts are not framed in sociological paradigms, and even though they are presented to a reading public in recreational formats, they should not be denied by sociologists; instead, those ideas can be embraced by us as points of departure for research, and this type of foundation has already been used.

O'Sullivan (2002) discussed his paradigm shift to an appreciation for the conflict approach as he reflected upon his occupational move into a private factory environment. In partial support of his epiphany he cited numerous bodies of recreational literature that depicted the presence of dualistic class structures in diverse places and times, even

though the criteria for membership in the upper- and lower-classes varied considerably. O'Sullivan neither validated or vilified the oppositional classes he encountered in his reading, nor did he attempt to deconstruct or subvert them by questioning their moral hierarchies. Instead, he used them to better understand the types of arguments that conflict theorists use in their dialogues about social disharmony. Similarly, this study makes no efforts to support or deny the foundations for social norms, the inherent tension between conformity and deviance, or the justification for the labels of conformist or deviant. They are beyond the scope of this piece as it is based on public sentiment expressed in literature, which can give us the opportunity to remove ourselves from Ogburn's "laboratories," to venture into new areas of exploration and explanation, making sociology a more comprehensive, comprehensible, accurate, up-to-date, and grounded activity.

If we never extended ourselves beyond ideal types, never used our own experiences as the bases for research, and relied only on existing data, replications, and previous questions and explanations then our discipline would never have grown; and if we do not delve into new realms of curiosity it will grow no further. Our discipline requires dynamic and venturesome explorations, not static convenience. As Konty (2006) argues, we have arrived at a threshold in the history of conformity-deviance studies. We must stay true to such notable scholars as Becker (1963) and Goffman (1963), but we must also strike out in new directions of study. We can do all of this by looking critically at our terminologies, re-evaluating how we envision the subject matter, looking at our labeling process, and by creating new methods of study which would include alternative foundations for research.

Now that the term and the bases for *social variance* have been introduced and visually signified, there is need to explain the expression's origins. There are three.

EXPLAINING THE ORIGINS OF SOCIAL VARIANCE

Several tasks need to be completed in order to successfully explain the origins and utility of the new term. First, there is a need to talk about the fact that the multiplicity of norms in our society makes it almost impossible to

have moral constancy upon which any interpretations of conformity and deviance are based. Second, there is a need to review strengths and weaknesses about dualistic reasoning in order to show how its use can hamper thinking about anything between conformity and deviance. Third, and last, labeling theory, in the broadest sense, will be discussed to show how deviant behavior labels, or stigmas, have fostered traditional thinking; and to show how deviancy has been defined down, and up, at least in terms of labeling, while the original forces which created the labels remain with us.

Social Variance Founded in Social Norms

Introductory textbooks in sociology have a chapter dedicated to the subject of social deviance which usually defines it as behavior patterns which violate social norms. Those same textbooks also contain a chapter which is concerned with the subject matter of culture which identifies prevalent types of norms in a people's lifestyle; and that list of norms is usually comprised of folkways and mores, but may also include laws and social institutions. Socialization into a culture involves the internalization of those social norms in order to do that which is desired, necessary, and normal. Conformity is expected and deviance is not, but may be normal, so deviance receives the disproportional amount of social attention and ethical condemnation. Those norms need to be reviewed in order to see how both conformity and deviance may be more fleeting than rock-solid.

Folkways, mores, and laws exist for different reasons, have different constructions, and are enforced differently. Folkways refer to behaviors which are asked to be followed for reasons of courtesy and respect, and if they are violated the person may be considered to be rude and impolite, but not likely to be formally and publicly sanctioned. Mores are more important expectations because they have societal survival built into them, as in social institutions; but they also exist to protect individual rights, dignity, and property. Laws are codified norms, put into statute forms with formal negative social sanctions applied which are intended to serve as specific punishments for offenders and as warnings to would-be offenders. However, our legal system is complicated and diversified, consisting of civil and criminal statutes, state

and federal jurisdictions, canonical laws, and the military's Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), all having unique responses. For example, the violation of certain canonical laws and UCMJ codes are handled internally, without civilian responses; but, when criminal codes are violated by church members, or when military personnel violate community standards, civil proceedings may result.

Norms, especially laws, are complex things, requiring collective agreements based on shared ethics or morals, constructed consistency, applications, enforcement, interpretation, adjudication, and consequences. At the very least they require several occupational statuses and roles as Becker (1963), O'Sullivan (1994; 2006), Reid (1991), and Weber (1967) have shown, whose occupants are specifically authorized to create, enforce, and interpret rules of conduct as they encounter formal disputes. There are others, outside officialdom, who also have vested interests in the moral-legal well-being of a community who may lack legal franchise, but they can be more influential than powerful.

Symbolic crusaders (Gusfield 1963) or moral crusaders (Becker 1963; Weitzer 2006) are mobilized against something broadly-defined as sinful or harmful, as shown in the temperance movement (Gusfield 1963) or in the movement against prostitution (Weitzer 2006). The crusaders often have a religious foundation to their beliefs and activities, a moral righteousness, but lack the formal ability to impose their wills and beliefs upon others. To repair that deficiency they may align themselves with those who do, forming alliances against something which becomes morally- and legally-harmful, now enforceable.

So, when textbooks state that deviance is defined as rule-breaking behavior there is a gross over-simplification of complex issues which should spawn many questions that are related to the concerns of Chambliss and Mankoff (1976) when they asked "Whose Law, What Order?" An additional list of questions includes: What types of norms? What are the moralities behind those norms? Who made the norms? Who is evaluating the behavior? Who is enforcing the norms? Are conformists obliged, or merely invited, to follow the rules? Does the person who is evaluating, or attempting to enforce, conduct norms

have the authority to do so? When we talk about deviance are we talking about all wrongful behavior, or that which seems to violate those mores and laws which reinforce each other? What are the rewards for conformity, or are they just the absence of punishments? Are these questions meaningful to rule-breakers, or only to us as we ponder them?

Conformity and deviance are not defined simply, and the problem of assignment becomes even more complex when we discuss the presence of groups, sub-cultures, and/or counter-cultures. Conformity to one set of norms may actually violate another, and two sets of examples illustrate this point. Calhoun (1992), Heyl (1979), and Reiss (1987) all studied the sub-cultural world of prostitution which exists as a criminal offense in most locales. However, these three writers have shown that there are strict guidelines that are to be followed by participants, and in none of their works was it shown that the sale of sex was a matter of personal promiscuity, but represented a job or a matter of economic need. Similarly, O'Sullivan (1982 271-274) and Stark (1987) would agree that certain elements of disorganized urban zones tend to be breeding grounds for juvenile delinquency. For example, in subterranean subcultures the incarceration of youths for their offenses is more common than not, and tends to enhance further deviant behavior due to labeling and learning effects (O'Sullivan 1928; Tannenbaum 1938). In such ecologies as these, deviant behavior may be more a matter of predictable normalcy than an abnormality, as such sociologists as Durkheim (1938), Hendershott (2002), and Moynihan (1993), as well as novelists Burke, Patterson, and Hiaasen, would likely agree. The questions "What is normal?" and "What is abnormal?" can no longer be answered easily.

In an important discussion about rural-urban studies, Dewey (1960) stated that the referent points on a continuum need to be clearly articulated to make analyses viable; if those points are phrased in ambiguity then there may be need for abandonment of study or re-clarification of terminology. That which was true then applies to discussions about a conformity-deviance scale, as well. If the definitions for conformity and deviance do not clearly identify which types of norms elicit conformity or deviance, then we need to re

work our explanations. Currently, their definitional bases are squishy, or tenuous, at best, so we need to revise them and consider the utility of an in-between concept such as social variance, and continue to explore its second explanation of origin.

Social Variance Founded in Dualistic Reasoning

The history of sociology is full of oppositional categorizations including types of groups, relationships between people, social organization, societal systems, and other social forms which are too numerous to discuss and unnecessary here. There are also several substantive discussions in sociology which pertain directly to dualistic reasoning about conformity and deviance. We have, for example, dialogues about the normal and the pathological from Durkheim (1938); Lemert (1951) taught us about primary deviance and secondary deviance; Chambliss (1973) introduced us to the Saints and the Roughnecks; and from Becker (1963) we have a two-dimensional look at conduct and social reaction to it. He talks to us about rule-abiding and rule-breaking behaviors, and then about acts that are not perceived as being deviant and those which are. Furthering previous discussions about types of norms there are two which deserve special attention, and they are *prescriptive* norms and *proscriptive* norms.

Prescriptive norms remind us of the need to engage in certain forms of behavior as *thou shalt* types of statements. Proscriptive norms are prohibitive *thou shalt not* dictates. If we follow these commands by doing what we are supposed to do, or by avoiding actions which are forbidden, we are, at least at face value, conforming. If, however, we fail to do as we are told, or if we engage in taboo acts, we are engaging in some form of social deviance if the norms and the acts are strictly defined as being opposites.

With only a few notable exceptions such as the terms suburban, urban, and exurban discussed in relation to a rural-urban division, there are no interstitial *typologies* between oppositional categories as gray is a blend of black and white. To suggest that only extremes exist is to commit a dualistic fallacy of reasoning under the presumption that extreme ends are perfectly constructed, always applicable, and lacking ambiguity. Such issues as *hot or cold* or *fast and slow*

can have quantified variances; but, such concerns as prescriptive and proscriptive norms, conformity and deviance, and conformists and deviants are so loaded with moral and political positioning that absolutist interpretations are problematic, further contributing to a fallacy of reasoning.

This analytic error has special relevance when used in discussions about criminal or delinquent acts, those labeled as criminal or delinquent, and three case studies centering on the reactions of various moral entrepreneurs are used in illustration. Psychologist Mike Roberts, who worked with the San Jose, CA Police Department, reported that police officers divided the world into two distinct categories of people, "assholes and cops" (Meredith 1984 22); and Chambliss (1972) reported that the police and the Roughnecks were always in a state of conflict, but the police often viewed the Saints' acts of delinquency as just "sowing wild oats."

There is yet a third case study illustrating the necessity for a middle-ground social variance, and that involved high-profile "celebrity justice" trials which took place in two of California's court systems. The athlete-actor O.J. Simpson was accused of murdering his ex-wife and an acquaintance of hers. The American public, a labeling body, was split in its opinions about Simpson's criminal status, but the public was not his criminal court jury which officially determined that Simpson needed to be acquitted on both charges, and he was. Thinking dualistically, he was not a criminal, and wrongfully accused. Later, in civil proceedings against him that used different criteria for jury decisions, Simpson was found to be *responsible* for the two deaths, and was held accountable to the victims' surviving families.

Two separate and legitimate court systems placed Simpson at opposite ends of a spectrum, *simultaneously*. Unless a person is straddling a state line border, with one foot each state, it is fairly impossible to be in two places at once. Once again, Dewey is used to assess the possibility of overlapping traits.

Dewey (1960 65) stated that

[t]here is no such thing as urban culture or rural culture but only various culture contents somewhere on the rural-urban continuum.

When we look at the multitude of conduct

norms and their applications we can paraphrase Dewey and conclude that there are no such things as absolute versions of conformity and deviance, but only conducts which exist somewhere on various conformity-deviance continua that elicit diverse reactions from observers.

Social variance is not an attempt to undermine or trivialize our understandings of norms and the social opposites of conformity and deviance. Instead, it enhances them by adding another element and reaction to them. Unfortunately, the actual expression *social variance* and the subsequent term *social variant* contain some ambiguity, also, due to the fluidity of any existing definitions from which they can be derived. Nonetheless, the new term gives us another opportunity to think critically about the over-simplified way that we have traditionally treated the subjects of conformity and deviance. Novelists recognize this deficiency, so it is time for us to do the same.

The first section of explanation for the use of the term social variance stated that the presence of so many types of norms makes it difficult to have universal visions of conformity and deviance. The second section, illustrated with the O.J. Simpson case, affirmed that dualistic thinking may be out-of-place in our understandings of conformity and deviance. It is now time to take a look at the labeling approach in sociology to see why the expression was created.

Social Variance Founded in Social Labeling

So, where are all the old "bad guys," (Buffett 2004), "...drug pushers,...crackheads,...prossies, [and] gangbangers" (Patterson 1996), the "genetically deficient numskull" (Hiaasen 2006), and "Nuts, Sluts, and 'Preverts'" (Lazlos 1985)? They are still here, but they are now identified and perceived differently.

Social labels, such as stigmas for deviant behavior and halos for conforming behavior, are convenient devices for us. They are founded in personal or collective moralities; help us to define who we are and what we believe; and they help us to distinguish between insiders and outsiders so we can separate ourselves from those who do not act, or believe, as we do. People with authority use labels, people with influence use them and people who have no recognized authority or influence use them so frequently and

casually that it is difficult to determine whether or not the labels are justified: and that is a significant problem when discussing the subjects of conformity and deviance.

Whether or not we accept Moynihan's 1973 thesis that we are defining deviancy down, Karmen's 1994 criticism of Moynihan's premise, including the idea that we are defining deviance *up* (Adler & Adler 2006; Karmen 1994), is a personal choice. The fact remains, though, that many old orientations toward deviance and stigmatization, as well as toward conformity and the halo effect, are changing. We are no longer limited to old visions as we have been, and there are several possible causes for these paradigm shifts in the American public.

Once-stigmatized groups have become more publicly open in displays of their lifestyles, perhaps lobbying for new laws protecting them against discrimination. Some provide assistance for participants, such as the old COYOTE organization of prostitutes has done for people in the sex-for-sale industries. Those same groups also rally to the support of other stigmatized groups to increase public awareness with facts rather than impressions.

Popular culture media fare show that people who were once stigmatized are now normalized and humanized – shown to be just like the rest of us. In some cases the deviant behaviors are so commonplace that public officials and police do not have resources, time, or energy to curb them, consigning them a tacit legitimacy. While Hendershott (2002) would argue that making the abnormal normal is due to moral decay, the effect of such changes is that the behaviors, and the people who engage in them, are no longer considered so deviant, better understood, and thereby needing a new place on the old conformity-deviance scale. The behaviors are not gone, but our reactions to them have been modified, perhaps to a *variant* status.

Over the past several decades there has been a specifically identifiable social movement which aided in the de-stigmatization process, removing responsibility from the actor, and that explanation is the medicalization of deviance (Davis 2006; Hafferty 2006). This controversial approach is based on the idea that medical professionals and medical scientists are strategically and advantageously placed to use their expertise in the

diagnosis and treatment of some forms of deviance, treating them as medical rather than social issues. For example, Davis (2006 59) cites findings indicating that such concerns as lunacy, degeneracy, sin, and poverty have been defined as illnesses in need of appropriate social policies, programs, and monies, to "treat" them, as we take doses of medicine for certain types of illnesses. In the same manner homosexuality and alcoholism are now identified as having biological bases, so individuals may no longer be accused of choice-/habit-based behavior or differential socialization. Novelist Susan Strohmeier addresses our obsession with "treatment" drugs in one of her romantic comedy books about Bubbles Yablonsky – hairdresser and reporter:

I considered all the possibilities that could be damning: drugs to treat depression, drugs to reduce the severity of mental illnesses like schizophrenia and frightening diseases such as cancer. There were drugs to treat impotence, embarrassing foot odor, uncontrollable flatulence, kleptomania, rampant swearing, homicidal and suicidal tendencies, menopausal hot flashes and ravenous food cravings. (Strohmeier 2006 280)

Extending this thought, can we treat such norm violations as failure to get an education, failure to vote, failure to shake hands with glove removed, failure to help senior citizens cross streets safely, failure to say "pardon me" when we sneeze in crowds, or, as happened to me in the army, failure to remove a cigarette from my mouth as I saluted an officer, as maladies which can be treated with "wonder drugs?"

There are serious issues with medicalization which reflect upon discussions presented earlier in this article. The first concerns the problem of whether or not medical practitioners or medical scientists have the right, expertise, or authority to serve as social engineers who can define what society needs, which actions are "good" or "bad," and how "bad" acts or "bad" people can be treated or cured? Since studies in social deviance are also studies in social power, we must recall the two questions of Chambliss and Mankoff (1976), and their subsequent derivatives. The answers may be elusive and not held by all.

The next concern revolves around the perception that something was missing from the works of Davis and of Hafferty, and that *something* is a specific and a general theoretical deficiency. If deviance can be defined in medicalized and directional terms, then conformity should be explained similarly, but it is not. Medicalization cannot explain conformity, nor can this approach explain how a person's "backstage" behavior is deviant while public demeanor seems in accord with a group's wishes. Can "bad genes" or the absence of a "scruples gene" explain corporate executives' uses of slick accounting methods to steal megabucks from unsuspecting stockholders and company employees?

Fortunately, we have a long explanatory history which has tackled such critical issues as the origins and amplification of conduct norms (Buckley 1967; Quinney 1970); the possible results of labeling (Becker 1963; Goffman 1963; Lemert 1951; and Tannenbaum 1938); as well as the role of differential opportunity and its directional influence (Cloward & Ohlin 1960). Different types of personal epiphanies are documented by Denzin (1989) and by O'Sullivan (1999), and by combining them with symbolic renunciations (Lambert & Lambert 1964) we can envision how volitional changes in peoples' life can occur, such as transitions from lifestyles of alcohol abuse or sinfulness to ones of sobriety or salvation (Denzin 1986, 1987; O'Sullivan 1999). We can also rely on discussions of a thrill-seeking element in personality theory (Farley 1986); the impact of such values as attachment, commitment, involvement, and beliefs in a conformity-deviance configuration (Hirschi 1969); and the possibility of lifestyle drift (Matza 1964). The paradigm of adaptation to social goals and their means of achievement (Merton 1967) is a sociological staple; just as analyses of differential association and role learning (Sutherland & Cressey 1978) are required reading for us. Finally, we have the presence of subterranean values (Matza & Sykes 1961) which might explain corporate leaders' fiduciary greed and criminal activity. Collectively, these other explanations attend to many of the issues about conformity and deviance which biomedical accounts cannot accomplish alone.

There is no specific theory that can explain how socially-variant acts occur; nor is

there any specific type of norm which allows us to say which acts are indicative of social variance. Instead, social variance represents a reaction to, and a refinement upon, traditional ways of looking at social norms, oppositional ways of thinking, and social labeling, as novelists have already shown is possible

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In a perfect world all of our norms are clearly defined, applied, and have equal consequences, but such is not the case as novelists clearly show to readerships wider than sociology's audiences. Novelists are not required to collect data as they begin their stories, but they may use them, and public perceptions, as they depict discrepancies between the ideal and the real.

Conformity and deviance are created in the very process of norm construction which dictate what we should and should not do. If we adhere to norms of conformity we are called conformists, and if we violate them we are called deviants, or worse. There are so many formal and casual norms, covering so many areas of jurisdiction that it is impossible to identify them all, and more are constructed every day in various legislatures. Further, not all of them are of equal consequence, so there will be differential responses to them, as is the case of sanctions applied to misdemeanor criminal offenses compared to those for felony criminal offenses. All of this suggests that our traditional orientations to conformity and deviance are more flexible than customary, so there is need to reassess how we view the traditional conformity-deviance continuum, because old ideas may no longer be applicable. *Social variance* is not intended to replace our understandings about conformity and deviance; instead, it adds to them.

Sociologists Adler and Adler, Karmen, Konty, Moynihan, and Lazlos tell us that the discipline and the subject matter of sociology are continually changing - new paradigms are created, new areas of interest are emerging, and the roles of sociologist-academician, sociologist-as-participant, sociologist-as-practitioner, and sociologist-as-reporter are changing regularly. When we write that former "deviants" are being redefined and studied anew, and when we create new ways to assess social conformity and deviance, we should consider ourselves as

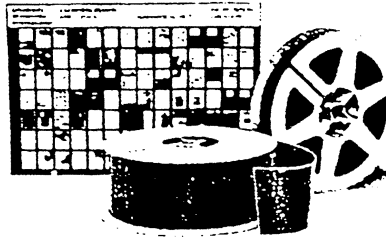
being a part of the change process, and talk to our audiences about information which peripheral activists already know and share with their followers.

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WORK AND FAMILY CONFLICT: EXPECTATIONS AND PLANNING AMONG FEMALE COLLEGE STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

Young women today anticipate full engagement in both career and family. The competing demands of family and work often result in work-family conflict. We administered a survey to 124 female college students exploring the importance they place on work and family roles, their expectations for combining these roles, and their attitudes toward planning for multiple roles. The results suggest that although college women are expecting to have demanding careers and involved family lives, they are not planning realistically in order to facilitate the combining of career and family roles with a minimum of conflict.

Increasing numbers of young women have extended their professional aspirations to include high-level careers in fields traditionally dominated by men. They have embraced the message that they can have it all – a demanding career and a rich family life. Research has shown that high work involvement coupled with high family involvement is positively related to work-family conflict (Cinamon & Rich 2002a). Work-family conflict has been linked to physical and mental health risks, diminished performance of employee and parenting roles, absenteeism, turnover, and reduced life satisfaction (Adams, King, & King 1996; Greenhaus & Beutell 1985; Grzywacz & Bass 2003). Hewlett (2007) estimates that two thirds of highly qualified women have left the workforce or are underemployed. Mason and Ekman (2007) found that many ambitious professional women upon having children enter a “second tier” within their professions and are unlikely to regain their original career status. Recent studies suggest work-family conflict explains why increasing numbers of educated professional women are choosing to “opt out” of the workforce altogether (Belkin 2003; Stone 2007).

In exploring young women's career and family goals it is necessary to examine how young women are planning for the combination of work and family roles in their lives. In a study of the career decision-making processes of young women, Gerson (1985) found that young women who were focused on having a career and family avoided assessing the contradictions inherent in such desires. Most young women failed to consider potential problems of combining career and family. Many of their family and work decisions were based on limited information concerning future consequences. How-

ever, Hewlett (2002) has found that, in order to successfully combine career and family, women must be highly intentional in their planning for each.

The purpose of this study was to explore the importance female college students place on work and family roles, the expectations they have for combining the two roles, and their attitudes toward planning for multiple roles. This study is unique because it examines the relationship between current awareness of work-family conflict and planning for the future. A better understanding of young women's expectations may yield strategies to alleviate potential work-family conflict, allowing more women to achieve greater success in both work and family roles. This research is important because the forfeiture of the potential contribution of talented and skilled women comes at considerable individual and social cost. Due to the changing demographics of the workforce and organizational remodeling driven by global expansion and competition, it is crucial that female talent be better utilized (Hewlett 2007).

ROLE IMPORTANCE

Determining the importance of certain identities is the first step toward exploring expectations of future life role performance. Cinamon and Rich (2002a) examined the importance professional men and women placed on life roles and identified three distinct profiles: 1) “family” – those who placed high importance on the family role and low importance on the work role; 2) “work” – those who placed high importance on the work role and low importance on the family role; and 3) “dual” – those who attributed high importance to both the work and family roles. In a later study of 126 married men and 87 married women who were professionally em

ployed, Cinamon and Rich (2002b) found gender differences in the attribution of importance of these roles. The profile distribution of women was: 44.2 percent Family, 16.3 percent Work, and 39.5 percent Dual, and the profile distribution of men was: 32.5 percent Family, 33.3 percent Work, and 34.2 percent Dual. That such a large proportion of women rated both work and family roles as highly important indicates a shift away from the traditional ranking of family roles as higher in importance than work roles for contemporary American women.

Combining Work and Family Roles

Contemporary college women expect to have both a career and a family. A survey of female college students at a large northeastern university revealed that many held high occupational aspirations coupled with strong commitments to marriage and family life (Moen 1992). These women had ambitions to be successful doctors, lawyers, and executives as well as to marry and have as many as three children. A study of senior college women from three institutions reported that 94 percent indicated the importance of having a career and almost all of these women also planned to have children (Hoffnung as cited in Weitzman 1994). Baber and Monaghan (1988) explored the expectations of college women and found that all of the women in their sample planned careers, rather than jobs, and more than 97 percent expected to have children. Women have more educational opportunities than ever before. They represent a higher percentage of students enrolled in business, law, medical schools, and other graduate programs (Gilbert 1993). With such a substantial investment in education, young women appear to be unwilling to sacrifice career for family and view occupational work in professional fields as central to their self-identity.

Women's increasing interest in participation in occupational roles has not been accompanied by a decreasing interest in participation in family roles. Rather, many women anticipate role expansion – adding involvement in career roles to traditional family roles. In Spade and Reese's (1991) survey of 320 male and female undergraduates 99 percent reported that having a good marriage and family was important with no gender difference. Both men (94%) and women (93%) also expected work to be important. While

these undergraduate men and women had similar career aspirations, factor analysis measuring orientation toward household activities found performing household roles was significantly less important for men (mean = -.22) compared to women (mean = .25). Fiorentine (1988), Machung (1989), and Burke (1994) also found that college women who had career aspirations equivalent to men anticipated having responsibility for the majority of housework and childcare.

Studies indicate several variations of dual-earner families that range from traditional/conventional to role-sharing (Gilbert 1993). In a traditional lifestyle, although both partners may be employed the woman takes primary responsibility for household and childcare tasks while the man's primary role is that of financial provider. In a role-sharing lifestyle, both men and women are equally active in family and career domains (Gilbert, Dancer, Rossman & Thorn 1991). Gilbert's studies of college students indicate a possible shift away from expectations of a traditional lifestyle. Gilbert found that both undergraduate women and men were moderately committed to egalitarian role-sharing marriages.

Work-Family Conflict

Women, as well as men, experience distress when work ambitions and family responsibilities clash. Efforts to balance the competing demands of both family and work frequently result in work-family conflict. Kahn et al. (as cited in Duxbury & Higgins 1991 19) described work-family conflict as a

form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect.

Participation in one role is made more difficult by participation in another role.

Several studies have shown that women experience more work-family conflict than men (Cinamon & Rich 2002b; Hochschild & Machung 1989). Stanfield's (1985) research on women in dual career families identified four determinants of role strain: time management, childcare, division of household labor, and guilt. Although many men in dual career families have increased the amount of household responsibilities they assume, most often women still bear the major

responsibility for such household management activities as cleaning, cooking, caring for the children, and shopping (Allen & Hawkins 1999). One of the main sources of role strain for women is childcare, including providing and/or arranging for childcare as well as formulating a philosophy of childrearing. Wives in dual career families bear a disproportionate share of the responsibility for childcare (Hochschild & Machung 1989). Guilt is experienced when women feel they cannot meet all the demands and pressures of their commitments.

According to Moen (1992), there are two types of strategies women use in their attempts to maintain their standards of work and family identities: accommodating work to family and accommodating family to work. Tactics for accommodating work to family include scheduling work and family sequentially, remaining employed but reducing number of hours worked, and selection of less demanding occupations. Tactics for accommodating family to work include having fewer children, delaying childbearing, altering child-rearing ideologies, and purchasing time-saving products and services. Because work arrangements are highly structured and more resistant to change, most women focus on altering domestic organization, decisions and beliefs to better adapt to work demands (Gerson 1985).

An important question is whether young women who place a high value on both work and family involvement are likely to anticipate future role conflict. Prior research found that college women expressed low concern about future role conflict (Alpert, Richardson, Perlmutter, & Shutzer 1980; McBain & Woolsey 1986). However, recent research has reflected the tendency for women to express concern about future work-family conflict. Luzzo (1995) found that over 60 percent of undergraduate women interviewed anticipated difficulties juggling the demands of work and family roles. In Burke's (1994) research 55 percent of the undergraduate and graduate business students interviewed agreed that combining work and family roles would often be difficult.

Plans for Combining Work and Family Roles

Research indicates that most women place increasing importance on work goals, the importance of family roles has not lessened, and the conflicts among the two roles

have not diminished (Phillips & Imhoff 1997). Historically women have adopted a contingency approach to the career/family dilemma, choosing a traditionally female occupation which they attempt to arrange around their family responsibilities (Angrist & Almquist 1975). Hackett and Betz (1985) found that women have lower expectations for many work related behaviors and thus fail to fully realize their potential in career endeavors. Other researchers (Robinson & McIlwee 1991) have found that despite comparable educational qualifications and occupational attitudes, women have not achieved levels of occupational status comparable to men. The failure of many women to make full use of their talents and abilities in professional pursuits results in losses both to themselves and to a society that needs their skills (Betz 1994).

Men and women have been found to approach career planning from different perspectives. Men more often used a "plan-ahead" strategy, specifying career goals and methods necessary to achieve them, while women have used a more short-term approach (Stewart, Stewart, Friedley, & Cooper 1990). Women have been found to plan ambitious careers but remain unclear about the specifics. Gerson (1985) found that women who focused on career goals, but also wanted to have families, avoided assessing the contradictions inherent in such desires. These women chose to deal with potential problems of combining both roles by not addressing them.

According to Spade and Reese (1991), the undergraduate women in their study are bound to face conflict because they have failed to consider the level of labor required to realize their plans for work and family roles. The women Orenstein (2000) studied expressed contradictory ideas about combining work and family roles. Women with high career aspirations revealed hopes that by the time they had children, the problem would disappear. Baber and Monaghan's (1988) study of college women indicated that their career expectations seemed to exist in a separate sphere from family expectations. Their plans for combining roles did not take into account current workforce policies and practices. They also expected that spouses would assume equal responsibility for parenting and household chores, in spite of research showing that women consistently

bear an unequal burden for family work (Seward, Yeatts, & Stanley-Stevens 1996). These women's plans seemed to be based on a foundation of unrealistic optimism (McKenna 1993). Many seemed to believe that if they are sufficiently organized and flexible they can manage both roles with few problems. However, anticipating the realities of a multiple-role lifestyle would make it easier to cope with the inevitable difficulties when they occur. These studies show that many women have not planned adequately to overcome potential conflicts.

METHOD

Sample

The sample consists of 124 female undergraduates, aged 18 to 25, and enrolled in a large public university in the southwest in 2004. Participants were primarily single (89.6%) and of middle to upper-middle class status; 19.4 percent had family income between \$50,000 and \$74,999, 12.1 percent had family income between \$75,000 and \$100,000 and 13.7 percent had family income in excess of \$100,000. Sixty-five percent of the women were white, 13 percent were African-American, and 8 percent were Hispanic.

Procedures

Data were obtained through the use of a 46 item questionnaire distributed to students in four sociology classes, including introductory and senior level courses. The questionnaire included questions regarding career goals, plans for marriage and children, importance of work and family roles, anticipated work-family conflict, expected lifestyle, attitudes toward planning for multiple roles, and demographic traits.

Indicators of Work-Family Conflict

Anticipated Work-Family Role Conflict:

This variable refers to foreseeable difficulties related to combining work and family roles. Participants responded to two statements, "How much conflict do you expect from work and family demands?" and "How much difficulty do you anticipate you will have combining work and family roles?" Participants assessed their expected levels of difficulty as "none," "some," or "a great deal."

Expected Lifestyle: This variable reflects the participants' expectations for combining work and family roles. Eight statements from

the Orientations Toward Occupational-Family Integration scale (Gilbert et al 1991) were used to assess participants' expectations for combining roles using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1) not at all to 5) very much. Participants evaluated statements such as

I see myself discontinuing work while my children are young.

and

I see myself and my spouse both employed full time and to a great extent sharing the day-to-day responsibilities for raising the children.

Participants received scores on two scales – traditional and role sharing. High scores on the traditional scale indicate an endorsement of the view that although both partners may be employed the woman should take primary responsibility for household and childcare tasks, while the man's primary role should be that of financial provider. High scores on the role sharing scale indicate an endorsement of the view that both men and women should be equally active in family and career domains. Internal consistency coefficients and test-retest reliabilities (one month intervals) reported by the instrument developers exceeded .76 for both scales (Gilbert et al 1991). Correlations between the two scales were low and negative, supporting the validity of the OOFI and suggesting that respondents do not generally see themselves as committing to both lifestyle choices.

Attitudes Toward Planning for Multiple Roles: This variable encompasses the amount of planning for work, career, and role combination that the participant has already undertaken. The degree to which plans and strategies have been considered indicates realistic or unrealistic attitudes toward multiple-role planning. Eight statements from the Attitudes Toward Multiple Role Planning Scale (ATMPR; Weitzman & Fitzgerald 1996) were used to assess attitudes toward planning for future roles using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1) strongly disagree to 5) strongly agree. Participants evaluated statements such as

Table 1: Preferences for Life Role, Career and Children

	Percent	# of Cases
Attribution of Life Role Importance		
Place higher importance on work role	21.8	27
Place higher importance on family role	7.2	9
Place high importance on both roles	71.0	88
Choice of Career		
Non-traditional	63.7	79
Traditional	14.5	18
Undecided	21.8	27
Plans for Children		
None	15.3	19
One	10.5	13
Two	52.4	65
Three	19.4	24
More than three	2.4	3

N=124

I'm very clear how to plan for combining my career and family responsibilities.

and

I have little or no idea of what being both a career person and a parent will be like.

High ATM RP scores indicate a more realistic approach toward multiple role planning. Across several samples, Weitzman and Fitzgerald (1996) reported adequate internal consistency of the scale (alphas ranging from .68 to .84). The authors reported results of a confirmatory factor analysis that supported the validity of the scale.

Factors Associated with Work-family Conflict

Work-family Role Importance: This variable reflects the relative importance the participant places on work and family roles. A participant may place a high priority on the family role, the work role, or she may place a high value on both roles. Ten statements from the Life Role Salience Scale (Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby 1986) were used to assess participants' attribution of importance to work and family roles using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1) disagree to 5) agree. Participants evaluated statements such as

It is important to me that I have a job/career in which I can achieve something of importance.

and

I expect to be very involved in the day-to-

day matters of raising my children.

Across various adult samples, the scales have shown an average internal consistency ranging from .79 to .94 (Amatea et al 1986). The authors report positive correlations of the scale with behavioral career and role involvement indices which support construct validity.

Career goals: Career goals were assessed by an open-ended question asking the participant to list her specific career goal. Occupations were coded for traditionality using data from the United States Department of Labor that shows the percentage of women and men in a wide range of occupations (United States Department of Labor, 2000). An occupation was coded as traditional if more than 66 percent of the employees were female. An additional question asked if the participant had had a chance to speak to someone who was performing the job the participant hoped to obtain.

Marriage and motherhood: Four questions assessed marital and motherhood plans. Participants were asked if they were married, if they planned to get married, and if they planned to have children. They were asked how many children they would like to have and at what age they would like to have their first child.

RESULTS

Seventy-one percent of participants place a high value on both work and family roles. When asked to specify a future career, 63.7 percent listed a non-traditional career, 14.5 percent listed a traditional career, and 21.8 percent were undecided (Table 1). Most of

Table 2: Anticipated Work-Family Conflict by Importance of Life Role

Role Importance	Anticipated Work-Family Conflict			# of Cases
	None Percent	Some Percent	A Great Deal Percent	
Place high importance on both roles	13.6	69.3	17.1	88
Do not place high importance on both roles	44.4	41.7	13.9	36

Gamma = -.451

Chi-Square = 14.084: significant at .001

the non-traditional careers listed could be classified as very demanding and included such choices as physician, lawyer, law enforcement agent, research scientist, and political leader.

Almost all participants expressed plans to marry. About 85 percent plan to have children, and more than 74 percent plan to have two or more. When asked at what age they would like to have their first child, responses ranged from 20 to 36, with a mean age of 27.6. The attitude toward delayed childbearing, which began among educated white women in the early 1970s (Baber & Monaghan 1988), appears to be continuing, with 25.7 percent of participants planning to have their first child after age 30.

Although 71.6 percent of participants who place high importance on both work and family roles expect to have a role-sharing lifestyle, 44.3 percent of them responded positively to the statement

I see myself working full time and pretty much taking primary responsibility for maintaining the household and raising the children.

Similarly, all of the participants to whom both roles were important agreed with the statement

I expect to be very involved in the day-to-day matters of raising my children.

Given the importance of both work and family roles to this sample of college women, we would expect them to anticipate some conflict between these roles. Over 86 percent of participants for whom both roles were important anticipate at least some level of work-family conflict (Table 2). One factor which might affect the expectation of conflict between work and family roles is the experience of the participants' mothers. More than

79 percent of the mothers of the participants to whom both roles were important worked, and 75 percent of them also performed the majority of the household chores and child-care. It seems reasonable to suggest that many participants saw their mothers experience difficulty managing both their work and family roles.

The college women in this study who place high importance on both work and family roles did not have a realistic orientation toward planning for these multiple roles. According to participants' scores on the Attitudes Toward Multiple Roles scale, only 11.4 percent of participants for whom both roles are important have a very realistic approach toward planning for combining work and family roles. Furthermore, 30.7 percent agreed with the statement

I don't worry about managing my career and family responsibilities because I'm sure it will sort itself out sooner or later.

This supports Gerson's (1985) findings that college women avoid the issue of planning for multiple roles. Additionally, over 55 percent of the participants for whom both roles are important agreed with the statement

I have little or no idea of what being both a career person and a parent will be like.

While 60.2 percent said they have had a chance to talk with someone who is doing the job they hope to do in the future, and 93 percent have had some experience with children, usually babysitting, it is clear that they are not seriously planning how to combine the work and family roles they desire in the future.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study suggests that most college women do not engage in serious planning

regarding their expectations for combining career and family roles, and those who do plan, wait until they are married. They seem to be unaware of the potential difficulties they may face in the future. The college women in this sample did not have a realistic orientation regarding how to blend their career and family goals.

The practical implications for failing to adequately plan for combining involved motherhood with a demanding career are wide-ranging. They affect the women themselves and their families, as well as society in general. The direct costs to women include lower earnings due to underemployment, lower cumulative earnings from periodic absences from the workforce, as well as frustration due to thwarted career goals.

And, families bear the brunt of unresolved work-family conflict as higher levels of stress affect all family members. Effective planning for both roles would enable women to meet the challenges of a multiple role lifestyle, thus allowing them to achieve success in both roles with less distress.

Plans for a role-sharing lifestyle assume a partner who is also committed to sharing equal responsibility for parenting and household work. Although men are increasingly expressing egalitarian beliefs (Gilbert 1993), these values are not yet reflected in their daily participation in family work (Seward, Yeatts, Seward, & Stanley-Stevens 1993). Children in dual-career families are affected as well. As Gilbert's (1993) research shows, young adults' views of integrating work and family life are affected by their family experiences. The lack of successful role models has an impact on the future plans and choices of children in all types of families. Another cause for insufficient planning comes from corporate and social policies based on outmoded gender role stereotypes, employment models, and cultural values (Friedman & Greenhaus 2000). And, as a result, employers face considerable turnover costs when professional women leave their jobs. Retention of qualified women is an ongoing concern of firms committed to diversity and the advancement of women. Society suffers an immeasurable loss from the underutilized talent and expertise of educated women. A network of social, political, and economic support is necessary to reduce the conflict between family and work.

It is as yet unknown to what extent these

young women's expectations will be realized. It is impossible to ascertain from this study how these women can be so confident about their ability to have a demanding career while at the same time being very involved in mothering. Further research into the specifics of how these young women envision handling the inherent conflicts between career and family is necessary. What explains their lack of planning even though they seem to be aware of the potential for difficulty? McKenna's (1993) research into unrealistic optimism may provide a clue. McKenna found that the vast majority of individuals are optimistic that their chances of experiencing a positive event are better than those of most people. This concept might explain why so many participants in this study (63.6%) agreed with the statement

I'm not going to worry about how to combine my career with my family until I'm actually involved with both those roles.

Yet, waiting until one is actually involved in both these roles is far too late if one hopes to implement effective strategies for combining the two (Hewlett 2002).

At first glance, work-family conflicts appear to be the result of individual choice. However, a closer look finds that there are structurally imposed constraints that give rise to them. Women currently make up nearly half of all professional school graduates, yet their number at the top of their fields remains disproportionately low (Stone 2007). If work-family conflict causes women with high levels of education and training to leave the workforce or segue into the "second tier," the status quo is continually reproduced, leaving little hope for needed structural change.

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ROLE EXPECTATIONS AMONG FIRST TIME EXPECTANT FATHERS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This study explores how expectant fathers conceptualize the role of father and how the domains of the role shape men's attitudes and decision-making processes regarding work and family life. Twenty-five first time expectant fathers were surveyed via a questionnaire regarding their thoughts about work and family in the spring of 2000. Fourteen of those fathers agreed to also be interviewed. All of the men held the concept of "breadwinner" as the highest priority regarding roles for fathers. The majority of men expressed the belief that childcare and domestic duties should be shared equally if both parents worked full time. However, the interviews revealed that only 2 of the 14 actually put those beliefs into action, describing truly egalitarian households.

Researchers and policy makers have been giving work and family issues considerable attention in recent years (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter 2000). Most of the focus on decision making regarding the process of balancing work and family has been on women (Haas 1999). When fathers are the focus, most information on men's beliefs comes from after-the-fact inquiries about their roles and responsibilities as fathers (Tanfer & Mott 1997; Plantin, Manson & Kearney 2003). The current study focuses on men's thought processes about fathering when they are often beginning to make decisions regarding work and family during their wife's first pregnancy. Such processes include questions such as: How do expectant fathers conceptualize the role of father or view their role responsibilities in the child-rearing process? How do men intend to balance their paid work demands with their father role? And how do the social contexts of work and family affect fathers' decision making?

ROLES ASSOCIATED WITH BEING A FATHER

In the mid twentieth century a number of trends began to transform the family. One trend was the redefining of parenting roles in both the masculine and the feminine consciousness (Tanfer & Mott 1997). The "traditional" role of the father in the 20th century included the domain of breadwinner or provider and in the last few decades, the domains of playmate and nurturer have been emphasized more (Atkinson & Blackwelder 1993). Less change has taken place regarding what both men and women consider a man's responsibilities. These include financial provision, financial planning, decisions

about work outside the family, and when to initiate lovemaking (Cowan & Cowan 1988).

Greater numbers of women entering the workforce contributed to a trend toward emphasizing more egalitarian ideas regarding gender roles in the family, including housework and childcare (Pleck & Pleck 1997). Although comparisons are difficult, fathers appear to spend more time today with their children than fathers did in the early part of the 20th century (Seward, Yeatts, Seward, & Stanley-Stevens 1993; Seward, Yeatts, & Stanley-Stevens 1996; Lamb & Tamis-LeMonda 2004). The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce found married fathers to be spending 24.3 hours per week doing things with and for their children, up five hours each week compared to a similar 1977 study (Bond, Galinsky, & Swanberg 1998). Yet parents still tend to follow more gender traditional lines, rather than egalitarian ones (Sanchez & Thomson 1997). Today's average father is responsible for a small percentage of work in the home compared to women (Pleck & Masciadrelli 2004). Even when both parents are working full time, the mother is responsible for the majority of the household duties and the father "helps out" (Leslie, Anderson, & Branson 1991; Seward et al 1993, 1996).

In an effort to describe what shapes a man's identity as a new father, Tanfer and Mott (1997) identified three critical roles. Ranked hierarchically, they are the roles of paid worker, husband, and father. Identifying the same roles, Hyde, Essex, and Horton (1993) noted that not all men evaluate the importance of these roles in the same way. Men who relate more to the paid worker role assign that a high priority, while those who see more merit in the father role tend to place

greater emphasis on the domains of companionship and nurturing (Lamb & Lewis 2004).

The Role of Paid Worker

Sanchez and Thomson (1997) explain that a significant proportion of men see themselves first as breadwinners and second as helpers with family responsibilities, with no primary roles in the home (cf., LaRossa & LaRossa 1981; Gerson 1993; Thompson 1993; Haas 1996, 1999). Some groups stress the domain of authority within the father role as the father's primary responsibility. Protestant evangelicals generally view men as fathers and husbands as being the head of the family and this authority is based on being responsible for providing for the material welfare of the family (Ellison & Bartkowski 2002). Even when the husbands were not the breadwinners, they often remained the symbolic head of the family (Hare-Mustin, Bennett, & Broderick 1983). Perry-Jenkins and Crouter (1990) found that fathers who felt that their primary domain of the father role was being the provider did fewer of the tasks traditionally viewed as feminine (e.g., household tasks). Maume and Mullin (1993) found that men consider child care a woman's responsibility and therefore do not show stress when childcare responsibilities clash with work responsibilities. As fathers add family role domains to their work role domains they experience new stressors, (Berry & Rao 1997; Rosen 1991) while their wives experience stress reduction (Scarr, Phillips, & McCartney 1989). However, with regard to family responsibilities, like childcare, husbands do not necessarily do what their wives prefer (LaRossa & LaRossa 1981; Belsky 1985; Cowan & Cowan 1988; Hochschild 1989; Kalmuss, Davidson, & Cushman 1992; Belsky & Kelly 1994; Pleck & Masciadrelli 2004).

A father's own socialization and the role-modeling of his parents also influence his conception and practice of fatherhood (Daly 1995; Tanfer & Mott 1997; Beaton, Doherty, & Rueter 2003; Masciadrelli, Pleck, & Stueve 2006). Men are affected by socialization factors, including a lack of preparation for their roles as fathers (Pleck & Masciadrelli 2004). The socialization of young boys does not focus on parenting skills. So as males become fathers, they tend to look to early role models for guidance, usually a traditional father who

focused on breadwinning responsibilities (LaRossa 1986). Exclusive exposure to this type of role model can lead to diminished involvement in their children's upbringing (Jordan 1997). More highly involved fathers tend to look to peers as role models rather than their own fathers (Masciadrelli et al 2006). Men's family of origin experiences plus later relationships and life events all contribute to an anticipatory or "working model" for fathers (Bretherton 1993).

The amount and type of employment leave men typically take after they become fathers reflects their primary identification as good providers derived from their paid worker role. Taking time off from work for the arrival of a new baby is more difficult for some new fathers because of an even greater fear of the financial and work sacrifices involved than for fathers who have already had children. For most men, taking such a leave is not part of their conceptions of being a father. Some men view taking time off as being uncommitted to their job, or as un-masculine (Alexander 1990). National surveys that collected systematic data in 1984 and 1990 found that only around 1 percent of eligible fathers officially took parental leave (Pleck 1993; 1997) but most fathers do take at least some time off from work. In a 1990-91 study, 91 percent of the fathers studied took at least two days off at the time of the birth of their child with the mean length being 5.0 days (Hyde et al 1993). The reasons given for taking leave were first, to take care of the needs of the baby, and second, to meet the needs and desires of the wife or partner. Thirty-three percent of the fathers rated financial considerations as the third most important factor in determining their leave. Twelve percent of men interviewed indicated that they feared losing their job as a result of taking time off (Hyde et al 1993). In a 1998 study, only 45 percent of the employed fathers reported taking leave but their mean of 12 days is close to twice as long as averages reported in earlier studies (Seward, Yeatts, Amin, & DeWitt 2006). Still, these fathers' average leave was less than one-fifth as long as the mothers' leave whose average was 68 work days. Most fathers did not view the days taken off as parental leave and few (19%) fathers said their leave was taken under the auspices of the Family Medical Leave Act. Fulfilling the provider domain or being the breadwinner was paramount for most fathers. Two of the

most common reasons that fathers gave for either not taking leave, or for not taking all the leave available to them, were a decrease in the family's income (39%) and possible difficulties at work (39%). Getting paid leave so they could still be providing was a key determinant of which fathers took leave. Most fathers (74%) only took leave when it was paid. None of the fathers' leave time was paid from a source specifically set aside for parental leave; the vast majority used vacation time (61%), personal days (17%), or sick leave (11%). Fathers in Hyde et al.'s (1993) study followed a similar pattern with 51 percent taking vacation days, 44 percent taking "other days" including personal days, and 17 percent taking sick days.

Both men and women often become more traditional in the division of labor after a baby is born. Fathers tend to take on more of the breadwinning responsibilities, while mothers take on more of the household responsibilities (LaRossa & LaRossa 1981; Sanchez & Thomson 1997; Christiansen 1998; Lamb & Lewis 2004). Once a child is born, fathers tend to work more and mothers tend to reduce their paid work hours or stop working outside of the home (Jordan 1997). Sometimes husbands and wives make decisions for the wife to reduce her working hours on a temporary basis, but then they become caught up in these traditional roles and she does not return to her pre-maternity work schedule (Lamb & Lewis 2004). A wife may find her husband verbally supportive of her commitment to employment but often does not find him as supportive when it comes to rethinking household obligations (Sanchez & Thomson 1997; Deutsch 1999).

While expectant fathers had higher career aspirations than their counterparts who were not about to become fathers, those expectations were not always met. Waite, Haggstrom, and Kanouse (1986) speculate that spending more time with their families and less time on the job, or trading off job status for jobs with current high earnings but less future potential may be the reasons the expectations are not met. In another study, fathers were asked to consider how being a father had affected their career. Over two-thirds (69%) of the fathers reported missing work to address certain needs of their children such as taking care of minor medical emergencies, school related activities, and extracurricular activities, including sports events

(Berry & Rao 1997). Although less frequent, some fathers reported taking their children to doctor appointments because their schedules are more flexible than their working wives' schedules (Berry & Rao 1997).

The Role of Husband

Pleck (1997) noted that the domain of being a good provider remained an important component of male identity in the 20th century, but couples are moving toward dividing their role responsibilities equally (Seward et al 1996; Christiansen 1998; Rost 2002). This increased focus on shared parenting is what Tanfer and Mott (1997) referred to as emphasizing the role of husband. One explanation for this division along egalitarian lines is that mothers and fathers are likely to receive similar job satisfaction (Jordan 1997). Additionally, division of labor prior to parenthood has some influence on post-parental divisions of labor. If parents share equally in work prior to parenthood, there is less of a pull toward gender-traditional division of labor after the child is born (Sanchez & Thomson 1997).

When fathers do participate more fully in childcare and household duties, it is thought to be due in part to gender politics and reevaluated traditionalism in relationships (Rost 2002). More frequently fathers' participation comes out of a growing cultural movement that looks upon non-gender specific parenting favorably (Sanchez & Thompson 1997; Lamb & Tamis-LeMonda 2004). Because men still often view themselves as parenting helpers, a more equal division of family responsibilities may depend on the couple's rethinking traditional expectations (Matta & Knudson-Martin 2006). This appears most easily done when the couple's pre-parental attitudes were less traditional and more egalitarian (Sanchez & Thomson 1997).

In a study of dual-earner couples, Baruch and Barnett (1986), found that increased participation in childcare by fathers was related to higher self-esteem and to feeling more competent and satisfied in their parental roles. However, these fathers also reported having too little time for their careers and feeling that their family responsibilities interfered with their work. A more recent study of dual-earner parents by Feldman, Sussman, and Zigler (2004) found that when fathers took longer leaves they were more pre

occupied with their infants and exhibited higher family salience than fathers who took short or no leaves.

As the definition of fatherhood begins encompassing child-centered activities, a greater amount of involvement in housework follows (Coltrane 1989, 2000; Sanchez & Thomson 1997). A national study indicated that married men did 34 percent of the housework performed by couples in 1985, a notable increase over the 20 percent of housework reported in 1965 (Robinson 1988, similar results reported in Seward et al 1996). When wives are employed full-time, and have very young children at home, their husbands contribute the most to housework and childcare (Berk 1985; Coverman 1985; Crouter, Perry-Jenkins, Huston, & McHale 1987; Darling-Fisher & Tiedje 1990; Leslie, Anderson, & Branson 1991; Peterson & Gerson 1992).

In describing men's adjustment to the reduction of the breadwinning domain, Mintz (1998: 27) asserts men have, "adopted a host of adaptive strategies". Those with no religious preference are most likely to be interested in egalitarian division of responsibilities with their wives. While few have adopted a truly co-parent, egalitarian division, other men have attempted to reassert patriarchal authority based on religious beliefs. Only twenty percent of Protestants and Catholics reported being supportive of an equal division of labor and Mormons were least likely to support an equal division of labor with only 9 percent responding favorably (Bahr 1982). More recently, Ellison and Bartkowski (2002) found that conservative evangelical Protestant wives performed more housework and spent "more time doing 'female-typed' labor than their nonevangelical peers" (2002: 950). The differences were traced back "to religious variations in spousal and household resources and . . . to a distinctive evangelical gender ideology."

Some fathers are not only doing more childcare and household maintenance, but they are also not waiting for mothers to tell them what to do (Deutsch 1999; Palkovitz 2002). They are taking on more of the organizing and initiating of household and child-rearing activities (Jordan 1997). In one study (Ehrensaft 1987: 90), parents were asked to specify "who did what with the children". Often, these parents described a "renaissance parent approach . . . 'Oh, we both just pitch in and do everything that needs to be done'".

The Role of Father

The role of father refers to a man's emotional and childcare involvement with his children. The ultimate responsibility for childcare has been delegated to the woman for a very long time (Coltrane 1996). Illustrating this point, Caruso (1992) noted that the U.S. Bureau of the Census lists "father care" as a type of childcare, even though they are caring for their own children. No such distinction is made for "mother care". Leslie et al. (1991) found that, when asked to show how many childcare activities they were responsible for, men reported such low levels that there were not enough reports to be considered any further. But a bit more involvement was reported in 1997, when the father was the primary child care provider during the mother's working hours in 20 percent of the families with a child under 5 years of age, when both parents work (United States Bureau of the Census 1997).

The norm among fathers during most of the last century was that they viewed their primary roles as instrumental, rather than expressive (Jordan 1997). But since the 1970s there has been a shift toward expecting fathers to be more involved with their children (Jump & Haas 1987), at least among dual-earner couples and those who hold liberal ideologies about gender roles (Volling & Belsky 1991). Where traditional fathers perceived themselves as providers of material resources, shelter and guidance for their children, and left the emotive domains to the children's mothers, today's fathers often expand their roles to include involvement in the nurturance and care-taking of their children (Jordan 1997). Those who promote egalitarian roles in parenting, emphasize that fathers should be spending more time with their children (Coltrane 1996). But men are often torn between the conflicting fatherhood domains presented by these newer expectations, which can cause expectant fathers confusion and stress (Hyde et al 1993; Seward et al 2006).

The role of the father has come to encompass childcare activities and chores, but not the complete responsibility for arranging or planning for that child (Seward et al 2006). Mothers still report having the specific responsibilities of making childcare arrangements, knowing when the child needs to visit the physician, and buying clothes. Maume and Mullin (1993) found that 94 percent of

mothers said that they made all or most of the childcare arrangements. Leslie et al. (1991) found that both mothers and fathers reported that women were primarily responsible for the decision about childcare. One study noted that fathers' involvement in childcare arrangements was typically when the care was a non-stressful, non-emergency-type event (Berry & Rao 1997).

However, Hertz (1997) found among dual earner couples that fathers played a big part in the decision about what kind of childcare the family would choose; were part of other decision-making processes related to children, made big adjustments to their work schedules and took on added responsibilities in the home. Among paid workers, fathers have been more likely to report childcare problems than mothers. In a 1987 survey of 1,200 employees in a Minneapolis company, 72 percent of fathers reported difficulties with childcare, while 65 percent of mothers reported such difficulties. Another study of dual-career families found 70 percent of fathers reporting difficulties with childcare compared to 63 percent of mothers (Berry & Rao 1997).

Few studies have included men in their investigations of the decision making process involved in balancing work and family (Coltrane 1996). Especially expectant fathers have been omitted (Beaton et al 2003). Most information on men's beliefs come from after-the-fact inquiries about their roles and responsibilities as fathers (Tanfer & Mott 1997; Plantin, Manson, & Kearney 2003). The current study focuses on men's decision making and thought processes about childrearing as they begin experiencing it, during their wife's pregnancy.

The research questions for this study were how do expectant fathers view their role responsibilities in the childrearing process, how do they intend to balance their paid work demands with their father role, and how the social contexts of work and family affect fathers' decision making (e.g., work culture and family of origin).

METHODS

Data Collection

Building upon an earlier study of mothers, the first author adapted questions from Gerson (1985, 1993) and related sources to develop a survey instrument and an interview instrument in the spring, 2000. The instruments address topics including the

meaning of fatherhood, job satisfaction, parental leave, fatherhood expectations, childcare and household responsibilities, and the influence of family and friends on work and family decisions.

A purposive sampling procedure was used to ensure participants were first-time expectant fathers. Questionnaires were distributed to clinics, doctor's offices and childbirth classes that serve expectant parents in central Texas. Twenty-five expectant fathers volunteered to complete a self-administered questionnaire. To complement the quantitative data gathered all fathers were asked to participate in a semi-structured, face to face interview. Fourteen of the twenty-five fathers participated in the follow up interviews, which primarily provided in-depth qualitative data on the issues covered in the questionnaire (cf., Rost 2002). This was the first wave in a planned longitudinal panel study.

The interviews consisted of open-ended questions conducted by eight trained student research assistants which lasted from thirty to forty minutes. Training continued even after the data collection began¹. The narratives were video and audio taped for use in interpreting the data and for future reference. Pseudonyms were used to identify the participants and to maintain their confidentiality. In order to minimize socially desirable responses, interviewers attempted to display neutral body language and nonjudgmental attitudes since the intent was to understand the fathers' attitudes and actions as expressed in their own words as much as possible. At the same time like Matta and Knudson-Martin (2006 23) "what we listened for and heard was influenced by our theoretical perspective and personal contexts". When the researchers assessed their efforts, they acknowledged being influenced somewhat by an ideology supporting gender equality, and their own experiences as children (8), spouses (3), and parents (3).

Analysis

The quantitative data from the surveys were entered into an EXCEL spreadsheet for analysis and frequencies and mean scores were generated. For the interviews, the principal investigator along with groups of three researchers viewed the videotapes for coding. Grounded theory was used to analyze the interviews in order to interpret the meaning of men's experiences as ex

Table 1: Surveyed Expectant Fathers' Attitudes on Likert Scale Items* (N=25)

	Means
Attitudes Regarding Work Orientation	
Feels job serves important purpose	4.40
My pay is essential to my family	4.29
Kind of work affects lives of other people	4.08
Advancement is important to me	4.04
Enjoys going to work	3.96
Invested a lot in job training	3.64
Job is emotionally satisfying	3.50
Job is boring	1.84
Fatherhood will have negative effect on job	1.60
Attitudes, Actions, Programs Regarding Childcare	
Both parents work full-time, childcare shared equally	4.00
Have discussed sharing childcare with wife	3.92
Concerned about finding childcare	3.36
My income will pay for childcare	3.20
Wish my father spent more time with me	2.96
Will use job related family support programs	1.63
Job offers family supportive programs	1.43
Attitudes Regarding Housework	
Both parents work full-time, housework shared equally	4.08
Both parents work full-time, housework up to me	2.28
Attitudes Regarding Gender Roles	
Father's role is to put family first	3.92
Mother's role is to put family first	3.84
After child's birth, prefers wife to work	2.52

*Likert items are measured on a 5 point scale with values of 1= *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = *neutral*, 4 = *agree*, 5 = *strongly agree*.

pectant fathers and their decisions regarding work by allowing various themes to emerge from the data (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Grounded theory is "derived from the data, systematically gathered and analyzed throughout the research process" (Strauss & Corbin 1998 12). Grounded theory relies on inductive analysis and interpretation of the data to confirm existing theory or to find new patterns outside existing theory, which may lead to alternative explanations for understanding social phenomena. Like Matta and Knudson-Martin (2006), the approach was similar to that of Charmaz (2000 23) in that no assumption of "an external truth independent of the research" was made. Common themes were identified and, once agreed upon used to categorize and code the data. Inter-rater reliability checks were made. When discrepancies occurred additional reviews were carried out to resolve them. The use of various checks and cross-checks increased the validity and reliability of the data.

Sample

All 25 respondents were married, with an

average age of 27. Fourteen percent were Hispanic and 86 percent were white, non-Hispanic, which reflects the region of central rural Texas from which the sample was drawn. This break down was about the same for the 14 fathers interviewed. Reported median family income was \$39,450. Most fathers (88%) had at least some college education. Fifty-two percent of the fathers worked for companies that had some sort of family-friendly programs but only twenty-three percent of fathers with such programs planned to take advantage of them. The interviewed fathers were a little more likely to work for family-friendly companies and a higher proportion planned to take advantage of available benefits.

Other Quantitative Findings

The fathers in this study planned to take an average of 9.3 days off after the birth of their children. This average included a coach whose baby was due in May. Since he works a nine month school year, his projected parental leave was 42 days. When he was excluded, the average dropped to 7.6 days. Interviews of the 14 expectant fathers revealed

Table 2: Surveyed Expectant Fathers' Attitude Regarding How A Mother's Employment Will Affect Child's Well-Being, School Performance, Cognitive Development, and Emotional Development

	Negative Effect	No Effect	Positive Effect
Child's Well Being	20%	48%	32%
School Performance	24%	56%	16%
Cognitive Development	8%	72%	16%
Emotional Development	24%	60%	16%

that rather than taking paternity or parental leave, most of these father's like those in earlier studies (Seward et al 2006), were planning to take this time as vacation or other paid days.

On average, the 25 expectant fathers were working between 40 and 50 hours a week and expected to work slightly more once their children were born, typically reporting that they needed the extra income for their growing family. They did not expect that their families would cause any negative effects on their careers. Most agreed with the positive statements about their jobs (see top category in Table 1). The greatest agreement (i.e., the highest mean of 4.40) for the fathers was with the statement "I feel my job serves an important purpose." The fathers were the least likely to agree that "fatherhood will have a negative effect on my job" (ranked last or 8th). At least three-fourths reported neutral or positive responses regarding the anticipated effects of maternal employment on children's well-being, school performance, cognitive development and emotional development (see Table 2). Seventy six percent of respondents felt that childcare responsibilities should be shared equally when both parents work full time (Mean = 4.00), and the same percent also felt that housework should be shared equally (Mean = 4.08; see middle and bottom categories in Table 1). But most disagreed that housework is up to fathers, if both parents work (Mean = 2.28). In regard to childcare, most fathers reported having discussed sharing this care with their wives (Mean = 3.92) and most were concerned about finding childcare (Mean = 3.36). The qualitative data gathered during the interviews allows an elaboration on these and other issues.

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS: KEY THEMES

Based upon their responses, the 14 interviewed expectant fathers were categorized into three different role type emphases: 1) traditional, 2) combination (of traditional and

egalitarian), and 3) egalitarian. Respondents were categorized as traditional when the breadwinner role was the highest priority expressed by the fathers. These fathers typically expected to increase their paid work hours once the baby was born and planned to take zero to three days off when the child was born. The traditional men typically performed only a minimum amount of domestic work, such as the traditional male duties of yard and automotive work while assuming a helper capacity with regard to domestic areas and child rearing. Half of the men interviewed advocated and emphasized the traditional type role.

An unanticipated category was the combination type role, which combines traditional values with more of an emphasis on family involvement. Combination fathers prioritized their work over the work of their spouses and identified themselves primarily as breadwinners. But combination fathers contributed more to household labor, planned to take four or more days off work when the child is born, and recognized that they need to do even more domestic work once the baby is born. Combination fathers also expected to be more involved in childcare than the traditionalists. All agreed that childcare and domestic duties should be shared equally when both parents work full time. This was the second most popular type of father role found, with five of the men falling in this category. The emergence of this unexpected type illustrates the value of applying grounded theory to qualitative research data.

The egalitarian role type illustrates a trend toward equally shared decision-making, career opportunities, domestic responsibilities and childcare. Egalitarians did not prioritize their work over their spouse's, performed at least half of the domestic work and talked about their expected involvement with their children in considerable detail. Their descriptions included their expected involvement with child care while the children were infants. As in previous research (Pleck & Mas

ciadrelli 2004), few men fell into this category.

Traditional Fathers

Among the many factors affecting fathers' role concepts, the main influence appears to be the type of family structure the interviewees had growing up. Like Beaton and colleagues (2003) found, the interviewees own fathers' influences were extremely important in how the interviewees defined the role of fatherhood, either by providing a negative example (i.e., compensation) or, as with the majority, providing a positive role model. Of the seven interviewees who fell into the traditional category, all came from traditional family structures. Most of their mothers stayed at home until the interviewees were at least school age. The fathers of these interviewees were the primary breadwinners of the family and these roles were internalized by the interviewees. But despite the traditional gender roles of the men in the traditional category, only two of the seven had wives who would be staying home full time. Comparing the interview data with the responses on the questionnaire provides further insight into this and other incongruities between traditional and egalitarian beliefs and behaviors. For instance, four of the seven traditional interviewees expressed in their surveys that they believe childcare and domestic duties should be shared equally when both parents work full time, even though some interviewees whose wives were employed full time did not actually share housework equally even before the baby arrived. Hence some of these traditional fathers appeared to be paying only lip-service to plans for the future, probably reflecting and stating the current socially desired view. Henry's responses are just one example:

Interviewer: "How do you and your wife share housework?"

Henry: "She does a lot of it. I realize I should do more, but, I guess...I don't."

Interviewer: "Will that change after the baby is born?"

Henry: (Pause) "I'm going to try and do a lot more."

Some, such as Peter, divide chores along traditionally gendered lines (e.g., male takes automotive, maintenance and outside chores, while female handles domestic duties such as cooking, cleaning and child

care), leaving the majority of responsibilities to their wives, and do not expect much change.

Peter: "Usually I get everything outside and she gets everything inside, pretty much. But we help each other out. We're good about that. I help with dishes and stuff... odds and ends, whatever."

Interviewer: "How do you feel about that?"

Peter: "It doesn't bother me at all. I enjoy doing stuff like that, I guess."

Interviewer: "Will that change after the baby's born?"

Peter: "No I wouldn't think so...No, I wouldn't think so."

Even though Peter's wife works full time, Peter appears to think he's doing his fair share. Others, too, claimed to share equally but when describing the specifics, it was clear they were taking a back seat, either because they could not name specifics or because they had not discussed specifics with their wives. Zack's response is an example:

Zack: (Household responsibilities are) "Pretty much 50-50. I think it's a great compromise. [When asked to list his responsibilities] Mainly I take out the trash and uh, clean up around the garage and outside and mow the yard and stuff like that."

Zack does not expect that to change once the baby is born. In summary, the incongruity between the survey responses and the interview responses indicates that, although these men clearly have been exposed to egalitarian views and trends, their traditional backgrounds and personal views take precedence, to the point of clouding their objectivity.

Employment is the major part of the traditional males' identities. When asked if they would stay home if it were financially feasible, many of the interviewees needed prompting on the question. (One asked, "You mean, like if I won the lottery?") They have never considered staying home with their children while their wives worked. This might be explained by the survey results that showed that all but one of the interviewees felt that their pay was essential to their family's survival. But traditionalists such as Tim and Zack

felt that they would work outside the home even if they could afford not to. Tim did not feel it was appropriate for the male to stay at home:

If I could afford not to work...I don't know. I'd probably feel...I probably couldn't do it. I would not feel...I would not feel that would be an appropriate thing for me to do...Well, the male stereotype, you know.

Zack felt that if he did not work he would be "totally lost." These men keenly identify with the breadwinner domain of the father role and rely on their careers for a large part of their personal fulfillment.

With regard to expectations about domestic responsibilities almost all the 25 surveyed fathers stressed equal sharing, yet 43 percent (3 of 7) of the traditional fathers did not expect to have to do more domestic work once the baby is born. All of the traditionalists fall into the "helper" category regarding housework and childcare. In other words, they will rely on their spouses to direct what duties to perform. The term "helper" is very appropriate with respect to this role as every traditional interviewee used the terms "help her" or "help out" with respect to domestic duties and childcare issues.

Interestingly, none of the traditional fathers expressed plans to interact with their children while the children were infants, even when asked how they thought their lives would change after the birth of their child and what fatherhood meant to them. In fact, most described taking time off at the birth as time to address the spouse's needs, again in a "helper" capacity, rather than as a time to get to know their babies:

Zack: "Maybe a couple of days...I thought that maybe it would be helpful to my spouse and everything to take a few days off."

Tim: "When the baby's first born, probably two to three days. She'll be off work, so...I felt that's probably best to help with her and help her get her, a full day's sleep probably—yeah, recuperating."

Only two traditional fathers mentioned interacting with their children at all. They talked about sharing time with their children by involving the child in their own hobbies or in attending their children's school and extra-

curricular functions.

Interviewer: "How do you think your life will be different once your child is born?"

Vance: "There'll be, probably, less free time."

Interviewer: "What about your hobbies and sports?"

Vance: "There'll still be time for that—I hunt and fish, my main hobbies, so I plan on teaching the kid how to hunt and fish."

Jerry: "I love to fish and I could fish every weekend if I wanted to, but with a child, I know there's gonna come a time when you gotta go to track meets, you gotta go to basketball games, whatever, volleyball. And that'll change, I expect, I'll just focus more on her life and...still make her a good fisherman, one way or the other."

Combination Fathers

The influence of their families of origin was also apparent with the combination fathers. Norm illustrates a father's influence when he was asked if his view of child care differed from his father's:

I don't think so because I know that I learned from my father that he always valued time with us. That whenever he was not working...whenever he could get away, he would, 'cause I knew that we were special. So I think seeing that, because of the many positive qualities that my father had on me, I think in turn it's just automatic for me to want to do the same, so I think my view of child care is pretty much the same as his.

Norm's wife will stay at home full time, even though Norm himself fell into the combination category.

The combination category has the breadwinner domain still at the top of the hierarchy, but with more of an emphasis on family interaction, including childcare, domestic duties, and shared decision-making with their spouses. Breadwinning was just as important to these interviewees as the traditional interviewees, but they felt it was important to be more involved in family life. All of the combination interviewees also indicated on their surveys that it is both the mother's and the father's duty to prioritize family over career or paid work. They also expressed a preference

for spending more time with their families than their own fathers had with them. For instance, Norm and Greg both planned for their wives to stay at home, yet they appreciated the difficulties of taking care of children fulltime and described how they would take over and give their wives a break on their days off.

Even though the interviewees who fell within the combination category leaned toward spending more time with their families, the amount of time was dependent upon how important family involvement was to them. When asked how he would feel about staying home full time if he could afford it, Norm said that if he did not work, he could be "totally consumed with my family" and would not miss work. However, Roger felt that he would enjoy spending time at home, but that eventually he would not have enough to do: "I enjoy the accomplishment of work." Both expressed that they wanted to spend more time with their families than their own fathers did with them but they also identified with the breadwinner domain to varying degrees, which might be correlated with their fathers' influences. For instance, Roger sees his role as very much like his father's with the exception that he wants to spend more time with his children. He sees the father's responsibility extending beyond just being a breadwinner.

Three of the five combination fathers described actual interaction with their children but only one of them mentioned this interaction occurring during infancy. He mentioned changing diapers.

Egalitarian Fathers

The two interviewees who were considered egalitarian in their approach to family life came from families where there was a negative male role model and, similar to Masciadrelli, Pleck and Stueve's (2006) findings, looked to peers for positive role modeling. Sid was a child of divorce and Ike's father left home when he was young. Both had mothers who worked outside the home and fathers who were not involved in their home lives or extracurricular activities. Of all the interviewees, only Sid and Ike indicated on their surveys that they wished their fathers had spent more time with them growing up. Both of these men took the role of father very seriously and were determined to provide a good male role model for their chil-

dren by being actively involved in their care. They are excellent examples of the compensation pattern (cf., Beaton et al 2003). Ike expressed it thusly:

In that my father chose to leave, I think they (his father's and his views of childcare) differ greatly. It's not about my life, it's about that child's life. I mean that child didn't choose to come into this world. That's my responsibility and it's about laying down my will so I can serve that kid,...that child,...my baby.

The egalitarian fathers' views on paid work included considerations of their wives' paid work as well. Both Sid and Ike voiced concern about assisting their spouses in furthering their careers by sharing decision-making and domestic duties, and giving their spouses more time to devote to work. For instance, Sid offers,

I don't know if she'd want me to tell you or not but my wife doesn't have a very strong stomach. So I told her, I plan on changing all the diapers.

Ike and his wife, Isabel, plan on sharing childcare until Isabel finishes college. Ike works nights and will take care of the baby during the day and Isabel attends classes during the day and will take care of the baby at night.

Only the egalitarians talked about bonding with the child. Sid explains,

Because, you know, I want to be there for the birth and all that. I felt it was needed time, like it's just as important for me to bond with the child as it is for my wife. There's already a special bond right that they're having right now. Actually I feel it's make-up time for me, to make up for lost time. I mean she's nine months with the bonding. I feel when I'm starting I have nine months to make up. I know two weeks is not enough but it's what I can afford to do right now.

While past studies have found religious men to be oriented toward traditional roles and headship (Bahr 1982; Ellison & Bartkowski 2002), the egalitarians in this study were both evangelical Christians.

Limitations and Strengths of the Study

The sample's lack of randomness re-

stricts generalization to a larger population. The restrictions encountered during data collection contributed to a smaller and less representative sample than desired. Self-selection bias probably occurred because fathers who were having positive feelings about their family and work situations were more likely to complete the survey and agree to an interview. However, since most studies involve people from urban areas, this study provides important introductory information regarding expectant fathers in primarily rural areas. Additionally, this study surveyed and interviewed men while their wives were still pregnant with their first child rather than relying on after-the-fact reconstructions by respondents regarding their feelings and situations before they had children.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Gender strategies (cf., Hochschild 1989) help explain how men and women negotiate their behavior and emotions resulting, in most cases, with women doing most of the housework and childcare. Gender strategies are based on peoples' childhood conceptualizations about gender combined with teenage experiences and finally rectified with current feelings about societal norms and how one's own attitudes and behavior compare to those norms. Harville Hendrix's (2001) theory about "getting the love you want" further contributes to our understanding of how people make the decisions they do. He describes how people evaluate the structures and events of their childhoods. The attitudes, structures and actions they evaluate positively are the ones they seek out as adults. Attitudes, structures and actions that elicited negative reactions are avoided when they become adults. Hence, fathers consider the things that made them happy or made them feel like they had good families and then they extract these characteristics from their childhoods and want to apply them in their new families. However, role modeling is a powerful socializer. Sometimes people fall back into old patterns despite their original intentions.

These explanations apply to the fathers studied and help to provide insights about their current attitudes and actions. Some men wanted to be like their fathers and defined their fathers as good fathers even when most of what they had to say about their own fathers was that they worked a lot. Others

didn't plan to work less than their dads but expected to do more with their children. This was often expressed by saying they would help their wives rather than direct involvement of bonding or being involved with the child. In contrast to more positive experiences with their fathers and a tendency to model their behavior after them were the two fathers who came from divorced parents. They strongly wanted to be different from their fathers or compensate for their fathers' inappropriate behavior, saying they wanted to be there for their children and provide stability.

The men's strong affinity for their bread-winning duties when describing what it means to be a father could also be interpreted as expressing how separated they feel from their actual families. What they consider most important happens separate from family interaction. What makes them feel most like a good father is what they are doing away from their family.

Many fathers stated that they want to be involved, good fathers yet they were not planning to reduce hours or take more than a few days parental leave after the birth, even when the mothers were employed. Some even plan to increase paid work hours. Therefore, these men's notions of fathering do not appear to be associated with actual increases in time with the child, especially the baby. Even when the children would be older, the men talked about their involvement in terms of activities like going to games and fishing more than actual child care.

Almost all of the men (79%) did not mention any anticipated involvement with their newborns during infancy or as toddlers. This might indicate that many of the participants do not consider these stages as critical times for father and child interactions and that they do not see themselves as instrumental in the development of their children during these times. At a minimum, these men have not identified themselves fully as fathers yet, as they are not clearly visualizing life with a baby, except in terms of provider and spouse support responsibilities. It might also be the result of very little information, understanding, and experience with the capabilities and behavior of infants. Further, it appears that although expectations for parental roles are changing, the prevailing views still support the mother as most instrumental during the time of infancy.

Supporting the idea that fathers are the primary breadwinners puts extra pressure on men to succeed. This is an unfortunate measure of success since they can always find someone who makes more money than they do. These comparisons are likely to make them feel like they need to do more. It could also give men license to selfishly pursue their careers at the expense of their families, particularly of their wives. It is the wives who most often will be forced to shoulder more of the family responsibilities, rather than pursue their own employment or career, because someone has to take up the slack.

One of our cultural myths tells us to think that we have missed out on something if our moms were not stay-at-home moms but to feel okay if our fathers not only worked but worked a lot of hours. While people, like Ike say "My mom had to work but it would have been nice if she could have been at home," he says this like an afterthought, like it is how he's supposed to feel. But Ike is not alone in expressing this view even today. None of these men said, "My dad had to work but it would have been nice if he'd stayed home"—not even when the father is seen as the more approachable parent, personality-wise. Such a perspective devalues the important inter-relational aspects of fathering, favoring a perspective that views their time as a commodity to be traded for income.

The combination and egalitarian fathers already share domestic duties much more than the traditionalists, and they expect to pick up even more responsibility after the birth of the baby. Although most of the interviewees (11 of 14) expect to have to do more domestic chores, the available evidence suggests they will merely be continuing their existing domestic duty arrangements: The egalitarian arrangements will continue to be egalitarian in nature, and the traditional arrangements will continue to be traditional, usually divided along gender lines. This finding supports the earlier research of Sanchez and Thomson (1997). However, some recent research findings suggest that changes in fathers' attitudes and actions are possible. Doherty, Erickson, and La Rossa's (2006) study of a diverse but mostly white middle class sample of 165 first time parent couples found that intervention training starting during pregnancy can have a positive impact on fathers' skills and involvement with their ba-

bies. Carl Mazza's (2002) study of sixty urban African-American adolescent first-time fathers found positive changes as a result of attending parenting classes and working with an assigned social worker on life needs. The young fathers made significant gains in "feeling positive about their current relationships with their children" and "being able to plan for the future" (2002 681). Goldberg, Clarke-Stewart, Rice, and Dellis' (2002 379) study of 73 middle class families with six month old infants found several factors associated with fathers being "more sensitive and/or engaged with their infants." These factors included fathers who

did not suffer from job stress, possessed positive coping skills, held more child-centered beliefs, wanted to be like their own fathers, had wives who were more engaged when they played with their infants, and had male infants.

When fathers "were in more harmonious marriages and the infants were temperamentally easy" they tended to be more affectionate toward their infants.

Increasing mothers' paid work income relative to fathers' should also increase father involvement with their children. Rost's (2002) findings from interviews with 25 couples where the woman's earnings were as high as or higher than those of her partner's suggest this relationship. All of these couples had an egalitarian division of labor and most

couples divided parental leave so that neither partner had to drop out of employment for a long period of time. (Rost 2002 371)

The couples' egalitarian attitudes and actions "had a positive effect" on their relationships and increased their satisfaction with the relationships.

Providing fathers paternity and parental leaves with pay will also promote more involvement with children (cf. Seward et al 2006). Feldman and colleagues (2004 459) found that among fathers in 98 dual-earning couples with three to five-month-old infants, those men who took longer leaves had "higher paternal preoccupation with infant[s], more marital support, and higher family salience" than those fathers who took short or no leaves.

Although the studied expectant fathers were profoundly affected by their reactions to their own upbringing, these studies and others suggest that attitudes and actions by fathers can be directed toward more sharing of domestic responsibilities with mothers and greater involvement with children. An obvious question is how will the studied expectant fathers' attitudes and actions change after the birth of their children. To answer these questions, follow-up interviews are now being scheduled with the fathers in order to investigate how expectations and earlier actions influenced the actual reality of childrearing, as well as to identify similarities and differences between expectation and reality.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ As a result of interviewer inexperience and respondent introversion, the first interview lasted only ten minutes. This tape was viewed by the class and techniques were further developed and applied in subsequent interviews.

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DIVORCE AMONG MACROSOCIAL UNITS: A REEXAMINATION

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ABSTRACT

This study revisits fairly well-established theoretical assumptions, in order to reexamine the variation in aggregate measures of divorce among the 50 American states. Four hypotheses (i.e. social integration, women's economic independence, socioeconomic status, and proportion of the population that is black) are derived as potential explanations. Regression analysis indicates that social integration is inversely related to divorce, whereas women's economic independence is positively related to divorce. Socioeconomic status is found to be negatively related to divorce, whereas proportion of the population that is black has no effect.

INTRODUCTION

From time immemorial, the causation of divorce has been a topic likely to spark off heated debates among people from virtually all walks of life. Sociological interest in this subject is reflected in a multitudinous collection of studies designed to identify key causative factors (for example, Shelton 1987; Amato & Rogers 1997; Rogers & DeBoer 2001; Amato & Previti 2003; and Holley, Yabiku, & Benin 2006). In terms of methodological style, macrosocial studies provide a useful way to obtain "snapshots" of the way in which structural patterns fit together within society. In contrast, microsocial studies attribute causation in terms of individuals' opinions, ideas, and attitudes. In this macrosocial study of divorce, we demonstrate its relationship with four structural factors namely social integration, women's economic independence, socioeconomic status, and black population size.

From a scientific viewpoint, sociological findings must be considered tentative, since every new answer raises new questions. In fact, many scientific accomplishments become antiquated within a couple of decades. Therefore, the constant validation of well-established theoretical notions and the reexamination of old findings are processes that must go on ad infinitum, especially since society is in state of constant change (Weber 1958 138). Stated simply, the analysis of recent data might shed new light on old scientific problems. Hence, our main rationale for this study is to revisit fairly well-established perspectives using relatively recent data.

Social Integration and Divorce

The notion that high levels of social integration are associated with low levels of self-destructive behavior was first studied by Emile Durkheim (1897/1951). Since then, a

number of studies have been conducted to examine the relationship between social integration and divorce or marital disruption (Booth, Edwards, & Johnson 1991; Shelton 1987; Breault & Kposowa 1987; and Glenn & Shelton 1985). Social integration is defined as the ties that bind people, as well as various segments of society into one unified whole. In order to study this phenomenon, researchers have used different indicators. In the sociological literature, social integration has been operationalized as community size (Shelton 1987), residential mobility (Glenn & Shelton 1985), church membership, population change, and urbanity (Breault & Kposowa 1987), number of friends and voluntary associations (Booth et al 1991), household density (Regoeczi 2002), and in-migration and out-migration (South 1987).

Based on Durkheim's theory (1897/1951), high levels of social integration engender high levels of conformity to group norms and expectations. In contrast, high levels of non-conformity result from anomie which refers to the state of affairs in which social norms are weak, absent, or conflicting. Within collectivities, social integration reflects social stability and consensus, whereas divorce is a consequence of social instability and relative lack of consensus. We therefore should expect that divorce will vary inversely with social integration, net of other influences. In addition, social integration acts as a source of support for married couples. While it provides social approval to those who fulfill their marital obligations and keep their commitment, it dispenses social disapproval to those who are dissatisfied and wish to end their marriages. Actually, when attempts are made by policy makers to strengthen community commitment toward strong marriages, divorce rates decline (Birch, Weed, & Olsen 2004). When counties that adopted commu

nity marriage policies were compared to those that did not, divorce rates were discovered to have declined faster among the former than among the latter. Furthermore, when social integration is low, families are isolated from kinfolk's, neighbors, and friends. Such families are likely to face burdens, which include lack of emotional support and no help with child-care and household responsibilities (Glenn & Shelton 1985). Put simply, people need people. Hence, social isolation or low integration is likely to be associated with high incidence of divorce, and vice versa.

In this study, population density is used as a proxy for social integration. When people live in stable communities having reduced residential mobility, social integration increases; resulting in low divorce rates (Glenn & Shelton 1985). We further argue that dense communities provide individuals a greater opportunity to share resources, neighborhood ties, similar values and norms; and exchange of mutual assistance. In contrast, individuals who live in sparsely populated communities may be socially isolated with reduced opportunity for face-to-face social interaction, resulting in reduced social support during periods of stress and discouragement.

In spite of these theoretical assertions, studies on the effect of density on human social behavior is plagued with contradictory findings. Whereas some studies discover positive effects, others discover negative effects. These contradictory findings may be due to 1) the suspected curvilinear nature of the population density variable, and 2) that crowding effects may be either causal or the result of self-selection (Rogoezci 2002). Although these findings may hold true for microsocial data (Rogoezci 2002), analysis of macrosocial data might yield different results. Based on the above theoretical discussion, we expect population density to be inversely related to measures of divorce.

Women's Economic Independence and Divorce

Female labor force participation has been shown to be positively related to divorce (South 1985). More specifically, when a wife's economic independence (operationalized as wages or employment) increases, the incidence of divorce increases as well (Hiedemann, Suhomlinova, & O'Rand 1998). The

explanation is that economic independence is likely to motivate women to end unhappy marriages, while being able to provide economic support for themselves and their children. Moreover, South (2001) has shown that over time, the effect of wives' economic independence on divorce has become increasingly positive. Also the longer marriages last, wives' employment exerts an even greater effect on divorce. The reasons for this trend are threefold. 1) institutional supports now exist to help unmarried working mothers. 2) Working women are no longer bound by traditional gender-role ideologies. And 3) there is now a declining trend in workplace sex-segregation. Lending further credence to this notion, an analysis of panel data carried out by Amato and Previti (2003), revealed positive associations between SES (education and income) and relationship-centered causal factors of divorce.

However, there is some ambiguity in research findings regarding the relationship between financial resources and divorce. In a study of married individuals, income is not significantly related to the risk of divorce. This may be due to the assumption that increased financial resources might favorably affect wives' marital happiness in general, thus improving troubled marriages in particular (Rogers & DeBoer 2001). These contradictory findings may be explained in terms of which facet of divorce is being studied, and also which methodology is being utilized.

In this study, we use percentage of women-owned firms as an indicator of women's economic independence. Since women who own their own businesses are likely to be economically independent, it may be a more practical way to test the economic opportunity hypothesis at the aggregate level. This hypothesis assumes that female labor force participation in and of itself does not weaken the foundation of marriage, but rather provides women the economic resources that they need to discontinue unsatisfactory marriages (Schoen, Astone, Rothert, Standish, & Kim 2002). Based on these observations, the percentage of women-owned firms should be positively related to the incidence of divorce.

In spite of our hypothesized direction of the relationship between women's earnings and divorce, the logic is rather complex. For instance, when married women's earnings lead to their economic independence, mari-

tal disruption is likely. At the same time however, married women's earnings also contribute to their families' economic status as well as financial security. Thus, wives' economic assets may be either positively or negatively related to marital stability, depending on which relationship is being tested. Hence, "wives' economic independence" and "wives' economic status" should be regarded as conceptually and methodologically distinct (see Heidemann et al 1998).

Socioeconomic Level and Divorce

In this study, educational level is used as an indicator of socioeconomic level. The notion persists that divorce rates are inversely related to educational level, when used as an indicator of socioeconomic level. In an attempt to account for the slight decline in America's divorce rate beginning in the early 1980's, Heaton (2002) identified a number of factors that contribute to marital stability. Among such factors was higher educational level. It stands to reason therefore that if higher educational level contributes to marital stability, lower educational level would engender marital instability leading consequently to divorce. Also, in their analysis of Current Population Survey Data, Raley and Bumpass (2003) found that sixty percent of the first marriages of high school dropouts ended in divorce, whereas only thirty-six percent among college graduates did. From a racial viewpoint, the incidence of divorce is relatively higher among black women (an economically disadvantaged group) and lower among white women (an economically privileged group) (Sweeney & Phillips 2004). In fact, Americans most likely to say that they have been divorced include those without a college degree (Carroll 2006). Focusing on the second decade of marriage and later, Hiedemann et al (1998) provide some explanations for this observation. They stem from the notions that college-educated women tend to have postponed marriage till later on in life, to have chosen their spouses from an educated and richer pool of eligibles, and that they have invested much in their marriages. Thus, it stands to reason that educated women may have too much to lose from a divorce. Based of these observations, we expect that higher educational attainment will be inversely related to the incidence of divorce.

Black Population Size and Divorce

Research has shown that black population concentration may not be related to divorce at the aggregate level (Breault & Kposowa 1987). However, from an ecological perspective, the concentration of blacks in certain locations has been found to be positively related to racial and economic inequality (Beggs, Villemez, & Arnold 1997). Several disadvantageous social and demographic factors related to age at marriage, education, premarital childbearing, and region of residence, may indeed sow the seeds of high divorce rates among blacks (Sweeney & Phillips 2004). Therefore all things considered, divorce rates are likely to be higher in locations that have high concentrations of blacks (South 1987). In addition, racial discrimination has a detrimental effect on the social and economic development of blacks. These social and economic setbacks may have adversely affected family stability. In this study however, race-specific measures of divorce are not used. Therefore, we cannot determine with certainty the effect that black population size has on the incidence of divorce. In spite of this limitation, we do expect that black population size will be positively related to the incidence of divorce at the aggregate level.

In short, four hypotheses are developed to explain the incidence of divorce at the aggregate level. They are the social integration, women's economic independence, socioeconomic status, and black population size hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1 (Social Integration). The higher the level of social integration, the lower will be the incidence of divorce.

Hypothesis 2 (Women's Economic Independence). The higher the measures of women's economic independence, the higher will be the incidence of divorce.

Hypothesis 3 (Socioeconomic Status). The higher the measures of socioeconomic status, the lower will be the incidence of divorce.

Hypothesis 4 (Black Population Size). The larger the black population size, the higher will be the incidence of divorce.

METHOD

The sample comprises the 50 American States, data for which were obtained from published sources of the U. S. Census Bu

Table 1: Univariate Distribution of Dependent and Independent Variables Among U.S. States (N=50)

Variable	M	SD
Percentage Divorced	10.070	1.300
Persons Per Square Mile (Natural Log)	4.416	1.414
Percentage of Women-Owned Firms	25.270	1.782
Percentage of Persons (25+ yrs) With Bachelor Degrees of Higher	23.752	4.285
Percentage of the Black Population (Natural Log)	1.656	1.312

reau. Measures for all variables are for the year 2004. Percentage black population is not related to divorce at the aggregate level of analysis.

CONCLUSIONS

Our primary objective in this study was to depict a social landscape showing aggregate patterns of divorce and some of its correlates in the United States. Also, we attempted to reassess fairly well-established theoretical notions, hypotheses, and findings in light of relatively recent data. For science to advance, the constant reevaluation of old findings is a process that should go on ad infinitum (Weber 1958). However our conclusions are tentative at best, since the study contains a number of limitations.

Firstly, divorce is measured as the percentage of persons aged 15 years and over that are divorced. This measure is admittedly problematic, since it includes those people who have divorced multiple times. Also, although this measure is age-standardized, it might have an inflationary effect on the study's findings.

Secondly, population density may not be the best proxy for social integration. Nevertheless, social integration has been shown to increase when people live in stable communities having reduced residential mobility (Glen & Shelton 1985). Arguably, dense communities will likely provide people a greater chance to share resources, neighborhood ties, similar values and norms; and to exchange resources. In contrast, sparsely populated communities will likely engender social isolation, leading to weak community ties.

Thirdly, the data are neither race-specific nor sex-specific. Therefore, further research is needed in order to verify the extent to which the predictor variables influence divorce among racial groups, and husbands and wives (see Heckert, Nowak, & Snyder 1998; and Ono 1998). For example, our finding that the proportion of the population that is black has no effect on divorce may be misleading;

since the data are disaggregated by neither race nor sex. In light of a recent analysis of survey data investigating racial differences in patterns of marital disruption, marital disruption rates for white women decreased somewhat after the mid-1970s, whereas those for black women increased somewhat since the late 1980s (Sweeney & Phillips 2004).

In spite of the above limitations, a number of tentative conclusions may be cautiously drawn from this study.

Social integration conceptualized as population density is found to be inversely related to divorce. This points to the notion that people need people. Greater masses of people result in more restaurants, farmers' markets, shopping malls, parks, recreation clubs, churches, etc. All of these establishments support family life. Family members have more activities to share and enjoy, which actually strengthen marriages and families. On the other hand, social isolation and lack of social activities are inimical to the creation of strong and stable families.

Women's economic independence is shown to be positively related to divorce. Traditionally, women have depended on the financial resources of their husbands. Today, women are increasingly achieving financial independence. They are therefore capable of ending unsatisfactory marriages, rather than remaining in bad marriages in order to have a sense of place in society (Engelman 2004).

Finally, socioeconomic status is found to be inversely related to divorce. Poor people face a multitude of problems stemming from lack of financial resources. Obviously, the marital stress resulting from these conditions is so severe that divorce occurs on a widespread basis (Engelman 2004). On the other hand, the more privileged segments of society may be avoiding divorce since they have too much at stake. Also, many marital stresses are alleviated because money is available to provide solutions when

Table 2: Percentage Divorced Among U.S. States With Principal Correlates: Zero-Order Correlations (N=50)

	Percentage Divorced	Persons Per Square Mile	Percentage of Women-Owned Firms	Percentage of Persons (25+ yrs) With Bachelor Degrees or Higher	Percentage of the Black Population
Percentage Divorced	X				
Persons Per Square Mile	-.448**	X			
Percentage of Women-Owned Firms	.073		X		
Percentage of Persons (25+ yrs) With Bachelor Degrees or Higher	-.389**			X	
Percentage of the Black Population	.321*				X
	-.434**				
	0.001				
	0.254				
	-0.210				
	-0.073				

* Significant at the .05 level;

** Significant at the .01 level.

people are more likely to be living and working in places of high population densities.

Percentage of women-owned firms is positively correlated with percentage of persons (25+ years) with bachelor degrees or higher ($r = .434$). A possible explanation is that education is required to establish and operate many business firms. We could therefore tentatively suggest that educated women are more likely than uneducated ones to own their own firms.

However, we cannot be absolutely sure whether the above relationships are not spurious due to additivity effects. To eradicate this concern, we conducted a multiple regression analysis. This procedure involves regressing divorce on the four independent variables. The partial correlation between divorce and any one of the independent variables will indicate the predicted level of divorce, when all the other independent variables are held constant. In other words, we could actually predict the incidence of divorce from our independent variables. Moreover, the relative impact that the independent variables have on variation in the measures of divorce could be empirically assessed. Incidentally, since the fifty U. S. states used in our sample also constitute the population studied, tests of significance do not add any useful information to our results. Nevertheless, levels of significance are reported mainly because it is traditional to do so.

The results of the multiple regression analysis are portrayed on Table 3. They are as follows:

- 1) Persons per square mile is significantly and inversely related to the incidence of divorce, when the effects of the other independent variables are controlled (standardized regression coefficient = $-.455$). Hence hypothesis 1 (social integration) is supported.
- 2) Percentage of women-owned firms is significantly and positively related to divorce when other factors are controlled (standardized regression coefficient = $.391$). Therefore hypothesis 2 (women's economic independence) is supported.
- 3) Percentage of persons (25+ yrs.) with bachelor degrees or higher is significantly and negatively related to divorce (standardized regression coefficient = $-.400$). Hence, hypothesis 3 (socioeconomic status) is upheld.

Table 3: Incidence of Divorce Among U.S. States With Key Determinants (N=50)

Determinants	Unstandardized Regression Coefficients	Standardized Regression Coefficients
Persons Per Square Mile	-.419**	-.455**
Percentage of Women-Owned Firms	.285**	.391**
Percentage of Persons (25+ yrs) With Bachelor Degrees or Higher	-.121**	-.400**
Percentage of the Black Population	.166	.170

R = .623; R squared = .388

**p<.01

- 4) Percentage black population is not related to divorce at the aggregate level of analysis.

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Our primary objective in this study was to depict a social landscape showing aggregate patterns of divorce and some of its correlates in the United States. Also, we attempted to reassess fairly well-established theoretical notions, hypotheses, and findings in light of relatively recent data. For science to advance, the constant reevaluation of old findings is a process that should go on ad infinitum (Weber 1958). However our conclusions are tentative at best, since the study contains a number of limitations.

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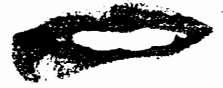
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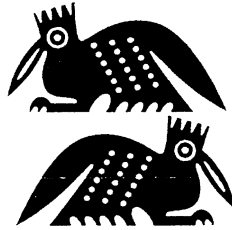
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