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FATHERS WITH SINGLE PARENTING ROLES: PERSPECTIVES ON STRENGTHS, CONCERNS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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Abstract

The phenomenon of single parent father families are increasing at a rapid rate in the United States along with the growth in fatherlessness in many families. This article discusses the trends and societal attitudes toward single father parenthood. It reports on a study of the perceptions of single parent fathers about their strengths, concerns and recommendations regarding their parenting roles. The study found that they feel stressed in their roles as parents but strongly recommends educating the public and professionals on their needs and strengths. Perceptions of cultural bias and insensitivity toward single parent fathers were found.

Keywords: family, single parent father families, parenting

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to ascertain what perceptions single parent fathers have regarding their strengths, concerns and recommendations. Their opinions on stresses, single parent father roles, gender fairness in child custody, and societal attitudes toward single parent fathers were considered. Because men typically understate their feelings, this study aimed to examine their perceptions of factors affecting their single parenting roles. Their views on the extent to which cultural norms, values and attitudes cause role strain and ambiguity for single fathers were examined.

The growth of single parent father families over the course of the last 20 years suggest that equating single-parent families with female-headed families is no longer appropriate (Eggebeen, Snyder and Manning 1996). Single father families with children are increasing at a faster rate than single mother families (Meyer and Garasky 1993). Research on single parent fathers as an aspect of family life has been infrequent in the sociological literature and represents a gap in family discourse. Exploring and examining the opinions of those fathers raising children as single parents on such issues as roles, concerns and strengths contributes to filling this existing gap, and is the goal of this study.

The United States, as of the mid-1980s, had the highest percentage of single parent families (28.9 percent) among eight industrialized countries (Australia, France, Japan, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, Soviet Union, and West Germany), with Japan having the lowest rate, 4.1 percent (Burns 1992; Papalia, Olds and Feldman 1998). The number of one-parent families with children under 18 increased by 280 percent between 1970 and 1994 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995). Sixty-four percent of African American families, twenty-five percent of white families, and thirty-six percent of Hispanic families were headed by a single parent (Bryson 1996). In 1994, 16.3 million children in the United States were living with their mothers. Forty percent of these children had not seen their father in the last year (Sugarman 1998). It has been estimated (Edmondson 1993; Sugarman 1998) that the number of single fathers could grow forty-four percent between 1990 and 2010, to 1.7 million. While various family forms have been studied and documented (Hernandez 1993; Thomson, McLanahan and Curtin 1992), literature on father only families is scarce.

Much of what is known about single parent fathers is derived from the analysis of demographic data (Eggebeen, Snyder and Manning 1996; Garasky and Meyer 1996). However, attention to pertinent knowledge about their perspectives is greatly needed. Olson and Haynes (1993) have noted that most studies of single parenthood have focused upon the effects of family structure on children and continue

to be slanted toward "what's wrong with single parent families." While substantial evidence indicates that negative stereotypes affect single parents and their children, cultural discrimination persists against fathers who assume the primary parenting role (Greif and DeMaris 1990).

Despite some research suggesting that these families are demographically unique from both married-couple families and female-headed families (McLanahan and Casper 1995), researchers have only recently become sensitized to the concerns of single parent fathers which had been ignored. For instance, Greif and DeMaris (1990) and Wallerstein (1998) note that child support laws, usually constructed to protect the single custodial mother, are being reevaluated closely for equity when applied to single parent fathers. The rising number of single fathers has prompted father's rights advocates to challenge some of the old notions that women are "nurturers" and men mere "providers" and "cash machines" (McNichol 1997; Taylor 1992).

SOCIETAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SINGLE PARENTING FATHERS.

Nieto (1982), Greif and DeMaris (1990), and Meyer and Garasky (1993) have pointed out that single parents of both sexes must contend, from the beginning of their assumption of the single parent role, with a set of perceptions and cultural bias that places them at a disadvantage in their interactions with the rest of society. There is a tendency to blame most of the nation's social problems on single parenting, particularly on poor families.

While the number of single parent fathers has been noted as the fastest growing family type in the United States, policy analysts often assume that mothers have custody of their children and fathers are absent (Meyer and Garasky 1993). For example, the major data source on child support (the Current Population Survey-Child Support Supplement) did not include custodial fathers until 1992. McNichol (1997) reports on the Department of Health and Human Services study which

indicates that more non-custodial mothers than fathers default on child support arrangements. Yet the term "deadbeat dad" is more common than a sex-neutral "delinquent parent" term. About twenty-seven percent of non-custodial fathers, about 3 million fathers, totally default on support, compared with forty-seven percent of non-custodial mothers (McNichol, 1997).

Another common misconception relates to the single parent father being perceived as being "naturally" ill equipped to perform nurturing roles. He is further perceived as having little ability to acquire the skills required to perform parenting roles (Nieto 1982). Research, however, has refuted the notion that gender roles generally reflect instinctive nature of males and females (Nieto 1982; Lindsey 1990; Cooksey and Fondell 1996). Roberts (1998) suggests cultural and socialization influences. Greif and DeMaris (1990) studied 1,132 single parent fathers from 48 states and Canada and found that the passage of time does help fathers adjust to their roles as does higher income. Their research concluded that: (1) over time fathers would have more experience and feel less role strain from having to cope with parenting demands, (2) higher income would help fathers purchase more child care or housekeeping support, and (3) perhaps more important, higher income may be related to the greater job flexibility that often comes with a professional or white-collar position.

Another misconception about single parent families is that society views them as more pathological than the nuclear family structure. It has been suggested (Nieto 1982) that the consequences of this view are biasing, misleading, and overly simplistic. There is the subtle but potentially destructive assumption that the single-parent family and its members are personally defective. The most salient characteristic of the single-parent family and its members is an assumed dysfunctionality, that is, its "brokenness" from the traditional nuclear family. Olson and Haynes (1993) summarized studies of single parents

regarding the attitudes of school personnel toward their children. Their studies indicate that: (1) school personnel did not perceive the single-parent family as normal, (2) school staff assumed that any problems children experience were related to being from a single-parent family, and (3) teachers perceived the school behaviors of children from intact homes more positively than they did behaviors of children from single-parent homes. Thus, it is apparent that children from single-parent homes are viewed as exhibiting more negative school behavior than are children from intact homes and that teachers see what they expect to see.

While research (Pettys 1993; Davidson 1990) shows that children living without their fathers tend to be more violent, lack self-control, and are more likely to abuse drugs, more attention has been placed on the socio-economic factors and impacts on children and less on the social and emotional contributions of fathers. Nevertheless, research on father-only families, indicates that level of education has been found to be associated with distinctive, and generally positive, child-rearing practices and that single parent fathers have high levels of education. Further, the single parent father's education has been shown to be a major determinant of a child's future educational and occupational attainment (Eggebeen, Snyder and Manning 1996; Edmondson 1993). Single parent fathers arc often stereotyped as lacking the interest and the time to spend with their children. This is another misconception based on popular belief. Research indicates that single fathers are quite involved with their children's lives and are more likely to engage in a variety of activities than traditional families (Cooksey and Fondell 1996).

FATHERS AND SINGLE PARENTHOOD

While attention has usually been focused on the emotional costs of traditional female gender roles, the costs of traditional male gender roles have been largely ignored (Kimbrell 1992, Lindsey 1990). Roberts (1998) notes that up until the mid-1700s, when most fathers worked in or near the home and took a much greater hand in child rearing, western culture regarded them and not mothers as the more competent parent and ultimately held them more responsible for how their children turned out. Fathers were routinely awarded custody of children in cases of divorce and books and manuals on parenting were chiefly written for men.

However, with the Industrial Revolution (Roberts 1998), fathers began working outside their homes and thus were effectively removed from domestic life. As industrialization increased the female dominance of the domestic scope, the role of fathers began to atrophy. By the mid-1800s, child rearing manuals were geared toward mothers, and this trend continued for the most part until the mid 1970s. It was not until the feminist movement of the 1970s that researchers thought to ask whether fathers could be as nurturing as mothers (Roberts 1998). By the mid-1980s, it had become apparent that patterns of family formation in the United States had undergone quite dramatic changes. The divorce rate had nearly tripled, and the number of children living in single-parent homes had doubled. The courts making custody arrangements no longer used a father's work outside the home against them since both parents often were working (Gilbert 1998).

Although the role of single father parenting is becoming more common than ever before, assuming that role may be difficult for many because men are rarely socialized to be the primary caregivers for children. Fathers have few male role models for balancing the conflicting demands of work, socializing, housekeeping, and childcare (Greif and DeMaris 1990). Individual single fathers are left essentially to themselves to define their roles, and expectations on the part of others are reflected in a wide range of behaviors and attitudes

(Nieto1982). Single fatherhood has not yet been assimilated into American Culture. Thus, cultural discrimination persists against fathers who assume the primary parenting role (Greif and DeMaris 1990). With few role models and limited cultural support, single fathers are likely to experience role ambiguity and role strain.

The application of role theory to the understanding of family problems points out that role ambiguity arises when people are unclear of what is expected of them. Roles can be defined in three ways: the prescribed role, from the point of view of others; the perceived role, from the point of view of the person in the role; and the enacted role, from the point of view of the actual behavior performed by the person in the role (Deutsch and Krauss 1965). The more individuals perceive consensus in the expectations about their roles, the less their role strain. Greif and DeMaris (1990) state that without consensus among themselves and others regarding the nature of their role, single parent fathers are likely to feel unsure about their behavior, which in turn, may result in dissatisfaction and discomfort. Clarifying role expectations, which is already available for single mothers (Nieto 1982), is needed by the single father in a number of areas that are critically important to the successful performance of the parenting role.

The role of tradition in terms of norms, values, and performance expectations are lacking for single fathers. Yet, tradition is potentially a powerful factor in determining problems that face the single father. Because single father status is not institutionalized, allowances and accommodations are not made by institutions to provide for the father's and his children's social, psychological, and financial support. Lack of cultural and institutional support systems will influence adjustment of single fathers to their roles, their help-seeking behavior, and their willingness to use external resources. While many studies show that in general many single fathers are adjusting successfully to their role,

apparent in literature is the lack of congruence beween society's perceptions of the single father and his perceptions of himself.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A review of the literature revealed little studies on single father families or specific concerns that they felt. The literature review, however, yielded useful information for the design of research questions for this study. The study reported here examined respondents' perceptions on the following items:

1. Perceptions of single parent father's role as stressful.
2. Perceptions about whether children need their mothers more than they need their fathers.
3. Perceptions about whether children need their mothers as much as they need their fathers.
4. Perceptions about whether American Culture is supportive of single parent father roles.
5. Perceptions about whether American Culture is more supportive of single mothers than single fathers.
6. Perceptions about whether child custody favors parental gender than child's interest.

METHODOLOGY

Participants

Fifty-eight single parent fathers participated in this exploratory study, and their average age was 33 years old. The majority (n=36, or 62%) were parenting two or more children under the age of 18, while the other (n=22, or 38%) had one child. Thirty-four (59%) were high school graduates, 24 (41%) had college, professional, and/or advanced degrees. Their average annual income was $40,000. A majority (n=42, or 72%) became single parents after divorce, the rest (n=16, or 28%) became single parents for reasons ranging from widowhood, abandonment, emotional/mental illness, to chronic drug and alcohol dependence.

Sample Recruitment Procedure

Graduate students enrolled in Social Work Human Behavior and Social Environment classes at two large Southeast universities participated in the recruitment of subjects for this study. There were a total of sixty-seven students in both classes of the two universities. For extra credit, students were assigned the recruitment project at the beginning of the semester. They were asked to generate lists of single parent fathers through contacts from their respective communities, cities, state, friends, relatives, church, or civic organizations, co-workers, etc. Although the two universities are located in the Southeast region of the United States, some of the students were from other regions and recruited about twenty percent outside the Southeast.

Forty-six students successfully developed 72 names, addresses, and telephone numbers of potential subjects through various contacts including use of the snow ball approach by the middle of the semester. All of the potential subjects were contacted by telephone to verify their information and willingness to participate in the study. As human subjects, they were informed of the study's purpose, about the confidentiality of their responses, and the low risk of the study to them. A total of 66 questionnaires were then mailed to those who agreed to take part in the survey. Of the 62 surveys that were completed and returned, four could not be used due to missing answers. Thus, 58 of the surveys were returned with complete answers for analysis.

Data Collection

The questionnaire was specifically designed by the researcher to obtain responses to a series of scaled and open-ended questions. It was pre-tested on a small number of key informants involving four students and two single parent fathers to address face and content validity issues. Modifications were made using their feedback. For each scaled question, respon-

dents were asked to give their opinions in a self-administered questionnaire using a Likert-type scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, Strongly Disagree). Respondents were asked to respond to six brief scaled items (e.g. American culture is supportive of single parent father roles, American culture is more supportive of single mothers than single fathers, etc.).

The open-ended questions were structured to allow the respondents to elaborate in greater depth and detail on three levels: strengths, concerns and recommendations as to how society could better help them in their parenting roles. Using open-ended questions, respondents were instructed to identify and elaborate on those qualities of good single parent fathers' which represent strengths (e.g. priority or significance placed on child-rearing role, commitment to parenting for personal and society's benefit). Regarding their primary concerns as single parent fathers, respondents' perspectives on bias against single parent fathers, insensitivity to their roles, lack of social services, and the perception of them by society were considered. These responses were reviewed by the researcher and subsequently organized into major categories. The data were analyzed using descriptive statistics.

RESULTS

Perceptions of single parent fathers regarding stresses associated with their roles were considered across five items. Table 1 presents the distribution of respondents' perceptions on each of the items. Seventy-two percent of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed that single parent father roles are stressful. Twenty-four percent disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 4% were undecided.

A majority of respondents (70%) believed that children do not need their mothers more than they need their fathers. Only 13% agreed or strongly agreed that children need their mothers more than their fathers, and 17% were undecided. Similarly, respondents were asked to indi-

TABLE I

Perceptional Measures of Single Father Parenting Issues In Percent

Item	(SA)	(A)	(U)	(D)	(SD)	Total
Single Parent father's role is more stressful than single mother's	20.7	31.0	10.3	24.1	13.9	100
Children need their mothers more than they need their fathers	8.6	5.2	15.5	31.0	39.7	100
Children need their mothers as much as they need their fathers	44.4	32.8	25.8	—	—	100
American culture is supportive of single parent father roles	31.8	27.6	17.2	27.6	13.8	100
American culture is more supportive of single mothers than single fathers	31.0	39.3	5.7	13.7	10.3	100
Child custody favors parental gender over child's interest	29.3	36.2	6.9	17.2	10.4	100

Based on the scale: Strongly Agree = SA, Agree = A, Undecided = U, Disagree = D, Strongly Disagree = SD.

cate whether children need their mothers as much as they need their fathers. A majority felt that children need their mothers as much the same as they need their fathers. For example, fully 74% agreed or strongly agreed. Meanwhile, none disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 26% were undecided.

Opinions of the respondents were evenly divided on the item that measured whether the American culture is supportive, as in offering services designed specifically to aid single parent fathers' role responsibilities. Forty-one percent felt that single parent father roles lack support from the American culture.   Another 41% agreed or strongly agreed that the American culture supports the roles of single parent fathers, and 17% were undecided. Findings also reveal that a majority of the respondents believed that the American culture supports single parent mothers more than single parent fathers. For example, fully 70% agreed or strongly agreed.

Twenty-four percent were of the opinion that the American culture does not support single parent mothers any more than it supports single parent fathers, while only 6% were undecided.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether child custody favors parental gender with less consideration to the child's interest. Fifty-six percent said they believed that parental gender favoritism compromises the child's interest in custody decisions, 27% felt that child custody decisions consider the child's interest more than the parent's gender, and 7% were undecided.

The survey instrument utilized open-ended questions and gave respondents a choice of expanding on their strengths, concerns and recommendations. Respondents' data on strengths to the open-ended questions are reported in Table 2. The open-ended question on strengths was related to those characteristics which respondents considered to be important for

successful single father parenting. They were asked, "What are the qualities of good single fathers?" A significant majority (more than half) of the respondents indicated one of three prevalent qualities: (1) a single parent father should view his child-rearing role as a contribution to society, (2) a single parent father's values and commitment should be based on the belief that children represent human future, and (3) a single parent father's responsibilities and actions should be based on the belief that his children are extensions of himself. They felt that these qualities are essential in single father parenting.

Respondents provided a wide range of responses to the open-ended question about their cocerns. When asked, "What are your primary concerns about single

father parenting?", five highly prevalent concerns were indicated. Significantly more than half of the respondents were concerned about: (1) cultural bias against single parent fathers, (2) anti-father child custody process, (3) cultural insensitivity to single parent fathers who desire to raise their children, (4) severe lack of social services that recognize single parent fathers, and (5) society's emphasis on the weakness and problems of single parent fathers without supporting their strengths and contributions to child-rearing.

Responses on the recommendation category also solicited the respondents' responses to the question, "What are your recommendations to the concerns of single parent fathers?" The two most prevalent recommendations provided by close to half

TABLE 2
Categorized Strengths, Concerns and Recommendations

Strengths		
Item	Number (N)	Percentage (%)
Value of child-rearing as a contribution to society	30	51.7
Commitment to value that children represent future	31	53.4
Believe that children are extensions of self	34	58.6
Concerns		
Cultural bias against single parent fathers	37	63.8
Percentage of anti-father child custody process	38	65.5
Insensitivity toward fathers' desires to parent	36	62.1
Lack of social services that are inclusive of single parent fathers	42	72.4
Lack of strengths perspective toward single fathers	40	68.9
Recommendations		
Educate society on children's need of both parents	30	51.7
Educate to remove disrespectful treatment of teachers, professional, and public toward single parent fathers	33	56.9

Note: Responses may exceed sample size (N=58) because of opportunity to provide multiple responses.

of the respondents were: (1) the need to educate society that children need both their fathers' and mothers' socialization in their development process, and (2) education is needed to remove disrespectful treatment of teachers, professionals, and the public toward single parent fathers. A respondent reported:

> "After two divorce judges ruled that our children's mother was not emotionally able to provide primary care to the children, my child's fifth grade teacher insisted on telling my daughter that she needed to runaway and be with her mother and that all children belong with their mothers regardless. My daughter resented going to this teacher's class because she continued to talk about her family daily. I had to go to the principal to have my dauther transfered to another teacher."

DISCUSSION

Research on single fathers has been infrequent, so this study is contributing in paving new territory in the exploration of the myths and realities associated with this growing newer family form. The topic of single parent fathers and their roles is current and often politically charged. Providing more parenting and guidance opportunities to America's children is particularly important in this epoch of high crime and violence, substance abuse, and traditional family disorganization. This study found that single parent fathers encounter stress in their roles as fathers. The stressors associated with parenting are similar for all families (single parent fathers, married couples with children, and single parent mothers). These stressors include: too much to do in too little time (role overload), not being specifically trained for many of the tasks (role insufficiency), having to answer to too many different family members' demands (role conflict), and not being clear on all that is expected (role ambiguity) (Deutsch and Krauss 1965; Greif and DeMaris 1990). For single parent fathers, when the denigration of the role is added to these stressors, the load may become too much to bear. This find-

ing was not surprising since it has been a common knowledge that parenting is perhaps the most difficult role for most adults. However, this finding may perhaps reflect single parent fathers' feelings of not being equally valued in society as parents and the consequent perceived lack of support.

In this study, it was found that single parent fathers reject the notion that children need their mothers more than their fathers. The majority of respondents also supports the notion that children need their mothers just as much as they need their fathers. This finding is important for family advocates and requires their cognizance of this perspective to influence public policy with sensitivity to single fathers. Many respondents reported experiences in which institutions such as schools and child welfare services fail to recognize that some children are being raised by single fathers. Social policies and cultural norms have served to fortify the emphasis on the primary role of fathers as the economic provider for the family. Consequently, fathers have been discouraged from involvement with their children by accepting a masculine imperative which denies men the opportunity for more meaningful parent-child relationships.

Another interesting finding concerns respondents' opinions about the degree of cultural support for their roles as single parent fathers. It was found that respondents were evenly divided on the issues about whether society supports their role. On the other hand, this study found that respondents felt strongly that single parent mothers receive more cultural support than single parent fathers. This finding corroborates existing literature (Greif and DeMaris 1990; Nieto 1982) which has suggested that single parent fathers encounter cultural discrimination and bias more than single parent mothers. The notion of social justice and equal treatment regardless of gender is implied here. This perception is further implied in respondents' overwhelming belief that child custody process favors parental gender than child's interest.

The principal findings concerning the strengths of single parent fathers indicated that their successes are imbedded in their value systems. That is, the majority value their child-rearing role as a contribution to society, their commitment to their parenting role emanate from their values and beliefs that children represent society's future, and that in their value systems, children are extensions of themselves. This study found that education was recommended as the favored means for increasing understanding, recognition, and support for the roles of single parent fathers. The need to use education to inform the society that children need both of their parents was recommended. Most importantly, this study found fathers believed that disrespectful treatment from professionals and the general public toward single parent fathers can be reduced through education. The media may show some positive aspects of single fathers.

Contemporary child welfare problems ranging from increased child abuse and neglect to substance abuse among children and sometimes parents demands both private and public efforts in the development of appropriate institutional responses and practices. It is clear that much work needs to be done on behalf of single father parents to explore their psychological, social, and education needs. In contemporary America where absent fatherhood has become pandemic, those single parent fathers are role models. While some of them may feel confident in their roles, negative social attitudes may cause some to experience role ambiguity. Single-father families, like all families, can be encouraged to take advantage of available resources in the community. There is need for child(ren) oriented incentives to build connections between the home, the workplace, the school, the neighborhood, and the community.

It is important to note that this study was based on a convenience sample. The annual $40,000 income of these 58 caucasian fathers suggests they are middle class. The selectiveness of this sample may influence results and may vary for other single fathers because of cultural, ethnic, and social class variations in families. Ethnic minority families such as African American and Mexican American differ from Caucasian American families in their size, structure, their reliance on extended kinship networks, and their levels of income and education. Evaluation of these factors and variables requires further research.

The consideration of the phenomenon of single parent fatherhood and of the literature on it clearly suggests that more research is essential. Future research aimed at developing a conceptual or theoretical framework for the analysis of single father parenthood is needed. The need to clarify single parent fathers' roles, expectations, and concerns will be helpful in developing interventions to address their potential psychological, social, economic, and educational concerns. Research is needed to address the negative attitudes of society and to inform the public that men adapt to the rigors of fatherhood, see raising a family as a very important goal in their lives, and that it is mainly the emphasis on the provider role and the de-emphasis on the childhood socialization role which keep men from assuming greater responsibility for nurturing their children. The research represented by this study is by no means exhaustive, but should be acknowledged for calling attention to the status of inquiry in this area. Research on single parent fathering should continue apace.

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IT'S A FAMILY AFFAIR: INTERRACIAL COUPLES' PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILIAL RESPONSES

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Abstract

This article explores the perceptions of interracial couples of their families' reactions to their relationship. These perceptions play an integral role in how the couples see themselves, understand their place in society, as well as how to cope with the problems they face. The findings from this study support other research, which tends to indicate that White families have more difficulty in adjusting to interracial marriages than African American families. This qualitative study consists of 28 interviews with Black/White couples in the Southern region of the United States over a three year period beginning in 1995.
Keywords: interracial couples, marriage, marginality, families

Interracial couples. The very term evokes powerful emotions in many people. In some, it causes confusion or concern. In others, it results in hostility and strong opposition. While the subject of race is one of the most frequently discussed in the sociological literature, and while there is ample research concerning intermarriage among Europeans and other ethnic and religious groups (Healey 1995; Kivisto 1995; Feagin and Feagin 1993; Marger 1994), surprisingly little attention has been given to intermarriage between African Americans and Caucasians (Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 1995; Mathabane and Mathabane 1992; Stuart and Abt 1975). Part of the reason for this may be the small number of cases and how the data is collected on interracial couples. While the information collected is not comprehensive or, in some cases, systematic (Porterfield 1982), the U.S. Bureau of Census provides perhaps the best tool with which to quantitatively measure this population.

As Table 1 indicates, interracial marriages increased from 65,000 in 1970 to 167,000 by 1980, which was roughly a 125% increase. By 1990, the number rose to 211,000 followed by another jump in 1995 to 326,000.

While the number of Black/White marriages makes up approximately one half of one percent of the estimated 55 million marriages in this country, a careful reading

TABLE 1

Ten Year Trends in Interracial Couples: 1970 to 1995
[in thousands]

RACE	1970	1980	1990	1995
Interracial Couples-All Races	310	651	964	1,392
Black/White	65	167	211	326
Black husband/White wife	41	122	150	204
White husband/Black wife	24	45	61	122
White/other race	233	450	720	988
Black/other race	12	34	33	76

of this data shows that the number of Black/White married couples tripled from 1970 to 1990 and quintupled from 1970 and 1995. Thus, although still small in terms of actual numbers, Black/White marriages are increasingly becoming a common feature of the social landscape (Staples and Johnson 1993; Nakao 1993). Additionally, the proportion of Black men married to White women has quintupled from 1960 to 1990. For African American women marrying White men, the rate was slightly more than half of African American men, but it too is increasing dramatically (Besharov and Sullivan 1996). Thus, the most common Black/White marriage involves a Black male and a White female.

As Besharov and Sullivan (1996) suggest in their study of data from the National Center for Health Statistics, African Americans are substantially less likely to marry Whites than are Hispanics, Asians, or Native Americans. However, the increase in the number of interracial couples could lead one to conclude that interpersonal racism is declining. As African Americans continue to make strides in education and employment markets, their overall appeal to other African Americans as well as to those from other races, improves.

ATTITUDES ABOUT INTERRACIAL COUPLES

Given these recent trends, it would seem that Americans would be becoming more tolerant of intimate relationships between people of different races. However, while it is true that the number of interracial marriages has been increasing in this country, there is considerable debate over whether or not they are considered acceptable. Rosenblatt, Karis, and Powell (1995) contend that the significant increase in the number of interracial marriages and dating indicates a greater tolerance toward relationships between people of different races. This can also be interpreted to mean that racism in America is declining.

On the other hand, some researchers have suggested that the number of couples, although increasing, has remained small in part because of a lack of societal acceptance (Johnson and Warren 1994; Staples and Johnson 1993). In other words, many experts have argued that Americans are strongly opposed to interracial relationships, particularly between African Americans and Whites. The reasons for this vary, but part of the explanation is found in stereotypical images of African Americans as well as the reasons they intermarry with Whites.

Perhaps the most common reason people think African Americans date and marry Whites is to escape their current financial and social situation. That is, when an African American marries a White, it is perceived as a step toward upward social mobility. However, since the vast majority of Black/White relationships involve African American men and White women, and since White women earn substantially less, on average, than men in general, this type of relationship does not benefit the African American. While economic resources are not the only things that determine social standing, there remains the perception by many people that this type of relationship enhances an African American male's position in society.

Another popular conception concerning interracial couples suggests that people who become involved in these types of relationships are either traitors of their own race or, at the very least, are diluting their racial identity. This claim is often made by African American women, who claim that not only is the purity of the African American race being challenged, it is also problematic for them since there are fewer marketable African American males from which to choose (Spickard 1989). As more African American males marry White women, they argue, it makes it more difficult for African American women to find suitable partners of their own ethnic background/heritage. This is a dubious claim however since it may mask racist attitudes among African American women. To suggest that interracial marriages are inappropriate because they limit the opportunities of African American women implies that

African Americans should only marry each other. Thus, the frequency of these claims may be a manifestation of subtle (or even overt) racism.

A third perception about interracial couples implies that the basis of the relationship is sexual. That is, the reason for the union has to do with a preoccupation with what Staples (1992) defines as "forbidden fruit." This applies especially to White women and Black men, where the historical connotations linger: during slavery, Blacks were forbidden to have intimate relationships with White women.

Finally, it is believed that many interracial couples, particularly those who are public figures, flaunt their relationships for the shock value or to engage in exhibitionism. However, some studies have shown that many multiracial couples tend to avoid drawing attention to themselves and are often unwilling to participate in research on the subject for fear of being labeled and stigmatized (Kerwin et al. 1993; Rosenblatt, Karis, and Powell 1995).

Examples exist for each of the previously stated reasons for interracial marriages. However, it is one thing to suggest that individuals marry for economic and social benefits. It is quite another to suggest that these motivations are the exclusive domain of interracial couples. Every reason cited, as well as others not mentioned, can be used to describe the motivations for all types of marriages.

Still, there seems to be a sense of discomfort with the notion of interracial marriages in American society. One might think that a lack of public acceptance would cause couples to rely more heavily on their families for emotional and social support. But what if the partners' families are opposed to the relationship?

FAMILIES AND INTERRACIAL COUPLES

The literature that focuses on family responses to the interracial couple suggests that many members on both sides react with considerable emotion to the couple's decision to date and subsequently marry (see Tizard and Phoenix 1993; Johnson and Warren 1994; Frankenberg 1993). These emotions range from ostracization to embracing the newest member of the family with warmth and love. Problems emerge, however, when the family is opposed to the relationship and does not offer support to the couple.

For instance, in their study of interracial marriages, Johnson and Warren (1994) found that members of the families of White partners were either hostile or fearful of the interracial relationship. The authors also found that many members of a White partner's family tried to conceal the relationship from their friends and neighbors. It is on these types of problems we focus our attention in this article.

Specifically, the purpose of this article is to shed light on the impact each partner's family has on an interracial marriage. What is important to remember is that we are dealing with the perceptions of couples' reactions by family members to their relationship. While we did not have the opportunity to interview family members of interracial couples, we feel that what the couples have told us, even retrospectively, represents a salient issue relating to participating in an interracial (Black/White) relationship—the sense of isolation the couples experience and feel in society. While the particular problems they encounter in their communities is documented elsewhere (see McNamara, Tempenis, and Walton 1999), it has relevance in this article since the lack of support by family members, either in the past or in the present, exacerbates the obstacles and stress they experience from others in society.

METHODS

This ethnographic study consisted of in-depth interviews with twenty-eight interracial couples in the upstate area of South Carolina. For our purposes, we define an interracial couple as consisting of an African American and a White partner. The

reason for this is that it avoids confusion regarding what we mean by interracial. We chose to define our group in a way that most people could easily identify. Additionally, given the ways African Americans have historically been treated in the South, this type of union, and the problems generated from it, were of particular interest to us.

As one might imagine, locating couples who were willing to participate in the study was extremely problematic (see for instance Hammersley and Atkinson 1984; Agar 1980). There are no national data bases or membership lists that can be used to find these individuals, although there are organizations in some states. As such, more creative means had to be employed, each with varying levels of success. Locating couples was only the first step in a rather complex process (see for instance Smith and Kornblum 1995). Many couples are reluctant to participate in studies for fear of retaliation or simply because they do not wish to be stigmatized with the "interracial" or "multiracial" label. In some cases, we discovered they had participated in other studies, only to have their confidences betrayed or had confidential information revealed.

Nevertheless, we began our efforts to identify couples with an analysis of marriage licenses in an upstate area of South Carolina. These documents are a matter of public record and the information in the application included, among other things, the names of both parties, addresses, and race of each person. From these records, we were able to identify a list of approximately 150 African American/White couples who applied for marriage licenses during 1996. However, due to a number of problems, we were able to secure only four interviews from this source.

Additionally, a former student who was involved in an interracial relationship told us about a local church that had several members who were involved in interracial relationships. From this group, almost all of whom participated, we were able to develop a snowball sample of their friends and/or relatives. We were also able to identify a support group for interracial couples. Unfortunately, the group did not hold meetings for several months during the year and eventually disbanded completely.

We also contacted two magazines in the Atlanta area whose circulation extended into South Carolina with the hope of placing an ad in one of their issues. However, both magazines declined, stating they had recently amended their publishing policy to prohibit such advertisements. Finally, we placed an ad with a local alternative newspaper, which resulted in two couples contacting us for an interview.

Through these selection processes, we were able to obtain twenty-eight couples who agreed to be interviewed. The interviews lasted, on average, approximately one and a half hours, with some as long as three hours. In the interest of comprehensiveness of data collection, most of the interviews were conducted by two of the three members of the research team. This technique was useful since one interviewer could concentrate on the interview while the other could make observations as well as develop a rapport with the children when they were present. In a few situations, one member (McNamara) conducted interviews alone, but these were exceptional cases. Additionally, we varied interviewer pairings to observe different interview styles and to ensure our inter-coder reliability when analyzing the data. Later in the study, one author reinterviewed a number of couples, some by telephone, to gain additional insight and information.

While this study describes the issues, both positive and negative, relating to interracial couples in the South, we should note that we do not attempt to generalize to the larger American population. We have selected a small segment of the population and our observations and insights only apply to those we interviewed.

We should also note that the couples we interviewed represent only a certain segment of the interracial population. Since

we relied on a snowball sampling technique and have focused on couples whose marriages are intact, we may have captured a glimpse of the best possible scenario for these couples. They have endured the problems and found some way to overcome them and allow their relationships to grow. If we can identify problems and issues in these relationships, we can only speculate about the implications and deleterious effects these problems may have had on those couples who could not stay together.

Finally, we must reiterate that we are relying on the couples' perceptions of the problem as well as their recollection of events. These perceptions play an integral role in how the couples see themselves, understand the world around them, as well as how they cope with an array of issues in our society. There can be little doubt, as W.I. Thomas reminds us, that "if men perceive situations as real, they are real in their consequences." Thus, this study fits squarely within the symbolic interactionist's perspective of sociological investigation.

Given the problems locating couples willing to participate in this study, largely due to the aforementioned concerns of confidentiality and anonymity, it was simply impossible to interview family members. Thus, it must be clear that while these are in some cases retrospective and second hand accounts of the problems, it is important to realize that these perceptions are important in documenting the couples' overall experiences. Further, since we have no way of corroborating the couples' statements, we are forced to provide literal descriptions of their accounts. This is a common problem in sociological field research and while it is in fact a limitation, we feel confident that what the couples have told us is an accurate depiction of their perceptions of events.

TYPES OF FAMILIES

Part of understanding the families' reaction is found in the composition of the family as well as the partner's position within it. There is obviously a great deal of variation in describing different types of families (nuclear, extended, etc.). One can use educational background, occupation, social class, or any of a number of variables. However, in trying to understand how the families of interracial couples react to the new spouse, we find that one of the important factors in assessing the family members' reaction was the level of integration the partner had toward their families. That is, how close the partner felt to his or her family had a lot to do with how and in what way the family reacted, as well as the difficulties the partner experienced in trying to justify or explain his or her decision to marry. Consequently, a very general and broad categorization of the families was necessary.

Although not mutually exhaustive, in our interviews[1], we developed a three dimensional typology: *the intact/traditional family, the distant family*, and *the fragmented family*. For purposes of discussion, the term "family" in this context refers to the family of origin for each partner as opposed to in-law families. Additionally, the term "partner" refers to the biological child of the family of origin. In other words, in this context, we are referring to the relationship each partner has with his or her immediate families.

The intact family is one in which both parents were present and the partner was close to both of them as well as extended kin, such as siblings, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. Of the fifty-six individuals we interviewed (twenty-eight couples multiplied by two), twenty describe their families with these characteristics. As Kathy[2], a White wife, describes it:

> Growing up, I guess you could say that we had a traditional family. My mother and father have been married almost thirty years. My father worked as a salesman of industrial supplies and my mom stayed at home to raise my two brothers and I. We had sort of a picture perfect childhood: we would all go to church on Sunday and then have a big dinner in the afternoon. Sometimes my

cousins would come over and we would play in the backyard or in the pool. At Thanksgiving we would have just about the whole family over and the house would be full of people. I felt close to my family and my uncles and aunts all lived nearby so we saw a lot of them too.

The distant family is one in which both parents are not usually physically or emotionally present, and the partner does not maintain close ties with them or with other family relatives. In most cases, the partner is perceived as the outcast of the family— they are always getting into trouble of some kind and do not conform to the standards set by society or by family traditions. In one sense, the family's perception of the partner may explain the distance he or she feels from the rest of them. Twenty individuals had families with these characteristics. Holly, a White wife describes her relationship with her family in this way:

> My family . . . Well, I can say they are what you might call a stable family. I mean my mother and father are still married and my brothers and sisters still get together for the holidays and stuff. But I was always, and I really think this is unfair, I was always considered the screw up of the family. I was always doing something that they considered as they put it 'inappropriate.' Another thing that happened was that I grew up in a small town. You know how it is, everybody knows everybody's business. Well, I had trouble finding a job because everyone in town thought that I was a troublemaker so they wouldn't hire me. A lot of times my parents would sort of nod, like, 'Well she's screwing up again.' So when I started dating a Black guy, it was just another example of my being stupid or reckless in some way.

Amber, who is an African American, had this to say:

> I could never live up to my family's expectations. My parents do not think that I will ever amount to anything. I could never do anything right and nothing was ever good enough for them. Even when they got divorced, somehow it was okay for them to do it, but for me, I was the one person in our

family who, no matter what I did, would always be looked down on for it.

Finally, the fragmented family consists of blended families, either through divorce or death, and there are sometimes stepchildren present. This group experiences perhaps the most difficulty in keeping relationships intact and it was not uncommon to learn that members in this type of family had been married more than once. Sixteen individuals had families with these characteristics. Doris, an African American wife, describes her family in this way:

> Well, where do I begin. Let me start by saying that my family is, well to describe it anyway, is messed up. I've got brothers and sisters, step brothers and sisters, all kinds of aunts, uncles, and cousins that are my real relatives and then a whole slew of half relatives. My mother and father divorced when I was fourteen and then my mother had a baby from this guy, but she never married him. Then she did it again, and the third time she actually married the guy. My father remarried, got divorced again a year later, and married another woman from Hampton. She had three kids from another marriage and then my father wanted a child of his own. Now they just recently got divorced and my father has his eye on another woman that he says he's going to marry. My little sister is sixteen and she's pregnant with her second child, both of whom have different fathers. Everybody's either gettin' married, divorced, or havin' a baby. And outside of my parents, the longest anyone has ever been with someone has been seven years, that's me and my husband. We have two kids, but a lot of my family doesn't want to be around them. So see, this is not what you might call a normal family situation.

WHITE FAMILIES

Some of the research on families' reactions to interracial couples, particularly from White family members, suggests that many members clearly oppose these types of relationships (Johnson and Warren 1994).

The reasons for this type of opposition are many but there appears to be a consen-

sus in justifying why these types of relationships are unacceptable. Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell (1995), drawing from the work of Frankenberg (1993), identify five broad categories in which the families of the couples they interviewed opposed interracial relationships, all of which evolve around some type of fear. The first is the overall opposition based on societal or community disapproval. Here family members were against interracial relationships because of the greater community's condemnation of these types of couples.

The second, and related, category revolves around fear for the general physical well-being of the couple as well as the emotional and social dangers. Essentially, what many White family members are concerned about are racist individuals who may take their attitudes and translate them into overt negative behavior toward the couple and their children.

A third reason relates to the problems and difficulties the children might encounter. This obviously applies to biological children from the interracial couple, but also those from previous marriages. Specifically, the concern is the ostracization of the children by both races and the damage this may cause to their self-esteem.

Fourth are economic issues. There is the perception by many Whites that some people opposed to interracial couples will take exception to them in a variety of ways, such as employers withholding job opportunities or promotions. Thus, interracial couples, by this logic, expect to experience job discrimination and a bleak economic future.

Finally, some White family members are against interracial relationships because they contend that African Americans are very clannish and would not interact with their White relatives. Thus, White family members express concerns that they would not have ample opportunities to see their son or daughter or their grandchildren. In the present study, we find evidence of each of these reasons. As we describe

below, many family members strongly subscribe to these as legitimate reasons to reject interracial couples, even when they include a member of their own family.

REACTIONS

When family members learned of the couple's decision to marry, there were a number of reactions. Granted, there are only essentially a few possible responses, but what was particularly interesting was how the reaction related to the type of family (intact, distant, fragmented).

Perhaps the most common reaction for intact families, especially if the couple had not dated for a long period of time, was shock. The couples we interviewed dated, on average for approximately three years prior to deciding to get married. In some cases, however, the time period was quite short. Sydney and Tom dated for four years before deciding to get married. Still, many family members were shocked at their decision. Sydney states:

> They were like, 'Oh my god they're getting married!' I think they thought that there was never really any threat—that we would just date for a while, we would lose interest and then go on to other people. What they never counted on was this thing Tom and I have was going to last and that they would have to deal with it.

In those cases where the White partner was a member of an intact family, one of the most common reactions was fear, both for the individual partner, as well as for the couple and any children they might have. However, this fear was not usually based on the assumption that the African American partner was incapable of providing for their son or daughter or would not meet his or her responsibilities as a spouse or parent. Rather, the concern was with the implications and consequences of being an interracial couple. Consider the comments of Diane, who married her African American husband, George, two years ago:

> When I told him what I wanted to do, my father gave me a lot of reasons, and he said

mostly it was a family wide thing. They said it wasn't because of the color of his skin, that wasn't the main problem. It was the fact that he didn't have a college education. My father said, 'Why should a college educated girl be marrying an uneducated Black man? It just won't work!' But I stood my ground and made them tell me why. My father said, 'Look I'm not racist, I marched in the 60s. It is just that I am afraid of what might happen to you if you marry this man, economically and socially.' So see it was never about whether my husband was good enough, they were just afraid of what would happen if I married him.

Very few intact families were initially supportive of the couple's decision to marry. Of those that were, it was usually based on an understanding of multiculturalism and a belief in their child's ability to make decisions that would result in their happiness. Consider what Doris has to say about her family's reaction:

My parents were great about it. They wanted to make sure I was happy, but they were behind me from the beginning. I think they understand that there may be problems, but they have always helped me and respected my decisions. This is just another one of those. Are they afraid? I think so, but they know this is what I want and are willing to do whatever they can to help me. I don't know how many interracial couples can say they had a lot of support from their families, but I know I have.

While only three of the intact families were supportive, another reaction was to simply accept the situation. This differs from support in that, while the families accepted the couple's decision to marry, this did not imply that they were in favor of it or would lend it the necessary social and emotional support it needed to grow. Roy has this to say about his family:

Well, my mother and father told me that they were in my corner about my decision, but I could tell they weren't really that supportive. They said, 'We're not telling you not to because we'll be in support of whatever you do, but I just want you to think about your decision. What that really meant

was 'Yes I have to accept your decision because you are an adult and I have no choice over who you choose to marry. But that doesn't mean that I have to like it or think it is the right thing to do.' What it also means is that they are saying they are supportive parents but I knew, and their behavior confirmed it, that they were not going to be a lot of help when things didn't go well for us. They said all those things because they felt that was what they were supposed to say, not because they really felt that way. And sure enough, when we were planning the wedding and other relatives started to give us a hard time about it, where were my parents? They were throwing their hands in the air saying to them 'We know! We know! But what can we do about it?'

In a few cases, family members accepted the situation since the couple was expecting a child. Pam has this to say:

I think part of the reason why our parents became so adamant is because I had gotten pregnant before we had gotten married. Not by choice, but we had wanted to get married at a certain time and, well, in the months that we were planning, I had got pregnant. It wasn't like the kiss of death or anything since we knew we were going to be married and we knew we wanted to start a family. But my family didn't see it that way. And to some extent I understand, because there were a lot of high expectations for us because we were at a very crucial point in our lives. Part of it was that our parents were surprised that we were even thinking about getting married, but their reaction really shocked us. We thought they would be more supportive in general, but the pregnancy opened up things we were not expecting.

There were a couple of instances in which it seemed one family member opposed the relationship, but did so out of loyalty to another member. As the couples describe it, it seemed as though this happened more often with parents than other relatives. Consider Gina's response:

Well, when I told my parents, they both looked kind of shocked and then my father sort of blew up. He was yelling and screaming and told me that I had just thrown my life away and was I happy about that. But

the whole time, I didn't hear my mother say anything against us. Later, after my father went to bed, she came up to me and told me that while she couldn't go against my father's wishes, she just wanted to make sure that I was happy. After a while, even though my father wouldn't speak to me, and even though I couldn't talk to my mother about any of the problems we were having, I sort of knew she wasn't against it.

While fear and shock were perhaps the two most common responses within intact families, this fear sometimes manifested itself in outright hostility. In short, many family members were afraid and handled the situation poorly. Donna has this to say:

My father had an enormous problem with it. In fact, one of the reasons we didn't live together is that I was having a very good relationship with my father at the time and I did not want to damage that. Within a month after telling him, I moved to Atlanta to be with James. It took a long time, but eventually I got my father to talk to James over the phone. I think on personality and general interests they would have gotten along really well. But my father never gave him the chance. But I don't think it is because my father is a racist. I think he was opposed to it mostly out of fear. He just wasn't able to handle something like this. It was beyond the realm of possibilities for him to comprehend. So he reacted the only way he knew how—by getting angry and rejecting the idea completely.

Distant family members did not express much surprise over the couple's decision, even if it was unexpected. The most commonly reported reaction was a mixture of disappointment and confirmation of expectations. A good example of this is described by Lisa, a waitress at a local diner who married her husband Ken approximately five years ago. She states:

As far as anybody on my side of the family, I know there was some mixin' but won't nobody tell you. My dad's side of the family used to own most of Pickens County but the Erikson family, my maiden name, they was some hellions. They used to own slaves. I'm not proud of it but I know this for a fact. But when I met Ken all I heard from my

family was 'All White women who date Black men are little whores. That was the first thing out of my brother's mouth. My sister goes, 'Oh that tramp. She's dating a Black guy and she done had a baby.' And my father goes, 'You are a fool, I thought I taught you better.' It was like my parents were disappointed in me rather than being mad. Like I let them down again or somethin.' I guess my dating and marrying a Black man was just another example of my bein' a troublemaker.

A few distant families tried to be supportive of the relationship, particularly if the decision to marry was based on the fact that the daughter was pregnant, but it usually was a superficial attempt at best. Lisa, who has been married for a little over a year but has had a relationship with Jimmy for five, describes her situation with her family:

We were sort of living together for a while and then I got pregnant. It wasn't a big deal to us because we knew we were going to get married. But when I told my parents, there was like this silence on the other end of the phone. Then they said, 'Well, we just want what is best for you. And is there anything we can do to help?' It was so phony. I could tell they were just going through the motions and doing what is socially acceptable. They never accepted Jimmy in the first place and now that we are having a baby, they know they are stuck with him for a while.

The reactions of the fragmented family were particularly noteworthy. One would think that people participating in relationships like those would be more sympathetic to the potential problems arising from unorthodox relationships. One might also think that these family members would have a greater level of open mindedness due to the fact that their life experiences differ from the norm. However, this group tended to react to the decision to marry with the greatest level of hostility. Perhaps this was out of concern for the White partner: they did not want this couple to experience the same or similar problems that they had endured. In some ways, there may

be some truth to this explanation, as evidenced by Greg's thoughts:

> I think my parents wanted something better from me. I was sort of the family hero. I was the one who was going to make it. I love my dad and I remember standing in the kitchen in my apartment and my dad called me in and said 'I know about Vanessa.' Fear came over me because I didn't know what his reaction would be. I didn't want to be hurt by my dad. I knew he loved me, but he's six foot four and weighs 360 pounds. And he is intimidating. He told me he didn't like the idea of marrying a Black woman and that he always hoped that I would do better than everyone in my family.

Another explanation could relate to social class position. By the couples' accounts, the fragmented family as a group represented the least educated: the couples estimate the average was somewhere between not having a high school diploma to having received a GED. The couples also stated their families had little or no understanding of multiculturalism, and their attitudes towards any minority, particularly African Americans, were clearly racist. Whatever its source, there can be no discounting the intensity of opposition White family members felt towards their African American in-laws. However, the angry response by many relatives of the fragmented family may have originated by the fear of accepting a minority into the family, which, in turn, would affect their social standing with their friends and associates. Interestingly, we only found a few instances in which a fragmented family supported or even accepted the interracial couple. There was one instance in which a few family members accepted the situation, but they did so with great reluctance.

SUBSEQUENT REACTIONS

Over time, however, perhaps due to the longevity of the couple's marriage, intact families showed a reluctant acceptance of their newest member. The literature on this suggests this is a fairly common reaction (see Kouri and Lasswell 1993; Tizard and Phoenix 1993). That is, the longer the couple stays married, family members begin to accept their new in-laws as well as accepting the couple. Russell, an African American who had a stormy relationship with his in-laws in the beginning, has this to say:

> Her mom was still having a problem with it at the time (when we first got married) and was REALLY nasty to me. And she really got difficult when the baby was born. But as time went on, we've been married about ten years now, her mother started talking about my softball games and how I get respect and such. She was genuinely surprised that a Black man could be so nice—that's what she said. She even went to the cash register and tried to pay for breakfast that day. I said, 'No, no, I'll pay for it. Later my wife said, 'You mean she let a Black guy pay for her breakfast?' She's never apologized for what she's done to me and I still don't think she accepts me completely, but let's just say we both know where we stand and it isn't as far apart as it used to be.

In other cases, couples perceived that the fear and concern about their relationship had to do with a lack of understanding of the cultural differences between the two groups. With increased contact with the African American partner, many White family members realize that many of their concerns were based on stereotypical images rather than factually based information.

Stereotypes were further dissolved when White families discovered that the African American partner was, in fact, a loving and committed spouse. In many cases, the parents' concerns about the marriage were assuaged by witnessing the interaction between the couple and that, as one wife put it, "my father saw that not only was my husband an okay guy, but that he was taking care of his daughter. That made a huge difference in terms of him, and everybody else, coming around."

In those cases where hostilities abated somewhat between the couple and their White families, the underlying reason seems to be the introduction of children. It

is as though family members view pregnancy as a sign of maturity and a stabilizing event that allows them to look at the spouse in a different light. Roy had this to say:

> When we got married, it was just another mistake in a long line of errors. But when the children were born, especially Kim, since she was the first, some of those attitudes started to change. I can't explain it, but they treated me differently, as if I had made some monumental stride forward. It was really weird, it was as if all my behavior up to that point was a result of being immature and all my future behavior was going to be more constructive since I now have a child. At some level, too, they also became more accepting of my marriage and more cordial towards Karen.

As was the case with intact families, for those members of distant families that did not accept the African American spouse into the family, the length of time the couple remained married had a tempering effect of emotions. The longer the couple remained married, the greater the likelihood members were to accept or tolerate him or her.

Similarly, time played a crucial element in fragmented White families, but perhaps most important was contact with their African American in-law. While a large number of fragmented families refused to develop even the most perfunctory relationships with the couple, of those that made an effort to repair the emotional

damage done by their initial reaction, most came to understand and, in a few cases, even respect the African American partner.

Brendon, an African American whose marriage to Sharon, his White wife, caused considerable strife within his own family, had this to say about his wife's family:

> I have to admit when I first met Sharon's family, I thought that they were all messed up. Nobody seemed to care that much about what everyone else was doing—there was no real family. So I figured that I was covered and that Sharon's family wouldn't care if she dated or married a Black guy. Wrong. They went crazy, talkin' about how it is immoral because of this and it will never work because of that. And that was before they even met me. After a while, this is like two or three years, they are like okay with me now. Her father even said that he was wrong about how he saw things from a distance and it took a lot of guts for me to stand up to all of them and make them listen to us.

Finally, the declining health of a relative (or of one of the partners) plays a significant role in accepting the relationship irrespective of the type of family. This may be linked to the need to settle one's differences when a person suffers from a terminal illness—a part of getting one's affairs in order. James had this to say:

> My father was absolutely against my marrying a White woman. We did not speak to each other for over five years. Then he contracted lung cancer and he gradually became more sensitive to the issues and accepted us.

TABLE 2
Frequency Distribution of White Families' Responses to Interracial Couples

Type of Family	Reaction				
	Support	Acceptance	Rejection/Fear	Hostility	Total
Intact	3	2	4	3	12
Distant	1	0	5	1	7
Fragmented	1	1	3	4	9
TOTAL:	5	3	12	8	28

And just before he died, he apologized to Donna and said he was sorry that he treated her so poorly. I think him getting sick was what did it.

Overall, what we find is that most of the White partners' families opposed the relationship either when they decided to get married or after the wedding took place. While some couples found a few individual members that were supportive of their relationship, most of the families, whether it was due to fear, apprehension, a lack of understanding, or outright racism, failed to support the couple in their marriage. This was true even after a period of time passed, whereby relatives remained tolerant but few actually supported or embraced the couple.

Among African American families, while there is a noticeable departure from this pattern, some exhibited the same fears and hostilities that White families experience. As Tables 2 and 3 demonstrate, there are almost twice as many intact families among the White partners, but an almost identical number of distant and fragmented families.

AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES

The structure of the African American family differs from the White family (Staples 1992). Consequently, one might expect their reactions to the interracial couples to vary accordingly. For the most part, this was true. In general, the African American partners' families were initially much more accepting of the couple than the White families. This was especially true in those cases where other members had been or were currently involved in interracial or intercultural relationships. Thus, when the couple publicly announced their relationship to the African American partner's family, there was a noticeable absence of the emotional shock. This is true even among African American families that could be classified as intact. Mary describes her family and their reaction:

> When Brad and I said we were getting married, my family was like, 'Whatever.' No bombs went off, it almost seemed like they didn't even care. I mean I know they did, but it wasn't a big deal. Other couples we have talked to say their family was in shock or they went crazy, but really, for us, it went off without a problem.

At times, the couples disagree on the differences between Black and White families. Brad adds this comment to describe his African American in-laws:

> We usually try to make the distinction that this isn't automatically the way we do things. It's been used a couple of times with me when I've gotten on the phone and talked with members of her family: 'Well that's just the way the Black family is.' And I make a strong point of that's not the way the Black family is— that's the way your family is.

TABLE 3

**Frequency Distribution of African American
Families' Responses to Interracial Couples**

Type of Family	Reaction				
	Support	Acceptance	Rejection/Fear	Hostility	Total
Intact	1	5	1	2	8
Distant	1	7	1	4	13
Fragmented	1	5	1	1	7
TOTAL:	3	17	3	7	28

While African Americans are not "shocked" by the presence of an interracial couple in the family, support of the couple is also less common. Most simply accept the situation. One tempering mechanism to this hostility, however, is how the couple seems to get along, as well as for how long the marriage lasts. The more the couple appears to be happy and content, some family members take comfort from the fact that their son or daughter is being well treated. This is particularly true in those cases where the relative is an African American female.

Finally, children did not seem to be the tempering mechanism in African American families that they are in White families. That is, in some White families, learning that the couple will soon be starting a family brings the members of the extended family closer together. Among those African American families that are hostile to the White partners, the presence of children did not seem to play an important role in reducing those tensions.

ASSESSMENT

It seems clear that the reactions by family members present a number of challenges for each couple. However, while these problems are significant, the negative responses by family members must be understood in a larger context. This article does not describe the array of problems interracial couples face from the larger community (see McNamara, Tempenis, and Walton 1999), yet the problems experienced within the families exacerbate an already difficult situation. As a result of problems encountered in the community, many couples have withdrawn from public interaction. Poor service at restaurants, job discrimination, hate mail, obscene phone calls, and even outright attacks while in public make couples leery of forming friendship networks. Some couples have even stated they do not participate in activities with coworkers for fear of some sort of retaliation. The couples report that they have few friends or associates, and even

fewer on whom they can rely in times of trouble.

Under normal circumstances, the absence of friends and acquaintances would probably result in the couple relying on their respective families for emotional and social support. However, as we have seen, in most cases, the couple cannot use family members to resolve this dilemma either. In fact, in some cases, the response by family members mirrors that of the larger community. What results is a significant sense of social isolation by the couples. Many have told us that they feel very alone and do not feel as though the situation will change as long as they live in the South. A few have said that the situation was less problematic when they lived in Europe or other parts of the United States. Couples assert that while their relationship has never been publicly condoned, they felt less of the negative societal reaction in other parts of the country.

Finally, this sense of isolation places a greater burden on their marriage. Many couples feel as though their marriages have suffered since they have not, and do not, feel a part of the larger community.

NOTES

[1]This categorization is developed for descriptive purposes only. It allows us to decipher the different responses by family members.

[2]Ficticious names are used to protect subjects' identities.

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PARTICIPATION OF LATINO COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS IN THE RWCA PROCESS: A STUDY OF TWO METROPOLITAN AREAS

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Abstract

This study examines implementation of the Ryan White CARE Act (RWCA) in two Title I jurisdictions in order to better understand the participation of the Latino community in the Planning Council decision-making and allocation processes. Data were obtained from two Eligible Metropolitan Areas (EMAs) through surveys and a total of 27 in-depth, in-person interviews with executive directors and HIV/AIDS service staff from 14 Latino community-based organizations, Planning Council Chairs, RWCA Title I Administrators, and HRSA Project Officers. Results provide insight into the factors that facilitate or hinder effective participation of the Latino community in the RWCA process and highlight the need for support in the building of infrastructure and capacity within Latino agencies. This analysis also contributes to the growing literature addressing the processes of coalition-building.

Keywords: HIV/AIDS, Ryan White Care Act, Latino Services, Coalitions, mediating institutions

INTRODUCTION

A central theme in sociologic inquiry over the past 40 years has been the participation of marginalized groups in policy development and implementation. Resource mobilization theory suggests that individual and institutional resources such as time, money, influence, or expertise are key elements in policy implementation and change. (See, for example, McAdam, McCarthy, Zald 1996; Tilly, Tilly 1981; McCarthy, Zald 1977.) The age, size, and structure of an organization are also key factors in its ability to participate in and influence public policy—especially when these organizations represent communities of color (Minkoff 1995, 1997).

One of the recent policy initiatives that have the specific goal of increasing participation of marginalized groups in public policy development and implementation is The Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act. This article explores the effort to increase participation by Latino community-based organizations in local community planning, priority setting, and service coordination for individuals and families with HIV/AIDS under the provisions of the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act.

The article begins with a brief description of the CARE Act and the research methodology used in the study. Key findings are presented. The article concludes with a discussion of the ways in which the CARE Act increased representation, participation, and capacity for Latino community organizations, as well as discussion of the obstacles to more meaningful and effective participation.

Background of the Ryan White CARE Act

The Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act (Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act, 1990) is one of the largest and most recent federally funded health initiatives that require local community planning, priority setting, and service coordination. This legislation was enacted to improve the quality and availability of care for individuals and families with HIV-related disease. One specific goal of the Ryan White CARE Act (or RWCA, as used in the rest of this paper) was to improve access to needed services for under served populations with HIV/AIDS. Established to finance comprehensive systems of care for people living with HIV/AIDS, the RWCA prescribes broad participation by affected communities in much the same way as required for the federally-funded Health Systems Agencies (HSAs), which evolved over 20 years ago. Just as the HSAs invited scrutiny regarding the extent to which required representation actually occurred and was meaningful (see Marmor Morone 1980), so too have the Title I Planning Councils and Title II Consortia established under RWCA invited close assessment regarding the extent and impact of participatory planning. Title I of RWCA provides direct assistance to Eligible Metropolitan Areas (EMAs) with the largest number of reported AIDS cases as determined by a statutory formula. All Title I-funded EMAs must have a Planning Council made up of a diverse range of consumers and providers representative of the people affected by the epidemic and their service needs. Title II of RWCA provides assistance to all states to improve the quality, availability, and organization of health care and support services for people with HIV/AIDS and their families. Among its components is a mechanism for states to develop local service planning and coordination consortia. A review of the consortium process is particularly crucial now because RWCA faces the end of its first decade, its second reauthorization cycle, and rising challenges to its programs' responsiveness to the needs of affected populations (Kierler, Rundall, Saporta, Sussman, Keilch, Warren, Black, Brinkley, Barney 1996). Among the many recent indications of challenges to the inclusiveness and responsiveness of RWCA programs have been the 1998 Congressional Black Caucus' initiative on HIV/AIDS and the 1999 General Accounting Office program and fiscal audit report requested by the U.S. House of Representatives.

This article focuses on one particular aspect of representation and participation in RWCA activities: the experience of the Latino community as exemplified in two Title I EMAS. This analysis contributes to the growing literature that reviews implementation of the RWCA (Bowen, Marconi, Kohn, Bailey, Goosby, Shorter, Niemcryk 1992; Mor, Fleishman, Piette, Allen 1993; McKinney 1993; Marconi, Rundall, Gentry, Kwait, Celentano, Stolley 1994; Health Resources and Services Administration 1996) by providing a perspective from a particular community of color living with the challenges of HIV/AIDS. It is thus specifically responsive to a national call to diversify research and evaluation efforts focused on HIV/AIDS service planning and delivery participation under the RWCA (Weissman, McLain, Hines, Harder, Gross, Marconi, Bowen 1994).

The Latino Community, HIV/AIDS, and the RWCA

The Latino community in the United States has been disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS. Although Latinos represent only 10 percent of the national population, they made up a disproportionately high 17 percent of Americans diagnosed with AIDS during the year of this study (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1994). Furthermore, the annual AIDS rates for Latino men (145.9), women (32.2), and children (3.6) have been significantly higher than those for non-Latino white men (57.3), women (5.0), and children (0.4)

since the early 1990s. In addition, studies regarding the Latino population have indicated for some time that they are more likely than non-Latino whites or African-Americans to lack access to health care (Ginzberg, 1991).

In its *1992 Report on Communities of Color* (National Commission on AIDS 1992), the National Commission on AIDS identified four critical barriers that prevent Latinos with HIV/AIDS from obtaining needed services: 1) low rates of health insurance coverage; 2) linguistic and cultural barriers in accessing care in the health delivery system; 3) lagging knowledge and continued misconceptions about HIV/AIDS and its treatment; and 4) attitudes about HIV/AIDS that may place Latinos at greater risk for infection and for delay in seeking care.

Creating yet a further challenge to the development of accessible and appropriate services for Latinos with HIV/AIDS is the fact that the Latino community is not a monolithic population. Country of birth and place of residence in the United States both contribute to major differences observed in the epidemiology of HIV/AIDS among Latinos (Diaz, Buehler, Castro, Ward 1993; COSSMHO 1991). In addition, there are significant variations in Latinos' approach to and receipt of health care. Finally, the experience of both legal and illegal immigration has shaped Latinos' trust and interaction with health care providers. These factors, along with those noted by the Commission, have critical implications for the development and implementation of appropriate HIV/AIDS prevention and care programs for Latinos in this country.

Encouraging the development of culturally competent and accessible HIV/AIDS health care providers is thus crucial to the successful abatement and treatment of the epidemic among this population. The availability of RWCA resources, as well as its concomitant obligations for representative and participatory planning processes, creates the opportunity for developing tar-

geted and responsive models of health care. While non-Latino agencies certainly play an important role in addressing the HIV-related needs of Latinos, Latino community-based organizations (CBOs) are uniquely situated to deliver HIV/AIDS-related care effectively because they provide services in culturally and linguistically appropriate settings. Moreover, Latino CBOs in different regions of the country are aware of the epidemiologic characteristics of their local communities regarding HIV/AIDS. Therefore, the expansion of their role under RWCA funds is a necessary and critical component of an effective response to the hard-hit Latino community.

Latino CBOs have been involved in responding to the HIV/AIDS needs of their local communities for over a decade; many were active well before government funding became available to support HIV/AIDS prevention and care efforts in ethnic minority groups. The extensive efforts of these CBOs have been documented by the National Commission on AIDS (National Commission on AIDS 1992) and other groups (Amaro, Gornemann 1992; Singer, Castillo, Davison, Flores 1990; Latino Health Network 1989). Nevertheless, as the Commission also noted, Latino CBOs have often been at a particular disadvantage in their ability to accrue the resources and support necessary to mount an effective response in their communities, even after the passage of RWCA:

> The Hispanic/Latino community is still facing tremendous programmatic challenges in its response to the HIV epidemic. Hispanic/Latino organizations have had difficulties in accessing the financial resources needed to operate successful HIV/AIDS programs . . . They lack experience in accessing current information about funding sources. Other organizations because of limited infrastructure, insufficient work force, and limited management expertise, also lack the capacity to successfully respond to requests for proposals. Thus, even when organizations have received information about funding opportunities, they may also need technical assistance in order to submit a

competitive proposal. (National Commission on AIDS 1992, p.44).

The current study was undertaken to delineate further the concerns raised by the National Commission regarding Latinos' participation in and benefit from the implementation of RWCA. The study design was also informed by the 1992 research recommendations of the HIV/AIDS Workgroup on Health Care Access Issues for Hispanics convened by the federal Health Resources and Services Administration, which administers RWCA (Health Resources and Services Administration 1991). The Workgroup recommended research on three questions: 1) Does a more representative and open planning council process result in increased access to RWCA services by diverse populations?; 2) Does involvement of Hispanic organizations on HIV planning councils result in allocations that target care to Hispanic communities? and increased use of existing Hispanic medical, home care, housing, food, and other services?; and 3) Are planning councils representative of the Hispanic communities they serve more effective in filling existing gaps in HIV/AIDS services in that community?

Specifically, by looking at the experience of Latino CBOs in two Title I EMAs, this study seeks to provide a more detailed assessment of the barriers to effective participation faced by Latino CBOs in the planning and delivery of HIV/AIDS health care services through RWCA.

METHODS

Study Period and Description of Study Sites

The study was conducted during 1994. The data presented below on the communities where the study took place are for the years of the study.

The particular sites were selected for two major reasons: They reflected both the diversity of the American Latino community and the varied dynamics of the HIV/AIDS epidemic among Latinos, and they were of suitable size to facilitate com-

pletion of the study within a relatively short period of time. For this reason, medium-sized EMAs rather than large EMAs such as New York City or Los Angeles were selected. In order to protect the confidentiality of individuals in participating sites, the EMAS are referred to as Site X and Site Y.

Site X was a single county EMA with a population of 2.6 million comprised of the following ethnic/racial groups: 55 percent non-Latino white, 20 percent Latino, 8 percent Asian or Pacific Islander, 6 percent African-American, one percent Native-American, and 10 percent Other. As of January 31, 1994, 5,483 cases of AIDS had been reported in this EMA, with 73 percent of cases reported among non-Latino whites, 15 percent among Latinos, 10 percent among African-Americans, 1 percent among Asians and Pacific Islanders, and less than 1 percent among Native-Americans. About 79 percent of the Site's AIDS cases were reported among gay men, 8 percent among injection drug using (IDU) gay or bisexual men, and 7 percent among IDU individuals who were not gay or bisexual men. Five percent of all reported AIDS cases occurred among women and six percent among children. Unlike the national case reports, Latinos in this EMA appeared to be under-represented among those diagnosed with AIDS; however, during the study year, Site X noted in its RWCA application that under-reporting of Latino AIDS cases was suspected.

The Planning Council in Site X at the time of the study was comprised of 30 members, among whom 47 percent were persons of color and 30 percent were persons living with HIV/AIDS. To promote community involvement, the Planning Council gathered data through the following means: an annual client and provider needs assessment survey conducted by the County AIDS Office in the local health department; widely publicized general community meetings; and focus groups led by community members. County AIDS Office staff reported the data and recom-

mendations from these sources to the Planning Council, which presented service-funding recommendations to the Board of Supervisors. Health department staff developed the contracts, negotiated final contracts with the selected agencies, and monitored the signed contracts.

Site Y had a population of 4.2 million persons. The population was comprised of 73 percent non-Latino white, 10 percent Latino, 15 percent African-American, 2 percent Asian or Pacific Islander, and less than 1 percent Native-American. As of December 31, 1993, a total of 3,174 AIDS cases had been reported within this EMA, with 54.2 percent of AIDS cases reported among non-Latino whites, 9.8 percent among Latinos, 35.3 percent among African-Americans, and less than 1 percent among Asians/Pacific Islanders and Native-Americans. About 54.2 percent of the EMA's AIDS cases were reported among gay men, 3.2 percent among IDU gay or bisexual men, and 25.1 percent among IDU individuals who were not gay or bisexual men. Sixteen percent of all AIDS cases occurred among women and 1.5 percent among children.

The Planning Council in site Y had 31 members, of whom 19 percent were African-American, 13 percent Latino, 3 percent Asian/Pacific Islander, and 37.5 percent individuals self-identified as living with HIV/AIDS. The planning process included a needs assessment conducted by the Public Health AIDS Program of the local health department and overseen by a subcommittee of the Planning Council. Additional data were gathered through public hearings. The Planning Council reviewed the assessment data and prioritized categories of needed services. The Public Health AIDS Program developed a request for proposals (RFP) based on these recommendations and conducted a review process with a committee selected by Program staff and approved by the Chair of the Planning Council. Staff of the Public Health AIDS Program developed contracts after reviewers selected the agencies recommended for funding.

Procedures

In order to study the participation and planning process in each site, a combination of methods were used including a survey questionnaire mailed to Latino CBOs and interviews with individuals.

Agencies were mailed a survey questionnaire, and open-ended interviews were conducted with persons who met different criteria: 1) two individuals from each agency participating in the study (e.g., the agency executive director and the HIV services coordinator or the direct services coordinator); 2) the Planning Council Chair; 3) the Title I Administrator; and 4) the HRSA Project Officer for each EMA. Interviews lasted from 40 minutes to one hour and 45 minutes. (Interviews with non-funded sites required less information and tended to be shorter.) With the exception of 5 interviews conducted by telephone, interviews were conducted in person at each site.

Sampling Plan

The universe from which the sample of agencies was drawn in each EMA consisted of 17 nonprofit health and human services CBOs that met all of the following criteria: 1) the client population was at least 51 percent Latino; 2) the Board of Directors was comprised of a minimum of 50 percent minorities; 3) the agency was identified in the community as a Latino agency; and 4) the agency provided services to persons with HIV/AIDS or who were at high risk for HIV/AIDS.

To identify all potentially eligible CBOs, two steps were taken. A complete list of all agencies that were members of the Coalition of Hispanic Health and Human Services Organization (COSSMHO) in each EMA was obtained, and calls were made to local agencies on the list in order to identify agencies not on the original list. Calls were made to all potentially eligible agencies in order to ascertain if they met the criteria for participation. Of the 17 eligible agencies, 14 (82 percent) agreed to participate.

Agencies in each EMA were selected to represent 1)agencies that did not apply for

Title I funds in 1992 (in order to assess barriers in applying for and receiving Title I funds); 2) agencies that applied for, but did not receive, Title I funds in 1992; and 3) agencies that received Title I funds in 1992.

Description of the Sample

As shown in Table 1, survey question-naires were completed by 12 of the 14 agencies that agreed to participate (86 percent), and interviews with agency execu-tive directors were conducted with 12 agencies (86 percent). An additional 15 interviews (total = 27 interviews) were conducted with other agency staff and RWCA Title I personnel. Of the 14 partic-ipating agencies, survey information is missing for two, and interview information is missing for two others.

In Site X, all six eligible agencies agreed to participate (100 percent). Three of the agencies received Title I funds in 1992, whereas the other three had never applied for Title I funding. No Latino CBOs were identified that had applied for but did not received Title I funds in 1992.

In Site Y, 8 of 11 (73 percent) eligible agencies agreed to participate; three refused to participate. Of the eight partic-ipating agencies, two had received Title I funds in 1992, one had applied for but not received funds, and five had not applied for Title I funds in 1992. The three that refused to participate were agencies that had not applied for funding. Seven of the eight participating CBOs returned the self-administered survey questionnaire. One executive director was unavailable for interview.

Instruments

Data were gathered through a 16 page close-ended survey questionnaire complet-ed by each agency's executive director or designee and in-depth interviews conduct-ed with the executive directors, HIV/AIDS services agency staff, Planning Council Chairs, RWCA Title I Administrators, and HRSA Project Officer. All instruments were designed by the research team and revised according to results of a pilot test and the suggestions of project advisors.

Survey data included the number and composition of agency staff, clients, and board directors; a description of available services, including those which were HIV-specific; the total budget, including RWCA Title I funds; services funded by Title I during the period 1991-1993; and HIV-related policies established by the board of directors.

Table 1. Sources of Data from Each EMA

	Site X N	Site Y N	TOTAL N(%)
Agencies in Sample	6	8	14
Agencies with Completed Surveys	5	7	12 (86)
Agencies with Completed Interviews			12 (86)
Executive Director	6	6	
Services Director*	4	5	
Council Chair	1	1	
Title I Administrator	1	1	
Project Officer	1	1	
Total Interviews	13	14	

*In most agencies the interview was conducted with the HIV/AIDS Services Coordinator. When no such position existed, the Direct Services Coordinator and/or Substance Abuse Services Coordina-tor were interviewed.

The interview protocol asked participants to discuss the following: 1) agency background and history; 2) participant's knowledge of and experience with the Title I application process in the local area — including degree of participation, obstacles experienced, technical assistance received, and efforts to include the Latino community; 3) the impact of Title I funding on agency systems and capacity (this, for funded agencies only); and 4) suggestions for making the Title I planning and funding process more responsive to the needs of Latino CBOs. The interviewer kept detailed notes on each respondent's answers and recorded other observations made during the interview and agency visits.

Approach to Data Analysis

Data from survey questionnaires were coded, and analysis focused on descriptive characteristics. Qualitative data from interview notes and field notes were used to identify common themes and unique issues that emerged across sites and between funded and non-funded agencies. Analysis of interview data focused on identifying 1) intra-site differences and discrepancies in responses obtained from the respondents; 2) inter-site differences and similarities in information obtained; and 3) differences and similarities in responses from funded and non-funded agencies. Two research staff reviewed the interview data to verify categories developed for the interview data. A database for each interview question was prepared so that responses could be compared for different agencies, sites, and type of respondent, as well as by whether a given agency applied for or did not apply for funds. All interviews were reviewed to identify the major factors that affected the application, funding, and procedural experiences for agencies.

RESULTS

Description of Agencies

The sample included a broad array of agencies: five multi-service agencies, three

health/medical facilities, a substance abuse treatment center, three agencies that focus primarily on HIV/AIDS advocacy, care services, and prevention education, one agency that provides housing development, and one agency that provides services for immigrant women.

Ten of the 14 agencies (71 percent) had been providing services to their communities for over 20 years and represent well-established organizations. The remaining four agencies (29 percent) were established from the mid-1980s through 1991. The budgets of the 14 agencies varied greatly in resources and scope. The 1993 operating budgets ranged from $245,300 to more than $8 million, with a median operating budget of $750,000.

Agencies varied significantly in the number of full-time staff members (ranging from 0 to 250 staff members, median = 25). In most agencies, the majority of the staff were Latinos; in ten agencies (83.3 percent), at least 70 percent of the staff was reported to be bilingual.

Together, the agencies served 126,555 clients in 1992, with the number of clients served by each agency ranging from 82 to 31,287. On average, more than half (62.3 percent) of the clients served by these agencies were monolingual Spanish speakers with little or no ability to communicate in English.

A total of 6,215 clients with HIV/AIDS were served by the agencies; they represent from 1 percent to 44 percent of the census at each site. The majority (86.2 percent) of clients with HIV/AIDS were Latino, of whom most were Puerto Rican (82.2 percent) and male (82.6 percent); they ranged in age from 20 to 60. Clients with HIV/AIDS were somewhat more likely (67.7 percent) to be monolingual Spanish speakers than other clients served in these settings (62.3 percent).

Eight of the 14 agencies in the sample had applied for RWCA Title I funds prior to 1994, the year the study was conducted; their success rate is summarized in Table 2. A total of five Latino

agencies, three in Site X and two in Site Y, had been funded by the end of 1993 for a total of $586,000. This represented 12.3% of RWCA Title I allocation in Site X and 3% in Site Y.

Table 2

Total Dollar Amount and Percent of Title I Funding Received by Latino Agencies (1991-1993)

(N = 12 Agencies)

Year (N)	Site X (%)	Site Y (%)
1991 (2)	$141,000 (9.7%)	$0 (0%)
1992 (4)	$316,138 (11.4%)	$38,400 (1.4%)
1993 (5)	$462,459 (12.3%)	$124,240 (3%)

Information on Title I funding awarded to the sites was provided by HRSA; information on funding received by Latino agencies was obtained through the agency survey questionnaires.

Interview Findings

The major challenges faced by respondent agencies in becoming effective contributors to the planning and delivery of RWCA services centered around four core areas of the program: representation, participation, capacity building, and administrative process. The following sections summarize the findings from 27 interviews conducted with the staff of Latino CBOs and RWCA personnel drawn from the two sites. (See Table 1 for a breakdown of interviews by site.)

1. Motivation for Becoming Involved with the CARE Act Programs

Before examining the difficulties Latino CBOs faced in Title I activities, it is important to appreciate their motivations for becoming involved in and seeking funding from RWCA programs. Like agencies working with other affected communities, Latino CBOs expressed a diversity of compelling interests. Most felt their organizations had an obligation to respond to the challenges of the epidemic in their communities. Some were concerned about apparent discrimination and inadequate care-giving experienced by Latinos with

HIV/AIDS in existing service settings; others were looking for funds to expand the capacities of their existing institutions.

Some reported wanting to "help Latinos and kids" meet "the needs of the community". . . "the patients." Others, like two of the primary care sites participating in the study, wanted to be able to address the increasing caseloads their programs were facing. One setting "had an HIV specialty [clinic] and wanted to increase outreach"; another site "wanted to develop a satellite clinic."

Some agencies, particularly in Site Y where there were few Latino-specific services, were particularly concerned about the quality and the cultural sensitivity of the existing "Anglo" programs serving Latinos with HIV/AIDS. In one case, an agency was developing a new counseling program because the local program serving Latinos had "done a terrible job doing HIV testing."

Like organizations responding to other populations hard hit by HIV-related disease, Latino CBOs had motivations that were informed both by particular community experiences and consciousness and by real institutional needs and burdens.

2. Representation: Understanding, Access, and Respect on the Title I Planning Council

From some of the earliest analyses of RWCA implementation, the challenges of creating diverse Planning Councils have been noted (Bowen et al. 1992; Mor et al. 1993; McKinney 1993; Salem, Horwitz, Lennihan 1992. The under-representation of affected people of color has been characterized frequently (Marmor, Morone 1980; National Commission on AIDS 1992; Weissman, Wolfe, Viruell, Ortiz, Torres, Hughes, Shelton, Worth 1995). This is a critical concern, because, as in other community planning processes, there is an intricate web among representation, participation, and acquisition of funds for particular organizations or population bases (Marmor, Morone 1980; Marconi et al 1994; HRSA 1996). As stated by one respondent in this study: "If you're not in

the loop and are new, you won't know about the funds."

Interviewees identified problems of representation at multiple levels of RWCA process: Lack of a critical mass of Latinos in the Title I Planning Councils had an effect both on the knowledge base in the local Latino community and on the internal operations of the Councils themselves. When there was little or no Latino representation, Latinos and their CBOs were unfamiliar with the "key players" in the local RWCA structure and had little knowledge of the planning and funding application processes. The counterparts who knew and had frequent contact with many of the "key players", including Planning Council members, who understood the planning and application processes, and who, in many cases, had already received Title I funds, were almost all from CBOs that had representation on the Council itself.

Although the effects of under-representation on community awareness, knowledge, and Latino CBO funding were seen in both sites, interviewees reported a considerably more responsive situation in Site X. In that site, there was more Planning Council outreach to community groups and consumers, including Latinos; more involvement in the community via focus groups and other mechanisms; and greater efforts to involve different constituencies in all levels of the process.

Lack of representation on the Title I planning groups also affected the internal function of both Councils. The diversity of the planning members had implications for what issues were given top priority and what services were funded. Respondents felt that the needs of immigrants, women, and children, especially those from minority communities, were insufficiently addressed in the planning process. Similarly, they reported that support services identified as essential within the Latino community, particularly transportation, childcare, and housing, often went unfunded.

Along with the impact on prioritized services, study respondents detailed lin-

guistic, cultural, and affective aspects of the effects of under-representation in their planning groups. Most meetings were monolingual in English; there were no translation services; and "AIDS-speak" was prevalent, further compounding linguistic problems. Meetings could feel "hostile." One respondent reported that the Planning Council ". . . is not a welcoming atmosphere." And, especially for people with English as a second language, the gatherings could be incomprehensible: "People talk with acronyms all the time."

Title I administrators and Planning Council Chairs did not always concur with the perspectives of the Latino CBOs in their areas. In Site X, for example, these respondents considered the Latino input to be substantial and the process inclusive and responsive. In Site Y, there was agreement among the Title I administrators and chairs that the "Planning Council is not diverse," but among this group there was concomitantly a perspective that the process itself was "well organized" and did ultimately address the needs of different communities in its final decision-making. Two of these respondents were apparently unable to differentiate in their answers between the concerns of the Latino community and other communities of color; this suggests that these administrators and chairs may be conflating responsiveness to at least one minority constituency with inclusiveness of all.

3. Participation: Power Relations in the Council and in the Funding Process

Representation on the Council was only the first step of shaping the participation of Latino CBOs in both RWCA planning and funding processes. Once involved, Latino Planning Council participants and other colleagues in the community perceived serious obstacles to their ability either to have Latino concerns heard or to affect the historical allocation of resources. Not unlike the experience of participants in the HAS planning groups twenty years ago, CBO respondents encountered entrenched patterns of decision-making: "The agencies that initially took over are holding

tight to the power." Said another intervie-wee: "Power is the name of the game."

Power was differentially reported to be situated in various key players, provider agencies, or affected populations. In Site X, health care agencies and their providers dominated the local RWCA process and funding acquisition. Community-based organizations providing economic, social, and other systems of support were report-edly "left out in the cold." In Site Y, respondents perceived funding and deci-sion-making to be closed to all but a few constituencies. Said one respondent: "Planning needs to get away from the uni-versities." Another commented that "the power of the gay community is asserted and controls the process." Interviewees noted that feeling excluded from meaning-ful participation in the planning process was discouraging to Latino agencies, even to those that had received Title I funds.

The dominance of one or several con-stituencies in the Planning Council was seen as intimately affecting the flow of dollars to CBOs. Agencies with a "track-record" tended to be the ones that received Title I dollars. They were also usually the ones that had previously been funded and those that held membership on the plan-ning groups. As one respondent character-ized the situation: "The Council picks agencies it knows, not new agencies." In circumstances where the historically funded agencies were primarily health care facili-ties, the allocation practices led social and other non-health providers or community-specific CBOs to believe they were not eli-gible for Title I grant funding.

Sometimes patterns of funding rein-forced perceptions that preferably, or only, large and well-established agencies could become RWCA providers. Illustrating this perspective, one respondent indicated that his Planning Council "tenía principios que parecían un mantra [had guidelines that seemed like a mantra]: 'large before small, old before new'."

Some of the five Latino agencies that had received Title I funds felt that the process had been responsive to them, usu-ally because they fell into the category of large and well-established CBOs and had been able to become an insider by having a representative on the Planning Council. As one funded Latino agency said, things went well "because our agency is well known and part of the process." Neverthe-less, even when Latino and other minority, small, or non-health care-providing CBOs did receive RWCA dollars, respondents often perceived the Council process and decision-making as superfluous. As one respondent noted, the historically funded [big] agencies "get the funds and throw some small funds to other agencies." Other respondents agreed with one Latino CBO representative who said that the Plan-ning Councils seemed to have "an unspo-ken agreement" about how to allocate resources. Concomitantly, they felt that community meetings and public discus-sions about funding priorities were a sham, held to "show that the Council is political-ly correct."

Whether or not these perceptions are fully accurate is less important than the extent to which they speak to the inability of the RWCA Councils to build a sense of inclusive, responsive, and effective partici-pation within the Title I planning and fund-ing activities.

4. Capacity Building: Making Repre-sentative Service Provision Possible

Capacity building issues emerged for respondents in their discussions about infrastructure in Latino CBOs, especially as such issues affected the competitiveness of those organizations in the Title I funding process. It should be noted that there are also capacity building concerns relevant to the effective function of Title I Planning Councils themselves. In this study, howev-er, when interviewees described capacity problems, they were discussing the serious barriers faced by Latino CBOs who want-ed to become effective and competitive RWCA providers.

The most frequently noted problems were associated with the threshold capaci-

ty needed to apply for the Title I grant funds. Many agencies experienced the application process as difficult and complex, problems that were often compounded by short turnaround timeframes. Although the burdens of these structural requirements fell more heavily on small or less experienced agencies, even the larger Latino CBOs faced challenges with the application process. It was often difficult to shift the existing work-loads of agency staff to accommodate the grant development and writing needs. Other agency obligations suffered: "[It] requires staff to write proposals and be taken away from regular jobs."

Even for those Latino CBOs that had the funds to hire a grantwriter, the Title I application effort exacted fiscal and administrative tolls on their organizations. Though perhaps more established and financially secure than their smaller counterparts, these Latino organizations were often over-burdened and under-funded for their existing program activities. Said one respondent: "We had to hire someone to write the grant. The process taxed the agency. It would have been impossible for a new agency with less experience writing grants."

Most respondents noted that technical assistance at the point of application would address some capacity problems in newer and smaller agencies and would help to increase the competitiveness of Latino CBOs. Recommended support included: grant writing training; assistance in identifying experienced grant-writers; and accessible and responsive technical and other advice from Title I administrative staff during grant preparation.

Once funded, there continued serious concerns about ongoing capacity for new service provision. Respondents indicated that administrative and overhead costs associated with Title I HIV/AIDS service provision were insufficiently funded; this was a more serious concern in Site Y where the Planning Council had decided not to fund indirect costs at all. Under-

funding administrative support disproportionately affects those newer and smaller agencies that have yet to develop a sustainable infrastructure.

Further stretching the capacities of many of the CBOs was the fact that proposed HIV/AIDS services were often only partially funded. This partial funding of planned services and the absence or underfunding of associated overhead costs put some agencies in precarious positions. Having made a commitment to HIV-related care, these CBOs found they were putting at risk the stability of the rest of their organizations by creating yet another circumstance where their agencies were performing tasks for which they were under-funded. The consequences, as one individual explained, are that CBOs commit to more than they can do, staff get burned out, and, as a result, the scope and quality of the service provided declines—it becomes, at best, a "band-aid."

5. Administrative Procedures

Though many of the challenges addressed in the last three sections relate to various aspects of the administrative procedures, it is crucial to re-iterate the administrative activities of the Title I program that functioned to the detriment of the Latino CBOs.

All responding agencies acknowledged similar problems with the administration of the application and grant-making process. Applications were often burdensome, sometimes unclear, and frequently problematic because of short turnaround time. Technical assistance for understanding or responding to the application was largely unavailable. This problem was noted by all agencies except the largest and most experienced in grant writing.

Respondents also reported problems with the production, dissemination, and management of understandable and clear grant writing and grant making procedures. Inconsistent application of eligibility and funding guidelines left agencies unsure about whether rules were applied fairly and whether resource decisions actu-

ally reflected community input. Frequent cancellations and rescheduling of meetings during planning periods further augmented a sense of distrust.

The lack of reliable administrative procedures was not confined to the application period. Once agencies received their contracts, many encountered a lack of uniform and reliable record-keeping at the local RWCA administrative offices that sometimes required the re-submission of reports and data. Some Latino CBOs also experienced delayed reimbursement of program invoices, a circumstance that further exacerbated the negative fiscal effects of underfunded service and administrative categories. Others felt particularly burdened by the timing of contractual agreements that sometimes forced agencies to begin providing services upon receipt of their award letter, which could occur as much as several months before actual payment would begin. If an agency did not have other funds to use during the interim, it might face returning some of the contracted amount because of "late start-up."

These administrative problems eroded both trust in and compliance with Planning Councils processes. Site Y was seen as particularly inflexible, arbitrary and problematic; Site X's Council did not develop administrative responses sufficiently responsive to non-medical agencies. However, it was apparent in both settings that leadership and attentiveness from the Council and the Title I staff could do much to alleviate the challenges faced by Latino CBOs.

Latino CBOs felt greater ease with administrative procedures, even with cumbersome and sometimes ineffectual structures, when they experienced the Council as accessible. Council Chairs appeared to play a critical role in creating and sustaining responsible, respectful, and responsive environments. "The Chair of the Planning Council . . . helps to keep the process open," opined one interviewee. When that is not the case, noted another respondent,

the procedures are experienced as difficult and the process is "not user friendly."

Similarly, when Title I staff were sensitive to the priorities and the burdens of different populations, Latino CBOs felt less overwhelmed by the administrative process. In Site X, which the CBOs experienced as more responsive, the Title I staff supported the Latino agencies programmatic concerns by urging attention to special populations such as undocumented immigrants; administratively they increased outreach efforts during the planning and application process, understanding that "the CBOs need technical assistance."

DISCUSSION

Among the primary goals of community health coalitions like the Title I Planning Councils, Butterfoss and colleagues (Butterfoss, Goodman, Wandersman 1983) emphasize the ability of these groups to mobilize diverse constituencies in a process that "can increase the 'critical mass' behind a community effort by helping individuals achieve objectives beyond the scope of any one . . . organization" (p. 317). Successful local coalitions enable crucial organizational partners to respond to needs beyond narrow agency missions without necessarily overburdening the management or service-providing capacities of individual institutions (Black 1983). Butterfoss and colleagues (1983) believe that this kind of collaborative health planning and administration has evolved as an ecological response to "the severity and complexity of chronic health conditions that are rooted in a larger social, cultural, political, and economic fabric" (p.315).

Though focused on other health arenas, Butterfoss and colleagues provide a developmental and theoretical framework applicable to the evolution and struggles of the community-planning components of RWCA. They suggest, as we have found, that the absence or under involvement of critical organizational partners will limit the ability of an affected community to

benefit from a coordinated health response —including limiting the community's access to program funding or other support which may flow through the coalition. Representation and participation in RWCA Title I Planning Councils created critical pathways for the Latino community in the sites we surveyed. Information access was brokered through Planning Council membership or through relationships with Latino community representatives on the Councils. Planning group discussions and service priority setting were shaped by the diversity, or lack thereof, of the Title I partners. Latino community concerns penetrated the environment to the extent that there were: effective community outreach; sufficient Latino Council membership; committed Council and RWCA program staff leadership; and an open, respectful, and accessible communication environment. Finally, substantial representation and meaningful participation, along with critical leadership support, significantly shaped access to RWCA funding for Latinos with HIV/AIDS and their CBOs. The interface of representation and funding allocation has been noted by the Health Resources Administration in a number of documents and reports addressing RWCA process (Goosby, McKinney, Eichler, Gomez 1993).

Improving the inclusiveness and responsiveness of Title I Planning Councils requires more than simply increasing the representation of diverse communities. Latino CBOs identified numerous procedural, linguistic, and affective components of the Title I process that functioned as impediments to their communities' effective participation. Among the most challenging concerns they faced were the dominance of pre-existing provider and consumer groups, and the differential, though not always explicit, frameworks that inform historic funding patterns.

CBO respondents located the possibility of institutional change largely in the quality and sensitivity of Planning Council leadership. But the multi-faceted obstacles to more meaningful and effective participation faced by small and minority CBOs (Arnstein 1986; Marmor, Morone 1981) must be addressed from a group development perspective. Butterfoss and his colleagues (1993) characterize a quality-of-readiness that all coalition members need to have in order to work meaningfully across their diverse interests and histories. He considers the "capacity to participate" a requisite skill for effective coalition membership, one that often requires skills training, facilitation, and technical assistance for the partner organizations. Emerging literature in coalition processes reflects the need for similar developmental and capacity building interventions (Parker, Eng, Laraia, Ammerman, Dodds, Margolis, Cross 1998; Chavis 1995; Pierce-Lavin Fresina 1998; York 1985). In this study, the following mechanisms emerged as critical for addressing the inclusion and participation challenges 1) training of Planning Council members to address diversity, cross-cultural understanding, and representation issues; 2) technical support for assessing service needs, integrated program development, and resource allocation concerns; 3) translation capacity for non-English speaking coalition members; and 4) other coalition development and management services.

Capacity building needs also exist at the level of individual CBOs, as was noted by all Latino agency respondents. Some of the challenges faced by these agencies were a function of size or developmental status. Nevertheless, Latino CBOs, large and small, noted that the chronic under-funding of the service sectors in which they were already involved made them particularly vulnerable in their efforts to effectively participate and compete in RWCA process. The institutional vulnerability of many of the Latino CBOs further exacerbated their experience of problematic or ineffectual administrative practices within the sites.

If, as the National Commission on AIDS noted in its 1992 report, minority

CBOs, are "essential participants in the prevention and care of HIV in hardest hit communities," the problem of assuring their effective participation in RWCA programs is fundamental. This study has provided further insight on the challenges of facilitating meaningful participation of Latino CBOs in the Title I process. Its results suggest several conclusions. First, there are lessons in history regarding community-planning efforts that should be applied to further the development of RWCA relationships and functions. Second, if, as Latino respondents noted, RWCA personnel and Council co-chairs are critical to creating more receptive and responsive planning environments, federal technical assistance and training around inclusion, effective leadership, and collaborative decision-making may facilitate improved inclusion of Latino and other minority CBOs. Third, other group development and individual agency capacity building appears to be necessary to improve minority Planning Council representation and minority CBO competitiveness in Title I funding cycles. Funding needs to be made available to support technical assistance and program monitoring targeted to CBOs. Technical support should include grant writing assistance, institutional strategic planning support and other agency-based development. Finally, administrative procedures within EMAs should be examined for their disproportionate burden on small and minority CBOs and appropriate technical and financial remedies should be investigated.

The RWCA is only the latest in a number of federal government health initiatives that define local coordination and collaboration as central to effectuating change and addressing complex health problems. As a critical response to one of the most challenging public health problems in this century, it demands continuing review, assessment, and refinement. All the more so for Latinos, and their organizational representatives, who continue to face a disproportionate burden of HIV disease.

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THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE:
MULTIRACIAL INDIVIDUALS

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Abstract

This paper offers an extensive review of the literature pertaining to the identity formation and experiences of multiracial people in the United States. Much of the attention they receive in the literature tends to be directed toward discussions of either the U.S. Census or identity issues. Offered in this critique of the literature is a discussion of the problems which arise when the government attempts to classify multiracial people into monoracial categories, an acknowledgment of the challenges which individuals of mixed race face while forming and developing their multidimensional identities, and an overview of conceptualizations of race.

Keywords: multiracial, identity development, marginal peoples

"What Are You?" For many people this question may seem insignificant, or easy to answer, still others may not know where the question is leading. This may be because many people are not faced with the question, "What are you?" in any regularity. There is, however, a growing population of individuals with mixed racial backgrounds who are constantly faced with this question. The question may become burdensome to an individual with a complex identity, which may eventually lead to confusion of identity. This is why the problem multiracial individuals face when their ethnicity is questioned and how they address and cope with such inquiries, needs to be explored more fully.

This paper focuses on a diverse group of people who make up a growing segment of the United States' population (Spencer 1997; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995). Specifically, the paper presents an extensive literature review and analysis of the existing material on multiracial people. This analysis includes various academic disciplines, with a focus on the field of sociology.

Issues facing multiracial individuals and the multiracial population, as a whole, are many and varied. In order to fully understand the core points to this discussion, the paper focuses on the following: 1) conceptualizations of race in academia; 2) a theoretical framework to address multiracial identity development; and 3) the issue of categorizing persons of a multiracial identity. We assert these three areas are of significance not only in the study of multiracial populations but in the development of racial studies as a whole. It is also important to address these issues in order to gain public recognition and initiate discussion that will assist in exposing stereotypes which may lead to further discrimination and alienation of multiracial individuals.

Our work consists of an extensive literature review, which draws from the work of scholars, journalists and multiracialists. Due to the limited research done on people of mixed race we rely on a diverse assortment of materials, which address a variety of issues and facets of life. Race literature predominantly focuses on only one racial group and fails to mention people of mixed race. Much of the published literature on race deals with racial conflict and racism (Smith and Feagin 1995; Hooks 1995). However, more relevant to our discussion is the material centered on interracial relationship/marriage and racial identity formation, which also tends to focus on one racial identity and neglects multidimensional identities. The emergence of "ethnic revivals" and "ethnic studies" demonstrate this reality (van den Berghe, 1981).

It was the lack of research on multiracial individuals in scholarly publications that led to our analyzing more closely the field of sociology in respect to mixed race individuals. In the review of the literature,

matter was found primarily in books edited by psychologists addressing race and ethnicity issues for counseling individuals and case studies (Root 1992; Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 1995; Salett and Koslow 1994); and material on acculturation issues pertaining to Native American "mixed bloods" from the field of Anthropology (Faiman-Silva 1997; Nagel 1996). Nonetheless, the field of sociology does have a long tradition of study regarding matters of race and identity.

ACADEMIA AND RACE

The existing research on the study of race is diverse in nature. The study of race has crossed all academic disciplines. Research and discussions on racial issues can be found in social science, natural science and business textbooks. A brief explanation and historical background of the construction of race is important for understanding the problems which surround the concept of race.

Historical Background of Race

Before addressing the multiplicity of race, it is important to have an understanding of race as a single component. The idea of race is a complicated topic. There are hundreds of books and articles written on issues dealing with, and relating to, race (Fishkin 1995). Race has been the object of many heated debates and the explanation for many social conflicts. The concept of race and racial classification has an interesting history.

Historically, race was a biological taxonomy conceptualized by Carolus Linnaeus in 1758. He created his model as a way to classify human beings, just as a biologist would classify any other species. His document of racial taxonomy, entitled *Systema Naturae*, identified four racial categories: Americanus, Europaeus, Asiaticus and Afer. The categories were geographically based and originally had no intended rank order. It was a student of Linnaeus, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, who is responsible for the hierarchical creation of racial categories which are imbedded into modern day American society, as well as world wide. Blumenbach took the racial classification a step further by adding a fifth group, the Malays of Polynesia. His five-race model established in 1795, was based on geography as well as appearance. His classification stemmed from the "perceived beauty" of the Caucasian people (which he named after a mountain range in Russia). Situated on a continuum below the Caucasians (Europeans) were the Mongolians (Asians), Ethiopians (Africans), Americans (Native Americans) and Malays (Polynesians), all of which he perceived as less beautiful than the Caucasians (Gould 1994).

Biologists were responsible for the creation of racial classifications, but now many biologists are abandoning the idea of "scientific" racial taxonomy. Throughout the last two hundred years, the criterion for biological classification of race has changed dramatically. The original four racial categories have been repeatedly challenged by other scientists who cannot identify single traits which are race specific. Physical features do vary from region to region but they do so independent of other traits (Shreeve, 1994:58). Therefore, no race can be identified as possessing traits which are solely attributed to a single race. Webster (1992) and Pettigrew (1998) point out the inconsistency in the number of accepted racial categories which vary greatly depending on the scientist. Harris (1964) asserts that racial identity, scientifically speaking, is ambiguous. He goes on to note that:

> In the United States, the mechanism employed is the rule of hypo-descent. This descent rule requires Americans to believe that anyone who is known to have a Negro ancestor is a Negro. We admit nothing in between . . . The reason for this absurd bit of folk taxonomy is simply the great blundering machinery of segregation cannot easily adjust itself to degrees of whiteness and darkness (p. 56).

There is a belief that the classifications are "unscientific" and "erroneous," not only

among biologists, but social scientists as well. Sociologist S. Carl Hirsch identified the problem:

> Some scientists see only three races while others list three hundred. Most estimates are somewhere between, the common numbers being five, six, nine, and thirty. There is an important group of anthropologists who have abandoned the term "race" altogether. They see it as "a dangerous four letter word," more troublesome than useful. One leading biologist states that most of the world's people are so racially distinct that they are members of no race (Webster 1992, p.34).

Though the biological base may be nothing more than the origins of a failed classification system, the concept of race is still at the core of sociological principles. For the most part, race is now viewed as a social construction which has become ingrained in our society. Race, as a construct, developed an identity and autonomy of its own (Smedley 1999). In 1958, sociologist Brewton Berry identified the importance of race to the study of society:

> Race has always been one of the major concerns of sociologists. The first two sociological books published in the United States, a century ago, dealt with the problem . . . Sociologists were fascinated by the task of classifying mankind, of studying the physical and mental characteristics of races, and of measuring these differences. They spent their efforts in the futile attempt to explain social phenomena in biological terms. The second period witnessed a shift to a cultural frame of reference (Webster 1992, p.75).

Spencer (1997) describes race as a "sociopolitical construct . . . that was created and had been maintained and modified by the powerful to sustain their group as a privileged caste" (p.I). Smedley (1999) agrees with this point by asserting that:

> Historical evidence shows that race as it originated and evolved in the American experience was not a mere objective sorting of human physical diversity into convenient categories, and it was not a scientific term invented and given substantive meaning by scholars. Race was a folk concept that was

elevated to the ranks of scholarly discourse when scientists began developing rationalizations and justifications for existing social realities (p.321).

The concept of race has become so accepted and embedded into our society that many Americans believe that race can define "the very nature of people" (Spencer 1997, p.I).

Conceptualization

For the purpose of our paper "race" is conceptualized as a sociological construction, not as a biological fact. Sociologist Diana Kendall (1997), defines a "race (as) a category of people who have been singled out, by others or themselves, as inferior or superior on the basis of subjectively selected physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, and eye shape" (p.3). Sociologist Robert Park, who has been credited as the founding father of the sociology of race relations, as well as sociologist Martin Marger have chosen to stay away from the controversy of biological classification of race. They, however, continue to focus their attention on the social meaning of race (Webster 1992, p.79). Consistently, the term race is used to refer to a group that is socially defined but on the basis of physical criteria (van den Berghe, 1978).

The majority of research which has been conducted on racial identities focuses on individuals of one specific race. Many researchers have ignored individuals who do not fit into one "neat" category. A common view in the United States is that "each person belongs to one and only one race" (Russell 1994, p.103). Multiracial people are often placed into one racial group, while researchers often neglect the other components of their identity. We, however, have chosen to focus on these "forgotten" people who do not fit into a specific racial category.

There is currently a debate about the proper terminology for people of mixed race, especially in regards to the U.S. Census' racial categorization (Spencer 1997;

U.S. Bureau of the Census, May 1995; Evinger 1996; Beech 1996; Eddings 1997; Norment 1995). However, for the purposes of this paper, we have chosen to use the term "multiracial". Matsumoto, Acosta and Gonzales (1997) describe some of the currently accepted terminology, including multiracial. Multiracial people can be defined as people who are of two or more racial heritages. All individuals of mixed race are included in this conceptualization as well as all biracial individuals. For some individuals, multiracial or even biracial may be too broad, vague or inclusive a term. Different terms and language are used to identify one's heritage more specifically. Individuals vary in their preference of word choice, some examples of more commonly used terminology include individuals who describe themselves as *half* Pacific Islander and *half* Spanish, or *both* black and white, or *50%* Irish, *25%* Ethiopian and *25%* Japanese (Matsumoto, Acosta and Gonzales 1997). Among Native Americans, degree of ancestry (e.g., "mixed blood" or "full blood") becomes salient to claims of ethnic legitimacy (Nagel 1996).

Semantics is very important, especially for individuals who are made to choose an "either-or" racial identity rather than a "both-and" identity which is more inclusive. The concept of "passing" is also relevant to this study and refers to a person of mixed racial heritage who denies or misrepresents their racial background so as to "fit in" to a certain social group or context (Matsumoto, Acosta and Gonzales 1997). The racism which was exhibited within Mexican culture, and found its way into the United States demonstrates the significance of the usage of words to this topic. Van den Berghe (1978) notes how

> An elaborate terminology was applied to various mixtures of Negroes with Indians and Spaniards and to the resulting shades in skin color and differences in other physical traits . . . Several of these words are names of animals, and of course, the term mulatto itself is derived from mule, implying a cross between different biological species (p.52).

In reality, a term such as mulatto is an ideal type and could not ever actually be applied to individuals according to strict ethnic/racial criteria (MacLachlan and Rodriguez 1980).

In 1991 sociologist F. James Davis stated that the "one-drop rule," referring to individuals with "one drop of black blood" be classified as black, was here to stay (Spencer 1997, p.8). The one-drop rule did become increasingly accepted by blacks and mulattoes. As Russell (1994) notes, mulattoes merged with the larger black society, usually to the top of economic, political, and social positions of the black community. However, Russell (1994) states that "with the number of resulting first-generation cross-racial persons increasing, there could well be a questioning of the cultural legacy of the one-drop rule" (p.181).

Sociology and the Study of Multiracial People

Concerns have been expressed about sociologists' limited discussion of the various issues pertaining to race (McKee 1993; Webster 1992). Multiracial or mixed race individuals have, until fairly recently, been generally overlooked in the work of sociology and academia on a whole. Why is it that sociology, which is responsible for accepting race as a social construct, provides minimal attention to the experience of multiracial people?

McKee (1993) believes that sociology began to decline in the study of race when sociologists failed to predict the racial events of the 1960s. This shows that "sociologists did not understand what was transpiring in the world of racial interests and actions" (McKee 1993, p.3). Not only did the field of sociology fail to foresee the Civil Rights Movement, they did not see the Multiracial Movement's development or acceleration. Although it is clear that the debate about "racial mixing" and how to classify multiracial people has arrived, it is seldom mentioned in a sociology text on race. Spencer (1997) reinforces McKee's point by noting that:

... it may surprise us that we did not see it coming long before now. But some movements seem to work that way: We do not see them coming, but when they are here we can see that they were coming all along. This multiracial movement, then was no sudden development . . . (p.13).

Within the last twenty years, more multiracial people have begun to demand attention, but have received very little recognition. Due to their similar struggles, issues, and the discrimination which they have had to face, many multiracial people are beginning to bond together for support. Multiracial individuals, across all disciplines, have written articles, introduced publications, created support groups and initiated a Multiracial Movement (Spencer 1997). The Multiracial Movement has gained much of its press and attention from issues dealing with the 1990 census. Many of the articles emerging focus on the lack of recognition from the public and the U.S. government. Many multiracial individuals have bonded together and centered their attention around the census debate. The debate was initiated by multiracialists to find a way to represent people of mixed race in the U.S. census by exploring the possibility of adding a new "multiracial" category to standardized forms. This has brought about more general awareness of the issues and discrimination which people of mixed race face. What affects most multiracial people directly is the way they have been labeled by others, usually based on the color of their skin or appearance, in order for society to categorize them.

This external labeling demonstrates the significance of identity to this population of people. Interracial, biracial, or multiracial children often have a troubling experience with identity as race dictated by the arbitrary rule of hypo-descent. The "intermixture of races" in effect produces a synthesis race (Russell 1994). The classic statements of early sociological theorists can offer insights to understanding this synthesis of race as it impacts multiracial identity development.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

We offer that Charles Horton Cooley's (1902) Looking-Glass Self; W.E.B. Du Bois' (1903) conception of twoness; and Georg Simmel (1950) and Everett V. Stonequist's (1935) marginality theory serve as the starting point for a sociological understanding of multiracial identity.

Cooley's (1902) Looking-Glass Self theory focuses on an individual's perception of his or herself based on how others perceive them. Members of society, especially one's peers, are a great influence on identity. Appearance, actions, personality, friends, and so on are all reflected in the looking glass. Cooley identifies three key principles in order to understand the looking-glass self more clearly: 1) the imagination of the way one appears in other's eyes; 2) the way others judge that appearance; and 3) how an individual feels about the way he or she is perceived by others. The final perception can be negative or positive, either of which may result in an individual taking pride or experiencing shame in the way that others view them. Cooley (1902) explains what effect other's opinions may have on an individual at an emotional level by stating that: "[It] is evident from the fact that the character and weight of that other, in whose mind we see ourselves, makes all the difference with our feeling" (p.205). Cooley's theory offers much to an analysis of multiracial individuals.

If one applies the Looking-Glass Self to an individual living in a racially segregated area and compares the results to that of a person living in a large cosmopolitan city, the outcome is likely to be different. An example of this is the experience which a person of mixed race might have living in a conservative area in which he or she is judged harshly by peers due to it being a highly discriminatory environment. His or her self-esteem is more than likely going to be low. On the other hand, a child who has been brought up in an open, diverse and accepting environment with positive feed-

back from peers, is more likely to have pride in who he or she is. The second example is more apparent in individuals who are affected by globalization. Globalization encourages diversity and "multiculturalism"; still others are affected by the racial division which is polarizing our country and as a result may feel shame or try to deny one or more of their races (Smith and Feagin 1995). Yet in rural areas, issues of multiracial identity formation are also evident. As an example, legitimacy of membership among Native American groups often hinges on issues such as authenticity of one's identity (Nagel 1996; Snipp 1996).

Arguably one of America's greatest social theorists on race, W.E.B. Du Bois, was not until recently recognized by the field of sociology (Lemert 1993). Much of his work addresses the social conditions of African Americans. Du Bois (1903) explores the experience of the "Negro" in America:

> . . . -a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, —an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (p.179).

Du Bois' concept of double-consciousness or twoness stems from his experience of being both American and black, an experience he felt was full of conflict. Conflict in identity exists for many multiracial people whose heritage is composed of both the "oppressor" and the "oppressed." Examples are found in many black-white biracial individuals who struggle with "conflicting" identities (Zack 1993; Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 1995; Gibbs and Hines 1992). Many of these children are not accepted into either the white community or the black community. They experience much of the racism that other black children encounter, as well as experience resentment for their dual membership (Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 1995), yet they will still be alienated by both groups. Smedley (1999) notes how struggling with identity has lead to a "morass of problems" for Native Americans/Indians of mixed decent as well. She describes how they have " . . . experienced psychological trauma and distress as a result of the confusion of biology and culture"(p.332).

Du Bois, however, is also able to view his duality as a strength which keeps him from tearing himself apart. He is driven by his goal and desire to merge his two selves into a better and truer self. His description of twoness can be seen in the experience of biracial individuals in this country and can be expanded to include individuals with multidimensional identities. Du Bois details that by blending two identities you must not give up either identity; you must simply create "two souls, one self." He wants to make it possible for an individual to maintain both parts of the old selves, because in order "to attain a place in the world, [people] must be [themselves], and not another" (Du Bois 1903, p.181). Du Bois was very aware of the conflict of identities which multiracial people face. He was also conscious to the fact that by embracing all parts of one's identity life is more harmonious. Du Bois' ideas are echoed in many of the personal stories of multiracial individuals in their struggle to be recognized completely and not simply by a single racial classification, which they may feel has been imposed on them.

Connected to group membership and identity is the concept of marginality. Developed by sociologists Georg Simmel (1950) and Everett V. Stonequist (1935), marginality theory has been added to and revised throughout the years. At the core of the concept of marginality is the status that many individuals experience when alienated by others. A marginal status can lead to a mental state which affects one's state of

being, as Mörner's (1967) analysis of acculturation in Latin America found, by noting that persons of mixed ancestry are probably more frequently "marginal men"(p.6). Grant and Breese (1997), define six reactions to marginality: affected, emulative, defiant, emissarial, withdrawn, and balance. Affected individuals shy away from conflict, are sensitive and self-conscious, and may have inferiority complexes. Emulation is the rejection of one's own culture and the shift toward association with the dominant culture. The concept of "passing" would be included in this reaction. Those individuals who are defiant blame the system for their marginal status and are hostile. Emissarial individuals take a more positive perspective of their situations and see themselves as interpreters. This is an example of individuals who have a healthy relationship with the various components of their racial identities and will become negotiators as members of two or more groups. Withdrawal may occur when an individual has a very negative experience with a culture. They will completely remove themselves from activities and people who are associated with that particular group. An example of this would be a biracial woman who has African as well as European roots, and who has experienced racism from the white majority. She may choose to no longer associate herself with the white majority. People who are balanced accept and identify with both or all of the components of their identity. They have been raised with role models and experiences from all aspects of their identity (Grant and Breese 1997).

In recent history, a shift has begun to emerge which allows individuals to accept all components of their racial identity (Nagel, 1994b). Not long ago in the United State's history, society's perception of mixed race people was much more severe. The issues that many multiracial people face relate to the historical conception of people of mixed race. "Mixed blood" was very taboo in this country for many years,

and it is only now that beliefs are slowly changing (Wilson 1992; Fish 1995; Zack 1993). Due to these beliefs and the history of race relations, including concepts such as "Separate, but Equal," there exists in this country a duality and separation among the races. This separation of the races and how one is perceived is central to the theoretical framework of this study. Separation of identities is what Du Bois' theory of twoness addresses. The Looking-Glass Self looks at identity formation and how society can play a crucial role in how an individual perceives his or herself. Finally, marginality theory allows us to view a model of possible reactions and behavior characteristics of a person who has marginal status. These principles are all fundamental to the study of multiracial individuals.

Identity Formation

Biracial and multiracial identity formation has been studied more extensively in areas relating to counseling and psychology. Many of the concepts, relating to multiracial identity, have ties to the theoretical framework on which this research is founded. Due to the individual nature of identity, and the variety of outside forces influencing a pluralistic identity, it is important to recognize that many individuals have had very different experiences. Although there is some theoretical discussion of multiracial identity development (Kich 1992), many researchers have chosen to conduct case studies on people of mixed race, in order to gain more in depth information (Jacobs 1992; Gibbs and Hines 1992; Cauce et al. 1992). The diversity of multiracial individuals' backgrounds (i.e. social class, races, ethnicities and geographical upbringing), have encouraged many studies on identity to consist of qualitative, interview-oriented research.

The theory of marginality is discussed by Nakashima (1992) as she addresses how marginal status connects to the perception that others have of a person of mixed race. She describes Stonequist's (1935) ideas

about the "racial hybrid" as a marginal man, in which he recognizes that there are no biological problems with race mixture, only societal problems, which can account for whatever "inferiority" multiracial people might exhibit. Problems resulting from an individual's duality and plurality of her or his racial background surface when one is trying to develop a personal identity (Miller and Rotheram-Borus 1994).

For many multiracial children, home is a very safe and nurturing environment. Parents focus on the uniqueness and individuality of their children. It is when children begin attending school that they are faced with the harsh reality of a racially polarized society. Children's identities are constantly being questioned by their peers, teachers and adults. Parents must prepare their children to face a racist society at a young age (Rosenblatt, Karis and Powell 1995).

A valid concern for multiracial children is that they are not exposed to positive role models with multiracial heritages. It is difficult when the media and peers do not recognize multiracial individuals' complete identities. It is even more difficult when the media portrays people of mixed race in a negative way. There has, however, been a growing acceptance of multiracial people in the media. Entering the spotlight are individuals who identify with more than one race, such as actors Halle Berry and Jasmine Guy; musicians, Mariah Carey, Lenny Kravitz and Paula Abdul; and athlete Tiger Woods. Thus, some have found success in the media's eyes and are becoming positive role models for multiracial people.

Although there are many challenges to being multiracial in a racist society, there are benefits as well. Many multiracial people are proud to embrace every aspect of their identities. They also feel better equipped to deal with diverse groups of people. Nakashima believes that people of mixed-race are "the children of the future-the natural bridges between the artificial boundaries that divide the humans of the world" (Nakashima 1992, p.173). Hall

(1992) expands on the idea of a multiracial individual as a "new race" of individuals,

> . . . able to act as bridges among groups, fostering communication and cooperation. The future role of mixed people may be that of negotiators. Since they belong to many groups, they will be seen as insiders, with vested interests in making plans work for all sides (p.328).

The strength and leadership abilities of multiracial individuals are necessary if these individuals are to embrace all components of their identities. Individuals who develop all elements of their identity exemplify the successful cooperation which can exist between people of all races. The issue remains: how, or should, society categorize multiracial individuals?

ISSUES OF CATEGORIZATION

The concept of racial classification has always been a key theme in the field of sociology. Sociology is known for its dissection of society and categorization of peoples into social classes, races and castes. Sociologists try to generate categories to allow for data to be organized. Yet clear-cut categorization of people becomes problematic, especially in our exposure to diverse and ever-expanding mixed race populations. Birth certificates, passports, school applications and the U.S. Census all require classification of race to be documented. As the number of multiracial people increases, the concept of compartmentalization grows more complicated.

Population Statistics and the U.S. Census
One of the more straightforward ways to identify first generation people of mixed race is to look at interracial marriages and the children which come out of those marriages. The number of interracial marriages is on the rise. U.S. census data shows that there has been an increase from 149,000 interracial marriages in 1960 to 1,392,000 marriages in 1995. Over 35 years, there was an increase of 1,243,000 interracial marriages (U.S. Bureau of the Census, March 1995). Major factors which

contribute to the increase in interracial marriages are assumed to be due to an increase in immigration, a larger U.S. population, and the abolition of miscegenation laws which reflect a growing acceptance of interracial unions. The percentage of marriages between interracial couples has risen from 1.3 percent in 1980 to 2.5 percent of total marriages in 1995 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, March 1995).

Directly related to the increase in interracial marriages is the rise in interracial births which has taken place in the last twenty years. Between the years 1970 and 1990, in what some have labeled the "biracial baby boom," there was a tripling of interracial births, from 1 percent to 3 percent (Spencer 1997, p.4; Futurist 1993). In 1991, the census estimated that there were at least 2 million multiracial children living in two-parent households (Norment 1995, p.108), and this statistic does not include single headed households. It is during the "biracial baby boom" that the U.S. census experienced an increase in individuals who checked the "other" category when marking their census forms. In 1970, only 720,000 people (less than one-half of one percent of the population) checked the other category, while in 1990 almost ten million (about 4 percent of the population) checked the official "other" category. It was the first time "other" was an option which could be selected. Of the eight million people writing in their identity, 253,000 people indicated derivatives of multiracial ("interracial", "black-white," "asian-white," and so on) (Spencer 1997, p.5). The multiracial population is steadily increasing, leading individuals to question the way in which race is classified. Individuals are pointing out the faults in the concept of race, especially those who do not fit neatly into one "box". The significant increase in the size of the multiracial population has brought about a demand for attention and action from many institutions, especially the census, which has a history of requiring racial classification.

The majority of the statistical information generated on multiracial individuals is gathered and compiled by the federal government's statisticians, the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Due to this fact, some caution is advised when accepting census data on people of mixed race. Historically, people of mixed race have not been included under a multiracial or any other inclusive category by the census. The census is historically known for its ability to organize Americans into "neat" categories. In extreme cases, officials have been known to select a racial category for an individual, who has either selected more than one choice or has written in their race, and therefore, does not "fit" into the racial classification choices (Spencer 1997). Census data is used for many purposes, especially in studies focusing on a number of demographic components. The census has historically been a very useful tool, but has also been criticized for its attempt to racially and ethnically classify all Americans into four categories: American Indian/ Alaskan Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, Black and White. The ethnicity choices allow for individuals to select one of two options: Hispanic or non-Hispanic. Hodgkinson (1995), who has studied the history and evolution of the U.S. census, points out that racial classifications have changed in almost every census since the first one in 1790.

In recent history the Multiracial Movement has proposed adding a "multiracial" category to census forms in an attempt to be inclusive of all aspects on one's identity and racial heritage. The topic has been heatedly, emotionally and practically discussed by individuals and groups on both sides of the debate. Much of the discussion has been facilitated by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in an attempt to assess the need for and possible ramifications of a "multiracial" category (Office of Management and Budget 1997; Evinger 1996). In opposition to the new category are groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National

Council of La Raza, a Hispanic business group, who receives much of its funding from statistics which indicate racial percentages for the United States (Hodgkinson 1995; Beech 1996; Norment 1995). A new category could also provide unprecedented problems for Affirmative Action groups and other advocacy groups like the Equal Employment Advisory Council who monitor federal antidiscriminatory violations (Beech 1996). Yet other individuals believe that adding another category will "no doubt add to racial tension" (Eddings 1997, p.37) and increase the racial divide already existent in this country. Leading the way for Multiracialists is Susan Graham, founder of Project RACE, who advocates to "Reclassify All Children Equally," by allowing children to be classified how they see themselves, rather than how others see them (Eddings 1997; Beech 1996, p.56). Still others call for a doing away with racial classification on all forms. Smedley (1999) argues that:

> Nothing is more indicative of the plight, and the pathology, of using race/biology as the main form of identity than the efforts on the part of some people to establish a "mixed race" category in the census and thus in American society . . . Having been conditioned to the biological salience of "race" and to the reality of only black, white, and Indian categories, some contemporary offspring of mixed marriages . . . continue [to experience] psychic stress of . . . feeling that they do not know who they are (pp. 331-332).

The OMB continues to work toward retaining their "standards to provide the minimum set of categories for data on race and ethnicity" (Office of Management and Budget 1997, p.2). After gathering data and extensive research the OMB decided to apply the following recommendations:

> When self-identification is used, a method for reporting more than one race should be adopted. The method for respondents to report more than one race should take the form of multiple responses to a single question and not a "multiracial" category (Office of Management and Budget 1997:15).

The census forms for the year 2000 will therefore select one of two recommended forms allowing for multiple responses: "Mark one or more . . . " or "Select one or more (race) . . . ". Discussion about the change in the census has sparked many debates about how classification of mixed race people can effect their identity development and self-esteem, as well as the way they see themselves within society.

CONCLUSION

Multiracial individuals are society's cultural and racial delegates. They have the potential to live and thrive between the border areas, which divide society. This in turns offers them the chance to strengthen and cultivate a sense of identity. Du Bois' (1903) conception of twoness expresses the idea of a plural identity, "strength alone keeps (one's identity) from being torn asunder" (p.179). His focus on embracing all aspects of one's identity is central to the struggle which multiracial individuals engage in, in an attempt for recognition of their complete identities.

Race was established based on physical characteristics. The biological basis of race is unfounded, yet the concept of race continues to be studied by social scientists. How can we socially discuss or study an unsupported system based on false assumptions and racist views? By adding multiracial people to the equation we begin to view more clearly the difficulties which surround race.

It is therefore understandable why researchers conveniently leave out people of mixed race in studies on race. To include mixed race persons would compound the problem of establishing categories for people based on physical appearance. Further complications arise when we theorize about how to redefine individuals not based on race. Myriad social problems in the United States are tied to issues relating to the way in which people see, judge and discriminate against each other. Race plays a part in many of the policies of funding agencies and ser-

vice providers which strive to combat racial injustice. The U.S. census is an example of fighting a battle that is already lost due to the construction of race.

A key point to our work is that people of mixed race, a group of individuals who have been alienated from participation in society due to their physical appearance and parentage, would like to be recognized for whom they are. The issues surrounding race are complicated and diverse in nature. It is important, however, that people of mixed race receive recognition from the general public. The media has been an outlet for the census debate, but it is now time for the media to initiate dialog on other issues relating to people of mixed race. As Nagel (1994a) notes, ethnic identity formation is best understood as a dynamic, constantly evolving property of both individual identity and group organization- a dialectic played out by ethnic groups and the larger society. Issues which need to be incorporated into our classrooms and the mass media pertain to the positive aspects of being multiracial, as well as the experiences of alienation and discrimination.

Recommendations for Future Research

Semantics is a key indicator of how people relate and deal with different issues. An important future study might examine the language which is used to describe skin tone. Connected to word choice are the implications and impact on an individual's skin which is never quite the "right" color. A study on perceptions and reactions to skin color could also connect the relationship to racial classification and personal identification.

We also suggest a more in depth examination of interracial marriages. Much of the literature reviewed for this present study dealt with interracial relationships and marriages (Zack 1993, Yasinski 1998, Root 1992). Of the research which has been published, the majority of the studies are on black-white couples. This is due in particular to past laws on miscegenation or mixed marriages. A worthwhile research

project would be to examine the self image of multiracial children who were born to interracial couples prior to the 1967 U.S. Supreme court case of Loving vs. The State of Virginia. This historical court case legalized mixed race marriages throughout the remaining 16 states in which sexual relations and marriage was still illegal, as a result these children would legally be considered "bastards" by the state. A related research question could examine Russell's (1994) claim that "mixed European, Indian, and Asian-decent individuals have fewer problems being accepted as social equals than individuals with partial or full African decent"(p.104). In a review of the increasing rates of ethnic outmarriage/exogamy, van den Berghe (1981) concludes that "only blacks seem permanently excluded from the great American melting pot" (p.228).

The final and most important recommendation would be to focus on ethnicity and culture in relation to race. Race is a physical description while ethnicity and culture (which may be related to race) are much more diverse and varied in how people make connections and nurture relationships as well as form identities. Further research could identify the diversity among multiracial and multiethnic people based on culture and environment.

Our study presents a groundwork for future research addressing multiracial people: the limitations of standing race analysis to this population, the problematic components of racial categorization, and identity formation and development of multiracial individuals. However, our work serves primarily as an important challenge to the previously published race literature which attempts to categorize and study individuals based on a single race.

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THE NEED FOR CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS IN EXAMINING AND FACILITATING PUERTO RICANS' FINANCIAL RETIREMENT PLANNING

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ABSTRACT

Although research suggests that ethnicity is one of the variables that significantly affects an individual's preparation for retirement, little systematic effort has been devoted to retirement planning among ethnic groups. Puerto Ricans, in particular, have received very little attention. Yet, the available literature gives evidence of poor planning and lack of financial preparedness for retirement by this population group.

This paper is prompted by research analyses that attribute the poor financial planning for retirement among Puerto Ricans to economic variables. However, economic factors alone do not explain the lack of preretirement planning by most Puerto Ricans. The author explores some key cultural variables that underlie preretirement planning processes and decisions, and that help serve as an alternative explanation for the lack of planning. A better understanding of the cultural variables discussed in this paper may lead to development of a more sensitive and coherent alternative framework for policy makers and helping professionals to employ as they work to assist Puerto Ricans to prepare for a reasonably sound quality of life upon retirement.

Keywords: retirement planning; Puerto Ricans; aging; culture; poverty

INTRODUCTION

The number of years that people spend in the labor force has been steadily declining over the last two decades (US-DHHS 1991). This has resulted in an increasing number of people retiring from employment who are in their mid-fifties (Butz et al. 1982; Kinsella 1995). Technological advancements in health care and the accompanying rise in life expectancy are the primary contributors to both the increased number of people who actually reach retirement age and those who go on to live an extended number of years after reaching that milestone (US-DHHS 1991; Richardson and Kilty 1992; Palmore 1993). Another factor is that the total number of years people spend in the labor force are likely to continue to decline steadily, prompting a constant increase in early retirements (Miller 1978; López 1983; Juliá, Kilty and Richardson 1995).

Retirement is not always a positive experience. The odds of living in poverty increase by age 65, particularly for ethnic minorities (Behling and Merves 1985). Some have pointed out that "poverty is the situational deficit most salient to the status of the minority aged" (Varghese and Medinger 1979, p. 99).

According to Torres-Gil (1986), Puerto Ricans frequently encounter a retirement characterized by poverty, or at least inadequate economic resources. In 1990, the Bureau of the Census reported that 12.8% of the USA population over 65 live under the poverty level, while 57.5% of Puerto Ricans over age 65 live under the poverty level (Bureau of the Census 1990). Poverty-related factors such as poor housing, deficient nutrition, inadequate health care, lack of transportation, and related problems interact and lead to high rates of illness, low morale, and shortened life expectancy—a vicious cycle for the impoverished Puerto Rican. For Puerto Ricans living on the island, the mainland, and elsewhere, the precursor to retirement years in poverty has been attributed to a lack of financial planning for retirement.

BACKGROUND

The meaning given to retirement, as well as the attitudes and expectations about it, have been found to be significant factors in financial planning for retirement (López 1983; Behling and Merves 1985; Kilty and

Behling 1985, 1986; Richardson and Kilty 1992). Research by Gordon (1994) also evidences a significant relationship between preparedness for retirement and how positively one feels about this period of life.

Defined by Richardson, Kilty and Julia (1994) as a phase of life involving activities ranging from obtaining knowledge about pension systems to actual investments, financial planning is identified by Keating and Marshal (1980) as a key factor in preparing for retirement (cited in Rotman 1981). For purposes of this paper, financial preparation for retirement refers to plans and activities designed to secure material resources for life following retirement. Material resources will include, but are not limited to, pensions, investments, and savings accounts.

In 1987, Gibson questioned the relevance of retirement to different population groups and studied the meaning of retirement for Black Americans. More recently, some of the research on retirement has focused on other population groups. Zsembisk and Singer (1990), O'Hare and Felt (1991) and Kim (1992), are among those who have studied the variations in perceptions about retirement among ethnic groups. Few studies, however, have included the financial planning aspects of retirement preparation among Puerto Ricans. The scant research that has been conducted on Puerto Ricans has focused primarily on members of this ethnic group who are residing on the mainland. The limited available literature reveals a general lack of financial preparedness for retirement among Puerto Ricans, whether residing on the island or the mainland.

Although research suggests that ethnicity is one of the variables that significantly affects one's preparation for retirement (Richardson 1990; Cantor, Brennan and Dainz 1994; Johnson 1995), little systematic effort has been devoted to studying preretirement planning among ethnic groups. Most research on retirement planning has focused on Caucasian males and

provided explanations that are not generalizable across population groups. As Gelfand and Kutzik (1979) have affirmed, "The view of the aged as a monolithic social group . . . has denied their socio-cultural diversity" (p. 3).

This paper addresses the practices of Puerto Ricans (on the mainland, on the island, or elsewhere) regarding financial preparedness for retirement. Why are Puerto Ricans financially ill-prepared for retirement? Despite tendencies toward significantly lower financial security and resources, why do Puerto Ricans look forward to retirement, pursue and value early retirement, and have more positive attitudes about retirement than other population groups that are financially better prepared? (López 1983: Kilty and Behling 1986; Richardson et al. 1994). Finally, how do Puerto Ricans expect to survive financially in old age?

The goal of the exploration of answers to these questions is to sensitize policy makers and helping professionals to consider an alternative framework for the development of programs and interventive strategies that may more effectively meet the needs of the elderly Puerto Rican population. More specifically, the author seeks to encourage future research into Puerto Rican retirement planning that will incorporate several key cultural variables, such as familialism, social support network, time-orientation, filial duty, gender roles, and multi-generational household, deserving to be examined.

PUERTO RICANS AND RETIREMENT PLANNING

Behling and Merves (1985) pointed out that Puerto Ricans have expressed strong interest and anticipation regarding retirement, despite their scant financial preparation for it. In fact, they found Puerto Ricans as the least financially prepared among the various population groups they studied (p. 113).

A review of the literature on patterns of preretirement planning found no mention

of preretirement planning among Puerto Ricans prior to research by López (1983). In her study sample of Puerto Rican professionals living on the island, López found not only a lack of preparation for retirement, but also no expression of major concerns about the economic features of retirement (p. 245). She argued that Puerto Ricans become involved in financial planning for retirement only when it is compulsory, and she stressed the need for a variety of policy and practice approaches to help such people to prepare for retirement. However, López did not address the need to understand the underlying culture. She touched on cultural variables when she speculated that "women traditionally depend on men or on their families" (p. 243), but she neither elaborated on nor pursued this theme.

Rubin and Nieswiadomy (1995) more recently reported that Puerto Rican women did the least preretirement planning and have the fewest resources for retirement among all females in the United States. Even so, Behling and Merves (1985) reported that more than half of their sample looked forward to early retirement. Puerto Ricans seem to be prepared for retirement socially and emotionally, but not financially. These researchers acknowledged the potential impact of cultural variables, yet their findings emphasized the scarcity of economic resources as predictive of non-participation in preretirement planning. Kilty and Behling (1986) also found income to be the most consistent predictor for either financial planning or the lack thereof. The above studies all reported a lack of financial preparedness for retirement among most Puerto Ricans and focused on the circumstances of their economic disadvantage. Among Puerto Ricans, Richardson et al. (1994) found no involvement in voluntary participation in retirement through self-initiated investments. Social Security and public pensions represented the most common means of preparation for post-employment economic security among Puerto Ricans.

Economic interpretations and inferences in these studies have ranged from identifying macro-level issues (e.g.,generally low salaries and high costs of living in both island and mainland cities where Puerto Ricans are heavily concentrated) to focusing on individual patterns (e.g., poor saving habits and an ill-prepared, under-skilled and under-educated labor force). Most researchers attribute the poorly planned retirements to other economic conditions, such as unemployment and lack of comprehensive pension plan coverage. However, those Puerto Ricans with higher levels of academic preparation and with professional positions — people who are in an advantageous situation regarding pension coverage and higher income that affords greater opportunities for developing personal financial resources - have been found for the most part to be ill-prepared for retirement as well (Kilty and Behling 1985, 1986; López 1983).

Developing a comprehensive understanding of the retirement situation among Puerto Ricans — either islanders or mainlanders — requires a broad perspective. To see the complete picture requires looking into the ". . . powerlessness that originates from internal sources . . . [as well as to] powerlessness imposed from without" (Mizio 1974, p. 83). Financial realities clearly are one side of the coin of preretirement planning activities; culture is the other side of the coin.

INTERPRETATIONS WITHIN A CULTURAL FRAMEWORK

In their analysis of the use of social services by the elderly, Starrett and associates (1989) used Andersen and Newman's (1973) conceptual model for studying the predictors of use or non-use of human services (cited in Starrett et al. 1989). They searched for predisposing and enabling factors that would predict the use of such services and found, in the case of the Puerto Rican elderly, that their self-recognized needs were the most important predictors. Moreover, in a subsequent study, Starrett

and colleagues (1990) found that the Puerto Rican elderly gave greatest importance to the informal social support system as the vehicle for satisfying their recognized needs.

A related examination by Behling and Merves (1985) attempted to explain preparedness for retirement among several population groups. They referred to the Blumerian premise of symbolic interactionism in which expectations of the challenges to be faced at retirement, and perceptions of what will be needed at the time, are based on the meaning ascribed to this stage of life by individuals (in Behling and Merves 1985, p. 125). Because meanings also affect expectations concerning relationships with others (Jacobson 1987), expectations of the roles that social support systems are expected to play also are thought to influence the kinds of retirement planning activities undertaken.

With respect to Puerto Ricans on the island, they tend to be a present-oriented culture characterized by a concern with the here-and-now. Puerto Ricans do not focus on the future and its needs as other population groups might (Burgos 1996, 1999; Ahearn 1979). Even in times of prosperity, Puerto Ricans are not known for saving money nor for planning financially for retirement, their elder years, or any other purposes. The importance of kinship is well documented (Starrett et al. 1990; Weaver and Wodarski 1996), and a substantial body of literature emphasizes the particular importance of familism and the supportive role of the family system in securing support for the Puerto Rican elderly (Korte 1982; Badillo 1982; Cormican 1977; Starrett et al. 1983; Burgos, 1996, 1999).

According to Sánchez-Ayéndez (1989), "despite the rapid social change during the past thirty years, the family continues to play a central and essential role in the support . . . of its members among Puerto Ricans on the island and the mainland" (p. 241). The meaning given to this interdependence of family members affects expectations people have of their relationship with others at different times in their lives. Traditionally it has been assumed, for example, that Puerto Ricans expect to be taken care of by their adult children during old age. "Filial duty" involves support from children - an expected reciprocity in exchange for the functions parents performed for children during their upbringing (Sánchez-Ayéndez 1989, p.246).

In their extensive discussion of the natural support systems of Hispanic communities, Delgado (1995) and Delgado and Humm-Delgado (1982) have addressed the reciprocal obligations and support of the family system. Crúz-López and Pearson (1985) insist that "traditional social structure and attitudes remain in place" in the Puerto Rican culture (p. 485), and Puerto Ricans are still taught to respect, admire, obey, and support the elderly, and "although this phenomenon may be weakening," a strong informal support system still exists (p. 485). The contributions of this system in meeting the material needs of the Puerto Rican elderly have been well documented in Crúz-López and Pearson's research concerning the degree of importance that the Puerto Rican elderly attach to various types of support. Participants in the study considered the category of "help" (in the form of material assistance) to be one of the most important types of support to be met by the informal system comprising the circle of family, friends, and neighbors whose support is a natural feature of an individual's social environment (Caplan and Killinea 1976).

The culturally determined roles of men and women also affect expectations and responses of Puerto Ricans. Women's traditional family roles are those of motherhood and wife, and women's domains are considered to be the home, perceived as "the center around which the female world revolves" (Sánchez-Ayéndez 1989, p. 242). This includes the care of the elders. According to Sánchez-Ayéndez, although the concept of the male as breadwinner places economic responsibilities on males

and emphasizes their ability to be providers, it is the females who are expected to provide the majority of care and a broad range of assistance to the elderly.

Another traditional value that plays a key role in the perception of life during retirement for the Puerto Rican elderly is the multigenerational household. The concept of "respeto" implies a generalized deference and heightened status granted to elders. Although respect suggests formality in interpersonal relationships (Badillo 1982), elders also expect acts of informal care and sustenance from family supports (Crúz-López and Pearson 1985; Burgos 1999). Puerto Ricans rely on familism and base their retirement decisions on the expected value of mutual aid and strong norms of reciprocity that emphasize interdependence among family members (Safa 1994).

A current reality, however, is affecting Puerto Rican familism; fewer intergenerational extended families are living under the same roof. The Bureau of the Census reported 3.3 persons per household in 1990, compared to 4.01 in 1980. Consequently, the Puerto Rican elderly are playing a reduced role and holding less authority than their counterparts in previous generations. In agrarian families, everyone, including the elders, had contributed to maintaining the family (Cantor et al. 1994). However, many older people are finding themselves without a role to play within today's urban, smaller, nuclear family structure. The shift from a rural to an urbanized society has had a significant impact on the traditional role of the elderly in the Puerto Rican family. Respect for the elderly continues, but it is often "more for traditional . . . reasons than as part of any actual practice" (Maldonado 1979, p. 179).

In the industrialized society that is Puerto Rico and the USA today, functions that were once the provinces of the family (e.g., care of the elderly) have increasingly become the responsibility of formal support systems such as the state and the community (Starrett et al. 1990). Nuclear families have fewer human resources to meet the needs of the elderly than traditionally extended families. In addition, with contemporary Puerto Rican women joining the labor force outside the home, and the gradual change in perceptions of the roles and responsibilities of women, less time is available to care for the elderly. Obligations and expectations of kin support are radically declining (Sokolovsky 1985; Vasquez, 1994), and the capacity of families to deal with the needs of the elderly is becoming increasingly limited (Robertson 1995).

Macroeconomic factors impact the financial situation of any society and cannot be overlooked. This author does not disregard the financial explanations for the lack of retirement planning and financial preparedness for retirement among Puerto Ricans, a finding that has been emphasized in research for 20 years. However, economic factors alone do not entirely explain poor retirement planning patterns among Puerto Ricans. Understanding of the cultural variables discussed herein may lead to development of an ethnically competent and effective framework within which to engage Puerto Ricans in preparation for a reasonably sound quality of life upon retirement.

CONCLUSION

The formal social service systems in the United States and in Puerto Rico would do well to establish systematic, integrated, and coordinated strategies based on a clear understanding of the cultural variables that are predictive of retirement financial planning behavior among Puerto Ricans. Factors such as familism and intergenerational dependency need to be taken into account if approaches to preretirement planning are to be effective mechanisms in helping to assure that the Puerto Rican elderly achieve a reasonably sound quality of life upon retirement. Although many traditions are no longer a reality for the Puerto Rican elderly, programs need to be organized and

delivered within the cultural fashion of the people they intend to serve (Yee and Weaver 1994). Despite what Sokolovsky (1985) has viewed as an "overromanticized" cultural view of family life (p. 11), helping professionals need to be responsive to those people who remain attached to an ethnic identity and traditional living patterns. Concomitantly, elderly Puerto Ricans need to "be psychologically prepared for the likelihood that as time goes on, they may need to utilize [more] formal non-familial sources of social support" (Starrett et al. 1990, p. 224).

Understanding the cultural context in which decisions about retirement are made increases our understanding of the reasons why retirement planning behaviors of Puerto Ricans are often retained or, in light of sweeping social changes outlined here, now in need of being altered. Zambrana, Merino and Santana (1979) have emphasized the importance of giving attention to socio-cultural variables if approaches to addressing the Puerto Rican elderly and their retirement needs, particularly financial needs, are to be effective and efficient. Ignorance of or disregard for these variables has often resulted in flawed policies, irrelevant programs, insensitive micro-level services, and a disadvantageous final life stage for many Puerto Rican elderly (Sánchez 1985).

In addition, policy makers need not only to be aware of, but to cultivate and utilize, the inherent strength of the informal support systems in designing their policies. As has been suggested elsewhere, paying family members for carrying out traditional caring and supportive roles toward aged family members (Monk and Cox 1995), or perhaps granting a form of service credit (Gilbert in Billups 1988), would result in alleviating much of the financial strain Puerto Rican families feel while "carrying their traditional supportive roles" (Delgado and Humm-Delgado 1982, p. 88).

Additional research is needed to establish empirically the salient cultural vari-ables that influence retirement financial planning. The author hopes that this exploration and discussion will have an influence on the factors that are addressed in future research on preretirement planning with Puerto Ricans.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEMOIR BOOM
FOR TEACHING SOCIOLOGY

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Abstract

The paper examines how the recent deluge of narratives about the remembrance of personal pasts has significance for teaching sociology. The paper looks at evidence of the memoir boom and examines its applications and relevance for teaching sociology and supplementing sociology courses. Many of the issues that the current crop of memoirs deal with are the very issues of sociology courses, the testimony of lives framed by sociological experience; family experiences and dysfunctions, racial and ethnic experiences, and sexual identities. The paper explores how and why memoirs can be useful tools in approaching the task of examining sociological existence.

Keywords: narrative, identity, social relationship, teaching sociology

Mary Gordon wrote in her memoir of her father that "I am primarily a writer of fiction, but I knew I couldn't present him as a fictional character because the details of his life, presented as fiction, would be too bizarre to be believed" (p. xiv). Whereas years ago, people who thought they had a story to tell sat down to write a novel. Today they sit down to write a memoir, a tale told directly from life, rather than one fashioned by the imagination out of life. Contemporary times it has been noted (Atlas 1996; Blais 1997; Gornick 1996) are characterized by a deluge of memoirs. Today numerous women and men are telling their stories out of the belief that one's own life signifies.

Saint Augustine's *Confessions* established a literary tradition of intimate disclosure that addressed a mass but unseen public in intimate terms in which private thoughts were expressed publically. Centuries after Augustine, Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions* shocked 18th century France with its author's admissions of sexual masochism and other private deviancies. Since the publication of Augustine's and Rousseau's confessions, the memoir has been a staple of a written form that involves the writer as self publicist, discloser, and author of personal history as against public history. Since the invention of the printing press (Postman 1982, p.26) as an instrument of publicity that greatly stimulated and facilitated confessional writing the memoir has become a

form of address in which an individual can with assurance and directness address the unseen living as well as posterity.

The literary genre of the memoir has become a particularly robust trend in recent years. Although the moment of the inception of the memoir boom cannot be pin pointed (Gornick 1996; Conway 1990), its arrival and proliferation on the shelves of bookstores and in our collective consciousness has been noted by numerous cultural observers. Blais (Fall 1997) notes that "You would have to be living in a cultural vacuum not to have noticed that memoir as a genre is hot" (p. 80). James Atlas observed (1996) that "the triumph of memoir is now established fact" (p. 125). The memoir, Patricia Hampl asserts (1997), "has become the signature genre of the age."

"Alice B. Toklas did hers and now everybody will do theirs" Gertrude Stein observed in *Everybody's Autobiography* (1973) referring to her companion, whom she impersonated in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*. Subjectivity is now everybody's subject. Memoir seems to be the fin de-siecle literary form. Literary historians of the future may well look back on the 1990's as the decade of the memoir—a period that saw a prodigious flowering of narratives about the remembrance of personal pasts.

It is a truism," Madeleine Blais observed, "that generals write autobiographies: public accounts of public valor in

public places. Foot soldiers write memoirs" (1997, p.80)[1]. Literary memoirs were once written by eminences basking in the forgiving twilight of their fame. In the past memoirs were the preserve of ex-presidents, public officials, and celebrities with reputations to save or time on their hands. All that has now changed. Everywhere today it seems ordinary women and men are rising up to tell their story of how an individual life signifies. The current age is characterized by a need to testify. A growing number of authors have a story to tell, a catastrophe to relate, a lesson to teach, a memoir to write. For many writers today memoir is the format of first, not last resort. Scarcely has one passed through childhood and adolescence that some memorists (Grealy 1994; Wurtzel 1994; Hornbacker 1997)are wondering from the vantage point of only a few years' distance what it all means.

What is the significance of the memoir boom for teaching sociology? The issues that the current crop of memoirs deal with are very much the issues of undergraduate sociology courses. The new trend in confessional writing, the licence to tell all has produced a virtual library of sociological revelation. The politics and social movements of the last thirty years have given voice to once marginalized and silenced groups. Following in the wake of political interpretations and explications of "personal politics" has come the testimony of lives framed by pedestrian chaos: memorists witness their traumatic illnesses (Handler 1998; Wexler 1995) alcoholism (Knapp 1996; McGovern 1996), racial experiences (Gates 1994; McBride 1996) ethnic experiences (McCourt 1996; Mura 1991), sexual identities (Monette 1992; Bepko 1997) and family dysfunction (Karr 1995; Lyden 1997).

The memoir has opened up a new kind of narrative authority for the young, for ethnic subcultures, for different sexual persuasions, for the handicapped, for victims of abuse—in short for anyone whose questions about life fall outside the central narrative of worldly success, or of moral and spiritual growth, or of power and its exercise—once the main theme for American autobiographical writing. In the closing decades of the twentieth century, there has been an outpouring of autobiographical writing by women and men focused not on reflections about the unfolding of a long and successful life, but on the urgent questions of identity and relationships to family and society.

Since postmodern literary theory has deconstructed narrative by pointing out the ways narrative structure expresses power relationships within a society, one does not have to have climbed to some position of power, eminence, or authority in society to claim that one's experience is exemplary—anyone's story is as good as the telling. A postmodern author can begin and end a story however she or he likes. Thus, voices once silent, are describing the relationship between a life and history.

Memoir shares with sociological writing the project of lifting from sociological existence a narrative that will shape experience, transform event, and deliver wisdom. However, the memoir differs from sociological writing in the way it approaches the task. A relevant distinction between traditional sociological writing and memoir is illuminated in Walter Benjamin's contrast between storytelling and information. Information, in Benjamin's analysis, is a mode of communication linked to the development of the printing press and of capitalism; it represents itself as verifiable, it is "shot through with explanation" (1973, p.89). Storytelling on the other hand, is "always the art of repeating stories," without explanation, combining the extraordinary and the ordinary. Most important, it is grounded in a community of listeners and readers on whom the story makes a claim to be remembered by virtue of its "chaste compactness." The storyteller takes what he/she tells from experience and makes it the experience of those who listen or read the tale. It is the "art of storytelling to keep the story free from explanation as one reproduces it." It is left up to the listener/reader "to interpret things

the way he understands them, and thus the narrative achieves an amplitude that information lacks"(1973, p.89). What happened to the memoirist is not what matters, what matters is what the memoirist makes of what happened. The situation may be revealing, but it is the writing, that provides revelation and revelation comes with a story well told.

In this perspective the memoir accomplishes what C. W. Mills (1959) held to be the goal of sociology. Mills argued (as almost every introductory sociology text notes) that the "sociological imagination" helps to make an illuminating connection between "personal troubles" and "public issues." "The sociological imagination," Mills wrote, "enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society" (p.6). Mills' "sociological imagination" in the tradition of Marx and Mannheim was a debunking project. It enabled "its possessor" to "take into account how individuals, in the welter of their daily experience, often become falsely conscious of their social positions" (p.5) Mills' everyman is silent; "They do not possess the quality of mind essential to grasp the interplay of men and society; of biography and history, of self and the world" (p.4). The individual could understand his/her own experience only by becoming aware of a "quality of mind"—"the sociological imagination."

For Mills the key to bringing about clear understanding and change was learning to understand the social forces that have shaped individual lives. And the avenue to understanding required a voice speaking from out there to explain the relation between social forces and individual lives. Memoir writing shares with Mill's "sociological imagination" the obligation to lift from the raw material of life a tale that will enhance understanding. But the voice of memoir is not the voice of expert authority out there. Memoirs are sociological and historical accounts that can bear witness to some universal experience experienced on a personal level. Such personal narratives provide a unique perspective on the interaction of the individual, the collectivity, the cultural, and the social.

As the century has worn on, the sound of the voice out there has grown less compelling, its insights repetitive, its wisdom sometimes wearisome. And the voice of the silent everyman, once without agency, has grown louder. One of the virtues of a memoir is that it highlights through personal example themes that sociologists and historians have articulated, but not made vivid. Many memoirs grasp the relation between history and biography. The search for consciousness in the memoir is profoundly linked to cultural meanings and to the historical moment in which the author (and we) live. The link between an individual life story and the collective story which gives context to that life is a defining formal and thematic aspect of the memoir.

Memoirs can show the "examined life" in a compelling fashion. For example in *Angela's Ashes* Frank McCourt (1996) vividly discusses issues of Irish poverty, the dysfunctional family, and historical events:

> When I look back on my childhood, I wonder how I survived at all. It was, of course a miserable childhood: the happy childhood is hardly worth your while. Worse than the miserable childhood is the miserable Irish childhood, and worse yet is the miserable Irish Catholic childhood. People everywhere brag and whimper about the woes of their early years, but nothing can compare to the Irish version: the poverty; the shiftless, loquacious alcoholic father: the pious defeated mother moaning by the fire; pompous priests; bullying schoolmasters; the English, and the terrible things they did to us for eight hundred long years. (p. 11)

The story is one of unrelieved poverty, the exploitation of children, the degradation of women, and the effects of alcoholism on a family, and yet because of McCourt's narrative talent it becomes a three dimensional, richly detailed portrayal of a society and of McCourt's coming of age.

A dramatic story can be told, but there is room for reflection. One of the attrac-

tions of contemporary memoirs, is that they not only "show" and "tell" but they reflect on the very process of telling itself. In many of contemporary memoirs the author successfully combines the techniques of fiction with essay writing, the personal with public dimensions of experience, and the documentary account with poetic and evocative recreations of experience.

The memoir is an additional tool to access the resistant reader in the classroom. Unlike much qualitative sociology, with it's case studies and composite characters who often perfectly reflect the author's theories, memoirs start with the material of a life and refuse to glide over the messy contradictions that accompany being human. The memoir is a tale told directly from life, rather than one fashioned by the interpretation of lives. Understanding in a memoir is achieved not through a recital of facts or a didactic explanation; it is achieved when the reader comes to believe that the writer is working hard to engage, and illuminate with the experience at hand.

There is a tendency for academics to look down on memoirs as inferior to academic non fiction, as relatively naive, as simple transcriptions of life. However students who balk and recoil at traditional academic texts, who liken the experience of reading such texts as wadding through wet sand often find the memoir a more congenial text. The challenge is to write so that the reader cares, and many memoirs succeed at this task (whereas textbooks and traditional texts do not). Personal accounts which bear witness to poverty, racial and ethnic experiences, emigration, abuse, infertility, adoption, AIDS, addiction and recovery can engage the resistant post literate student in a way that traditional non fiction texts often do not.

The memoir can help mediate students' hesitation or aversion at the frontiers of their knowledge. This resistance can be addressed through the "border pedagogy" conceptualized by Aronowitz and Girouz

(1991). "Border pedagogy" sees cultural differences as enhancing public life and encourages students "to engage the multiple references that constitute different cultural codes, experiences, and languages including their own" (pp. 118-119). Students become border crossers as they learn to analyze cultural codes and negotiate these cultural differences. Students who read McCourt (1996) are border crossers into the world of white Irish poverty, those who read Paul Monette (1992) are border crossers into Monette's claustrophobic world of a closeted gay childhood, those who read Rhoades (1990), Bolton (1994) and Karr (1995) are border crossers into the world of abused childhoods and dysfunctional families.

The memoir can also lead to what the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe (1989) called "imaginative identification." "Imaginative identification," Achebe holds, "is the opposite of indifference...It is humane connectiveness at its most intimate...it begins as an adventure of self-discovery and ends in wisdom and humane conscience" (p. 159). Memoir affords the reader access to the education and self discovery of another. Memoirs are often narratives of self discovery, stories of change, and education. Thus, they are an excellent vehicle for connecting readers to lives and experience of others.

The recent deluge of memoirs has produced a library of sociological revelation and commentary. Many of the current crop of memoirs offer options for exposing students to fine writing, readable texts that often can be linked to sociological concepts, theories and texts, excellent illuminations of social behavior and society, and texts that lend themselves to both conventional analytical writing assignments, and as models for personal writing assignments. Like film and novels, memoirs can be a valuable supplement to sociology courses.

ENDNOTES

[1]As literary genre the autobiography and the memoir are not different versions of the same thing, though in some cases the line between autobiography and memoir might be an exceedingly fine line. Tobias Wolf (1997) distinguishes between autobiographies and memoir in terms of documentation. Autobiographies he holds use supporting documents. "A memoir," he contends, "is literally the story your memory tells you. Your not going back to source documents in your memory. The memoir tries to preserve that story" (p. 26). In *Palimpeset*, Gore Vidal (1996) noted "A memoir is how one remembers one's own life, while an autobiography is history, requiring research, dates, facts double checked. I've taken the memoir route on the ground that even an idling memory is apt to get right what matters most" (p.5). Truth in memoir is not achieved through a recital of actual and verifiable events, it is achieved when the reader comes to believe that the writer is working hard and honestly to engage with the experience at hand.

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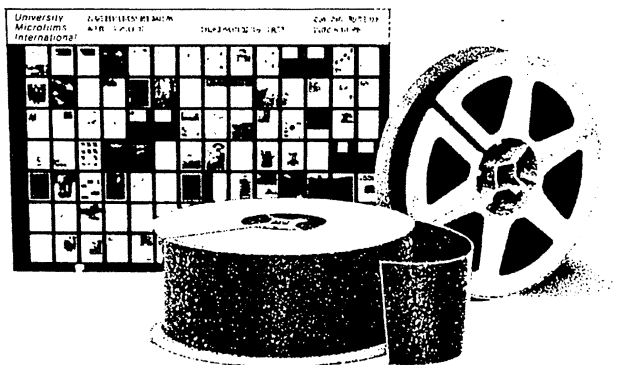
A RECONSIDERATION OF SOCIAL CONTROL AND DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION THEORIES: AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION OF PARENTAL AND PEER INFLUENCES ON DELINQUENCY

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Abstract

This paper presents an integrated framework of juvenile delinquency that includes variables from social control and differential association theories in addition to a reconceptualization of the role of parents as discussed in these theories. The reconceptualization reflects our argument for the need to consider how antisocial parents may serve to facilitate delinquency. A path model was developed for testing a set of hypotheses generated from the model. The predictor variables include parental conventionality, parental supervision, parental attachment, school commitment, delinquent peer association, and delinquent attitudes. We examined both the direct and indirect effects each of these had on delinquency. The data were obtained from a sample of 891 urban high school and junior high school students identified as early adolescent and late adolescent girls and boys. The path model is separately estimated for these four groups. Although the amount of variance our model explains for each of these groups is quite significant, we did discover some differences in the strength of the predictor variables across age groups. While parental influence proved to be more significant than peer association for early adolescents, we found the opposite to be true for late adolescents. Finally, our findings support our argument for a reconceptualization of the role of parents in influencing delinquency.
Keywords: delinquency, social change, differential socialization, parental influences

INTRODUCTION

Recent attempts to further the understanding and explanation of juvenile delinquent behavior have led various writers and scholars to develop substantially more integrated theoretical models of delinquency (Agnew 1993; Akers and Cochran 1985; Benda and DiBlasio 1991; Catalano and Hawkins 1996; Elliott, Huizinga, and Ageton 1985; Hawkins and Weis 1985). A perusal of the literature reveals that a majority of the models focus on integrating variables and theoretical constructs from social control theory and differential association theory. Specifically, the models provide a framework for identifying and empirically testing variables that intervene between delinquency and the social bond components specified by Hirschi (1969) as attachment and commitment to, and involvement in, conventional institutions such as family and school. Close inspec-

tion reveals that the most consistently examined intervening variable is delinquent peer association, which is directly borrowed from Sutherland's differential association theory (1947).

Hirschi (1969) posited a direct negative relationship between the bond components and delinquency, arguing that individuals with strong bonds to the institutions and strong beliefs in conventional values are less likely to become deviant than those with weak bonds. Hirschi (1969) postulates that when bond elements are weakened, constraints on the individual's inherent predisposition for antisocial conduct are also weakened, thus freeing the adolescent to pursue needs in the most expedient manner. Findings of various empirical studies investigating this relationship lend support to his argument (Brook et al. 1990; Brook et al. 1986; Kempf, 1993; Krohn and Massey 1980; Newcomb and Bentler 1988).

The integrated models, however, have challenged Hirschi's argument concerning the direct relationship and have suggested that delinquent peer association may act to mediate the relationships between family and school and delinquency. This position is found in differential association theory which emphasizes the influential role of delinquent peers in the learning of attitudes and motives which promote delinquent behavior and argues that deviant behavior is learned largely through associating with others whose behavior is deviant (Sutherland 1947). Proponents of differential association theory empirically have shown that when delinquent peer association is introduced as an intervening variable, the effects of parental influence either diminish or are mediated by this variable (Agnew 1991, 1993; Akers 1994; Benda, DiBlasio, and Kashner 1994; Aseltine 1995).

Following in this same tradition, we propose and empirically test a theory of juvenile delinquency that incorporates concepts and variables from both social control and differential association theories. We include Hirschi's bond components of family and school and examine whether direct relationships between these components and delinquency do exist. Nonetheless, we also examine the indirect effects of Hirschi's components on delinquency, and we include delinquent peer association as an intervening variable that may mediate the effects of Hirschi's components on delinquent behavior.

Moreover, we accept the argument of differential association theory that association with delinquent peers directly influences the learning of delinquent attitudes that are conducive to engaging in delinquent behavior. Thus, delinquent peer association has an indirect effect on delinquency. We, however, stress the need also to examine the direct effect that exposure to delinquent behavior through peer association may have on delinquency. Consequently, we examine both the direct and indirect effects of peer association on delinquency.

Finally, we reconceptualize the role of parents to include parental attitudes and behaviors. As Foshee and Bauman (1992) argue, parental attitudes and behavior traditionally have been excluded in social control theory and, we add, in differential association theory. We argue that early

Figure 1: A Path Model of Deliquency
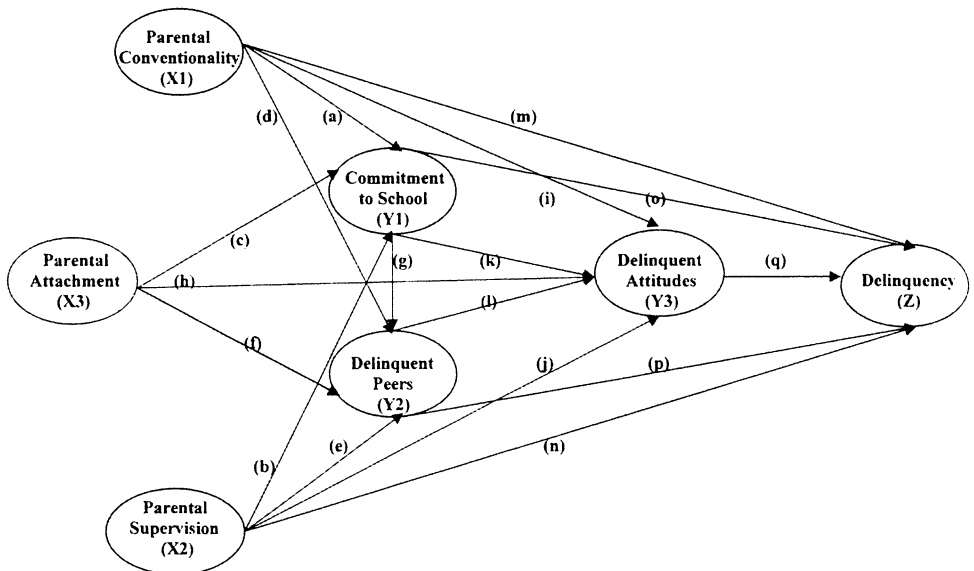
experience with antisocial parents can promote delinquent attitudes that support delinquent behaviors while simultaneously providing an environment in which delinquent behavior can be directly learned. We suggest that the conventional/unconventional orientation on the part of parents should be examined and its effects on the adolescent's delinquent attitudes and behaviors be assessed. Therefore, although we retain Hirschi's dimensions of parental attachment and parental supervision, we add the variable "parental conventionality" into our integrated theoretical framework and examine the direct and indirect effects this variable has on delinquency.

We develop a path model so that both the direct and indirect paths of the explanatory variables can be estimated. Specifically, our independent variables are (1) parental conventionality; (2) parental attachment; (3) parental supervision; (4) school commitment; (5) delinquent peer association; and (6) delinquent attitudes (see Figure 1). We develop a set of hypotheses to determine the empirical validity of our model. Finally, in order to examine if the model applies to all adolescents, we test it for different age groups and for both genders.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE PATH MODEL

We begin with components of parental influence that we identify as parental conventionality, parental supervision, and parental attachment.

Parental Conventionality and Delinquency

Traditionally, the family has been regarded as a conventional institution, thus obviating the need to include the role of parental attitudes and behaviors into the complex of variables that explain delinquency. As Agnew (1993:248) points out, "empirical studies of the differential association approach tend to focus on the adolescent peer group as the primary source of deviant learning and, for the most part, neither the family nor the school are believed

to create a framework by which deviant behavior is learned." Jensen (1972) comments, however, that this theory is not limited to peer influence but rather may be extended to include significant others such as parents. Similarly, Catalano and Hawkins (1996:431) note that "children learn patterns of behavior whether prosocial or antisocial from socializing agents of family, school, religious institutions, and their peers." This is consistent with Sutherland and Cressey (1978) who argue that delinquency results from interaction in primary social groups where favorable definitions of delinquency are learned. We therefore, conclude that since parents act as a primary group, it is necessary to investigate how parents may directly and indirectly influence delinquency.

Concerning the direct effects of parents' attitudes and behaviors on delinquency, empirical studies reveal that parents may negatively affect their child's behavior if they engage in delinquent activities themselves and expose their children to these behaviors (Cernkovich and Giordano 1992; McCord 1991; Thompson, Mitchell, and Dodder 1991). For example, evidence on adolescent tobacco and alcohol use shows that parent's own use of alcohol and tobacco led to adolescent drug-use behavior consistent with parent's use (Foshee and Bauman 1992).

Turning to the indirect effects, unconventional parents may indirectly affect delinquency by inadvertently influencing the adolescent's formation of delinquent friendships. Warr (1993) points out that although parents may subscribe to a value orientation which does not respect the law and may themselves violate the law, they may not condone delinquent behavior on the part of their children. The adolescent, therefore, may seek a tolerant delinquent peer culture in which delinquent attitudes learned in the home can be expressed and reinforced through delinquent behaviors.

Unconventional parents also may influence their child's school commitment and performance, and in this way may have an indirect effect on delinquency. Adolescents

who are exposed to unconventional attitudes and behavior may be negatively affected in their interest in school and in their motivation to succeed in the conventional academic environment, thereby increasing the chances of delinquency. In summary, our hypothesis regarding the relationship between parental conventionality and delinquency is formulated as follows:

> Hypothesis 1: Parental conventionality affects delinquency directly and also indirectly through influencing the child's delinquent attitudes, delinquent peer association, and school commitment.

Parental Supervision and Delinquency

According to social control theory, parents provide an important function in the supervision of the child's behavior (Rankin and Kern 1994). Research has revealed a direct effect of supervision on delinquency, arguing that a lack of supervision may positively reinforce delinquent behavior (Patterson, Reid, and Dishion 1992). Quite simply, adolescents whose behavior is not monitored and who have no restrictions placed on their activities are much freer to engage in delinquent behavior than adolescents whose parents actively supervise their behavior. The impact of supervision is found particularly important during the early adolescent's life stage (see Jang and Smith 1997).

Parental supervision also affects delinquency indirectly through influencing delinquent peer association. According to the peer influence model, ineffective supervision "leads to association with deviant friends which, in turn, leads to delinquency" (Vitaro et al. 1997:676). Similarly, Elliott, Huizinga, and Menard (1989) state that quality of parenting exerts an indirect influence on delinquency by freeing the adolescent to associate with delinquent peers. Therefore, parents who do not actively regulate their child's friendships by screening out delinquent companions unwittingly remove the access barriers to delinquent peers.

Moreover, the negative consequences of poor parental supervision also may extend to the child's school performance. Unsupervised, the adolescent is much freer to drift from school responsibilities and to violate school rules and expectations, subsequently weakening the bond with and commitment to school which ultimately may result in delinquent behavior. To summarize, our hypothesis regarding the relationship between parental supervision and delinquency is thus stated:

> Hypothesis 3: Parental supervision affects delinquency directly as well as indirectly by providing opportunities for association with delinquent peers and also by affecting the adolescent's commitment to school.

Parental Attachment and Delinquency

Social control theory (Hirschi 1969) argues that the family as a conventional institution socializes the child into the conventional norms of society to which the child is expected to conform. A strong parent-child bond facilitates this conformity, for as Hirschi (1969) explains, the adolescent, out of fear of jeopardizing the bond, may be dissuaded from engaging in behavior that violates the norms. Following this line of argument, a direct relationship has been established between parental attachment and delinquency. We contend, however, as others have, that parental attachment has an indirect effect on delinquency (Hagan, Simpson, and Gillis 1988; Jang and Smith 1997; Heimer and Matsueda 1994; Heimer 1996).

We propose that parental attachment as manifested by the parent-child bond, open communication, and parental identification, will enhance the child's willingness to discuss thoughts and share problems with the parents, thus facilitating the parent's opportunities to directly become involved in the child's life. Consequently, when problems arise in school or in social relationships in general, the child will turn to the parent for advice and support. The chances of dropping out of school and losing the approval of the parents or seeking support in a delinquent peer group will then be greatly reduced. Our hypothesis

concerning this effect, thus is specified as follows:

> Hypothesis 4: Parental attachment has indirect effects on delinquency through the mediating variables of school commitment, delinquent peer association, and delinquent attitudes.

School Commitment and Delinquency

A weak bond to school, as social control theory postulates, is a critical link in the causal chain leading to delinquency (Hirschi 1969). A major factor leading to a lack of school bond is school failure (Hirschi 1969). As Cernkovich and Giordano (1992) explain, school failure which leads to a lack of interest in homework and grades, low aspirations for the future, no desire to be in school, a lack of attachment to teachers, and a weakening of the school bond, ultimately may lead to delinquency. A direct relationship between school bond and delinquency thus is established by social control theory.

Low school commitment also may affect delinquency indirectly through delinquent peer association. Students who fail academically may develop perceptions of themselves as incompetent and thus may experience feelings of insecurity and alienation in this environment. In an attempt to enhance their feelings of self-worth and identity, they are more likely than successful students to be attracted to a delinquent peer group. This process is clarified by Elliott and Voss (1974) who suggest that failure to achieve academically leads to a decrease in school commitment which ultimately increases the influence of delinquent peers on adolescent behavior. To summarize, we formulate the following hypothesis:

> Hypothesis 5: A weak bond and commitment to school will directly and indirectly affect delinquent behavior.

Delinquent Peer Association and Delinquency

A majority of studies testing differential association theory have traditionally focused on how delinquency is learned via delinquent peer associations. Through these associations, attitudes favorable to the violation of the law are acquired, thus increasing the probability for delinquent behavior (Elliott, Huizinga, and Ageton 1985; Jensen 1972; Johnson 1979).

McCarthy (1996) criticizes these studies for their exclusive attention on delinquent attitudes and for their failure to investigate the direct effects of peer association on delinquency. We concur and therefore stress the relevance of examining the direct influence of peer association on delinquency. Moreover, this is consistent with McCarthy's interpretation of Sutherland's theory in which he asserts that "Sutherland's notes on the origins of differential association affirm the importance of criminal contact as a means for learning how to offend (1996: 138)." McCarthy (1996) further agues that this position is reflected in all of Sutherland's works.

Empirical research has confirmed a direct link between delinquent peer association and delinquency net of delinquent attitudes (Agnew 1993; Brian and Piliavin 1965; Elliot et al. 1985; Heimer and Matsueda 1994; Short and Strodtbeck 1965; Warr and Stafford 1991). Warr and Stafford (1991) for example, challenge the belief that delinquency is primarily a consequence of attitudes acquired from peers and assert that delinquency is a more a result of social learning mechanisms such as imitation or from group pressures to conform.

The emphasis on peers' behavioral patterns also is present in the social learning theory of deviant behavior that integrates differential association with ideas from modern learning theory (Akers 1977). Social learning theory argues that "social behavior (including deviant behavior) is acquired through both direct conditioning and through imitation or modeling of others' behavior (Akers et al.1979:638)." In an empirical study testing this position, Agnew (1991) reported that association with delinquent peers may lead to the internalization of delinquent definitions

and, likewise, in line with social learning theory, adolescents imitate delinquent behavior modeled by their peers. On the basis of these arguments, we formulate the following hypothesis:

> Hypothesis 6: Delinquent peer association both directly and indirectly increases the chances of delinquency.

DATA, MODEL, AND MEASURES

Sample and Data

The data were collected in a Midwestern city school system between May and June 1997. Students from high-crime areas of the city were sampled on the premise that adolescents residing in these communities are exposed to more crime and delinquent opportunities and thus are at a greater risk for delinquency. The sample was drawn from 7th and 8th grade students in all five junior high schools and from 12th grade students in all four high schools within the school system.

Prior to the survey, informed consent forms were obtained from the city board of education, principals, parents, and students. A questionnaire consisting of 130 items for junior high school students and 103 items for high school students was administered to students in their English classes. All students participated except those whose parents declined to give permission and those who were absent when the questionnaire was administered. This yielded a sample of 479 junior high school students and 412 high school students. The gender make-up of the junior high sample is 54% female and 46% male. The high school sample is composed of 55% female and 45% male. The racial make-up of the junior high school sample is 12% white, 73% black, and 15% other minority groups. For the high school sample, the racial composition is 33%, 57%, and 10% respectively. An over representation of African-American youth prevented the sample from being representative of the population of teens in general. In addition, the percentage of African-American youth in the junior high school sample is higher than that of the high school sample. This may also affect the comparability of these two groups. The racial composition of the sample, however, is representative of the study population. The mean age of the junior high students is 13.4 and 17.9 for the high school students. The sample is divided into four groups: early adolescent boys and girls and late adolescent boys and girls. We separately estimated our model for each of these groups. Our argument for the validity of the model is partially based on the findings for these four groups.

Variables, Measures, and the Model

Figure 1 specifies a theoretical model for estimating the direct and indirect paths from the measures of the predictor variables to delinquency. The model contains seven theoretical constructs that generate the empirical data: (1) parental conventionality; (2) parental supervision; (3) parental attachment; (4) school commitment; (5) delinquent peers; (6) delinquent attitudes; and (7) delinquency.

All predictor variables in the hypothesized model are latent constructs, each measured by several items. Descriptions of measures of these constructs and the scale alphas appear in Appendix A. Responses to these items, except delinquency, were coded on a 4-point scale (1 = never; 2 = sometime; 3 = usually; 4 = always). The value of each construct is the mean score of all items that measure the construct

Parental conventionality is measured by two items concerning parent's attitudes and behaviors toward the law as perceived by the adolescent. Parental supervision is measured by two items reflecting the extent of parental supervision on the adolescent's selection of friends and the activities with them. Parental attachment is measured by seven items concerning parental affection, parental identification, and parent-child communication. School commitment includes six items measuring the student's attitudes towards schooling and their relationships with their teachers. Delinquent peers is measured by six items concerning peers' delinquent behaviors.

Table 1. Standardized Coefficients for the Direct and Total Effects of Predictor Variables on Endogenous Variables: Early and Late Adolescent Boys and Girls

Dependent Variable / Independent Variables	Early Adolescent Boys		Late Adolescent Boys		Early Adolescent Girls		Late Adolescent Girls	
	(1) Direct Effect	(2) Total Effects	(3) Direct Effect	(4) Total Effects	(5) Direct Effect	(6) Total Effects	(7) Direct Effect	(8) Total Effects
BLOCK 1								
Delinquency (1) Parental Conventionality	-.138*	-.281**	-.038	-.220**	-.244**	-.356**	-.027	-.233**
R2 = .350 (EB) (2) Parental Supervision	-.177**	-.320**	-.165*	-.262**	-.304**	-.361**	-.097	-.273**
R2 = .465 (LB) R2 = .397 (EG) (3) Parental Attachment	---	-.159*	---	-.114	---	-.085	---	-.019
R2 = .500 (LG) (4) School Commitment	-.048	-.220**	-.152*	-.308**	-.056	-.208**	-.081	-.254**
(5) Delinquent Peers	.040	.183*	.229**	.301**	.091	.228**	.188**	.279**
(6) Delinquent Attitudes	.494**	.494**	.238**	.238**	.322**	.322**	.396**	.396**
BLOCK 2								
Delinquent Attitudes (1) Parental Conventionality	-.180**	-.263**	-.178**	-.345**	-.193**	-.296**	-.248**	-.378**
R2 = .285 (EB) (2) Parental Supervision	.127	-.246**	.016	-.099	-.110	-.184*	-.184*	-.311**
R2 = .365 (LB) R2 = .265 (EG) (3) Parental Attachment	.116	.001	.101	-.020	-.009	-.123	-.031	-.042
R2 = .430 (LG) (4) School Commitment	-.217**	-.320**	-.358**	-.429**	-.186**	-.238**	-.237**	-.322**
(5) Delinquent Peers	.289**	.289**	.303**	.303**	.229**	.229**	.226**	.226**
BLOCK 3								
Delinquent Peers (1) Parental Conventionality	-.197**	-.226**	-.251**	-.301**	-.215**	-.268**	-.238**	-.324**
R2 = .256 (EB) (2) Parental Supervision	-.166*	-.245**	-.137	-.177*	-.251**	-.266**	-.142**	-.253**
R2 = .237 (LB) R2 = .292 (EG) (3) Parental Attachment	.077	-.066	-.041	-.100	-.097	-.152	-.001	-.013
R2 = .327 (LG) (4) School Commitment	-.357**	-.357**	-.235**	-.235**	-.226**	-.226**	-.378**	-.378**
BLOCK 4								
School Commitment (1) Parental Conventionalit	.081	.081	.211**	.211**	.234**	.234**	.228**	.228**
R2 = .333 (EB) (2) Parental Supervision	.221**	.221	.170**	.170**	.068	.068	.294**	.294**
R2 = .229 (LB) R2 = .169 (EG) (3) Parental Attachment	.400**	.400**	.253**	.253**	.244**	.244**	.033	.033
R2 = .178 (LG)								

EB: Early Adolescent Boys; LB: Late Adolescent Boys; EG: Early Adolescent Girls; LG: Late Adolescent Girls.
* p<.05; ** p<.01.

Delinquent attitudes is measured by four items centered on the adolescent's attitudes toward the law and law enforcement. The outcome variable, delinquency, is measured using a 24-item scale of self-reported offending. Following Elliott et al. (1985), these include violent offenses, property offenses, drug selling, drug use, marijuana use, alcohol use, and arrest.

The causal ordering of these predictors is based on our hypotheses of the causes of delinquency. The path model begins with three parental constructs - parental conventionality, supervision, and attachment. Based on our hypotheses, parental conventionality and supervision will exert direct negative effects on delinquency and also indirect effects through the mediating variables school commitment, delinquent peers and delinquent attitudes. Parental attachment will affect delinquency only indirectly through the mediating variables school commitment, delinquent peers, and delinquent attitudes. School commitment also will have negative indirect effects on delinquency through the mediating variables delinquent peer association and

delinquent attitudes. Delinquent peer association should have positive effects on delinquency both directly and indirectly through the mediating variable delinquent attitudes. Delinquent attitudes should have a direct positive effect on delinquency.

To summarize, we predict that the parental and school variables will have negative effects on delinquency, whereas delinquent peers and delinquent attitudes will have positive effects on delinquency. All predictor variables except parental attachment will have direct effects on delinquency.

RESULTS

The substantive model presented in figure 1 is estimated using the path-diagram method (Chen 1983; Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan 1972; McClendon 1994) for decomposing the direct, indirect, and total effects of the causal variables on delinquency. In our analysis, a recursive model is specified and the parameters are estimated with ordinary least squares. The model fits the data well for all four groups in our study. The amount of variance explained

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Figure 2: A Path Model of Delinquency, Early Adolescent Boys
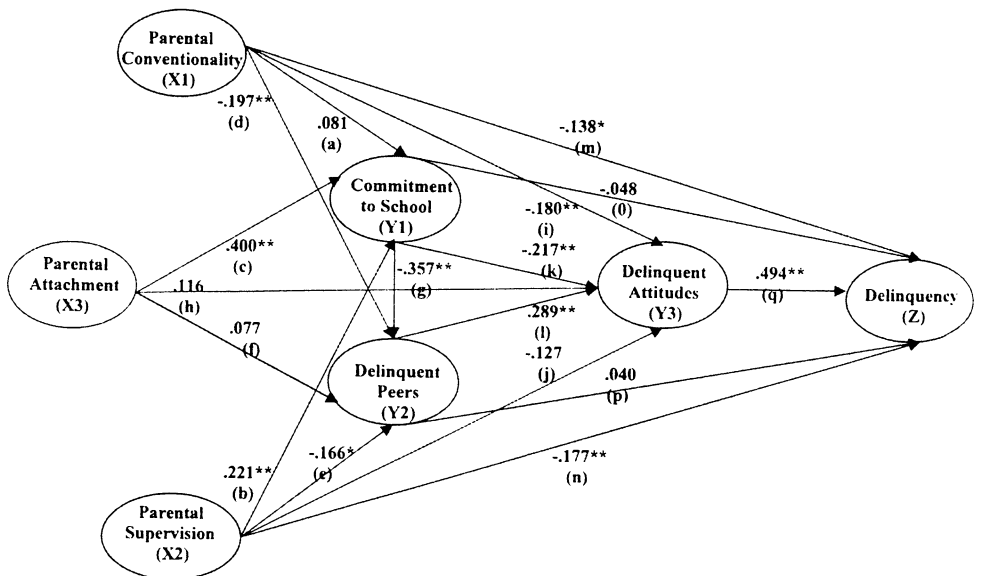
Figure 3: A Path Model of Delinquency, Late Adolescent Boys
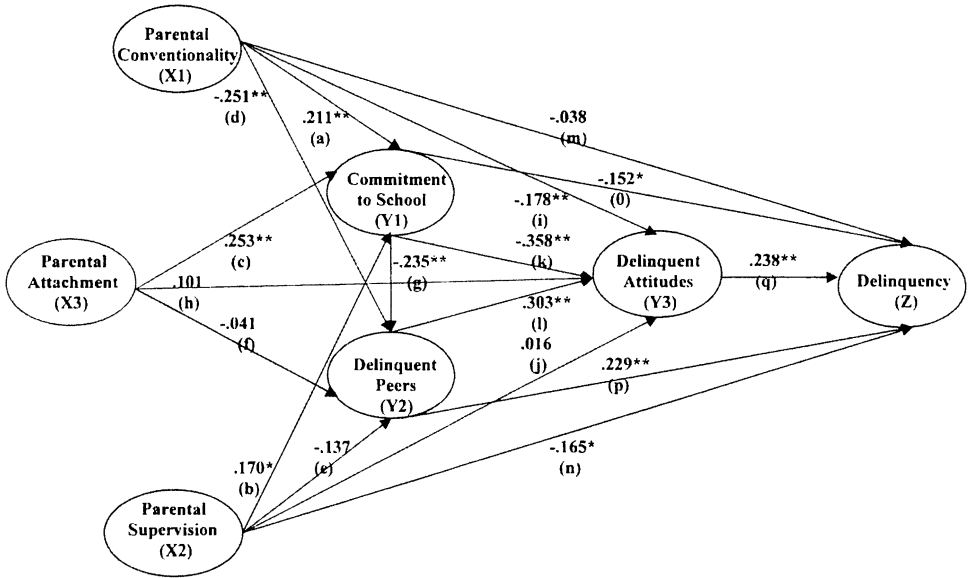
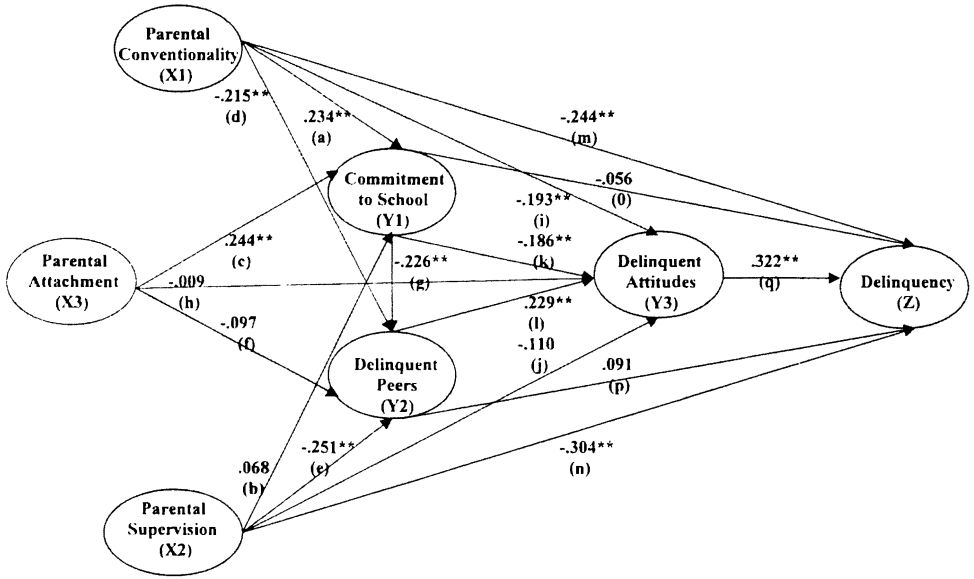**Figure 4: A Path Model of Delinquency, Early Adolescent Girls**

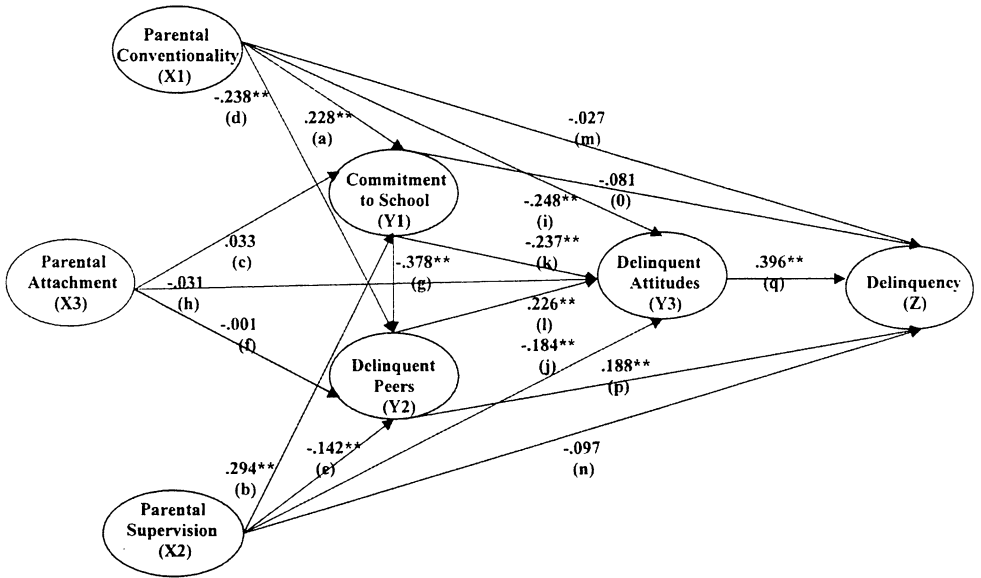**Figure 5: A Path Model of Delinquency, Late Adolescent Girls**

Table 2. Frequency Distribution of Parental Conventionality: Early and Late Adolescent Boys and Girls

Parental Conventionality	Early Adolescent Boys (%) (N = 218)	Late Adolescent Boys (%) (N = 185)	Early Adolescent Girls (%) (N = 250)	Late Adolescent Girls (%) (N = 226)
Never/sometimes	15.6	17.3	14.8	9.3
Usually/always	84.4	82.7	85.2	90.7
Total	100.0	100	100	100

Table 3. Frequency Distribution of Parental Supervision: Early and Late Adolescent Boys and Girls

Parental Supervision	Early Adolescent Boys (%) (N = 219)	Late Adolescent Boys (%) (N = 185)	Early Adolescent Girls (%) (N = 251)	Late Adolescent Girls (%) (N = 225)
Never/sometimes	37.4	50.8	23.5	29.3
Usually/always	62.6	49.2	76.5	70.7
Total	100.0	100	100	100

for the dependent variable delinquency is 47% for early adolescent boys, 35% for late adolescent boys, 50% for early adolescent girls, and 40% for late adolescent girls (see Table 1, Block 1, R Square). The amount of variance explained for each of the three other dependent variables - delinquent attitudes, delinquent peers, and school commitment - is also reported in Table 1, Blocks 2, 3, and 4 respectively.

Figures 2, 3, 4, and 5 depict path models for the four groups. The path coefficients, betas, indicate the estimates of the standardized effects. A positive beta represents a positive effect, whereas a negative beta represents a negative effect. The estimates of the direct and total effects on delinquency are reported in Table 1, Block 1. Our findings reveal these effects bear directly on our hypotheses. We begin our

discussion with the influence of parental variables on delinquency.

Effects of Parental Variables

Our results show there are variations in parental conventionality (see Table 2) and parental supervision (see Table 3). For example, 15.6% of the early adolescent boys, 17.3% of the late adolescent boys, 14.8% of the early adolescent girls, and 9.3% of the late adolescent girls report that their parents are either never or only sometimes conventional. Similarly, 37.4% of the early adolescent boys, 50.8% of the late adolescent boys, 23.5% of the early adolescent girls, and 29.3% of the late adolescent girls report that their parents either never or only sometimes provide supervision. We report these findings to substantiate our earlier argument stressing the need to include parental conventionality and supervision as predictor variables in a model explaining delinquency.

Our findings give partial support to Hypothesis 1 that argues for both direct and indirect negative relationships between conventionality and delinquency. For the early adolescent boys, parental conventionality exerts both direct and indirect effects on delinquency (direct effect beta = -.138, p<.05, see Table 1, Block 1, Column 1, Row 1). For the late adolescent boys, however, parental conventionality only exerts indirect effects. The direct effect is negligible (beta = -.038, see Table 1, Block 1, Column 3, Row 1). The total effect is also slightly higher for the early adolescent boys (beta = -.281, p<.01, see Table 1, Block 1, Column 2, Row 1) than for the late adolescent boys (beta = -.220, p<.01, see Table 1, Block 1, Column 4, Row 1). This pattern also exists for the early and late adolescent girls; parental conventionality has both direct and indirect effects for the early adolescent girls (direct effect beta = -.244, p<.01, see Table 1, Block 1, Column 5, Row 1). For the late adolescent girls, however, parental conventionality only exerts indirect effects. The direct effect is negligible (beta = -.027, see

Table 1, Block 1, Column 7, Row 1). The total effect is also higher for the early adolescent girls (beta = -.356, p<.01, see Table 1, Block 1, Column 6, Row 1) than for the late adolescent girls (beta = -.233, p<.01, see Table 1, Block 1, Column 8, Row 1).

We contend that these findings provide support for our argument stressing the need to include parental conventionality as a predictor variable in a model explaining delinquency. In particular, parents as a primary group influence delinquency by conveying their own antisocial attitudes and behaviors to the child. This influence is stronger and more direct for early adolescent boys and girls.

The results of parental supervision are in agreement with Hypothesis 2 that postulates both direct and indirect relationships between supervision and delinquency. The results reveal that for all groups except the late adolescent girls, parental supervision has both direct and indirect negative effects on delinquency. Parental supervision also has the largest total effect on delinquency among all three index-variables measuring parental influence (see Table 1, Block 1, Columns 2, 4, 6, and 8, Rows 1 to 3). Our findings for the direct effects provide support for Hirschi's (1969) social control theory which argues that parental supervision directly deters delinquent behavior. These findings also are consistent with empirical findings that reveal this variable to be the most important among all variables measuring family bond (Junger and Marshal 1997; Wells and Rankin 1988).

The results for parental attachment provide only partial support for Hypothesis 3 which predicts that parental attachment affects delinquency indirectly through school commitment, delinquent peer association, and delinquent attitudes. We contend the reason for this is primarily due to the insignificant relationships found between parental attachment and delinquent peer association. Our findings reveal that although there is a significant relationship between attachment and school com-

mitment for all groups except late adolescent girls groups (beta = .400, .253, .244, and .033 respectively, p<.01 for the first three betas, see Table 1, Block 4, Columns 1, 3, 5, and 7, Row 3), there is no relationship between attachment and peer association for any of these groups (beta = .077, -.041, -.097, and -.001 respectively, see Table 1, Block 3, Columns 1, 3, 5, and 7, Row 3). Moreover, for all four groups, parental attachment does not exert a statistically significant effect on delinquent attitude and, furthermore, the betas for the early and late adolescents are in the wrong direction (beta = .116 and .101 respectively, see Table 1, Block 2, Columns 1 and 3, Row 3).

Although social control theory posits that parental attachment has a direct effect on delinquency, our results reveal no such relationship for any of our groups. Nonetheless, our zero order correlation analysis reveals evidence for a significant correlation between attachment and delinquency (see Table 4, Column 7, Rows 9-12). The correlation, however, appears spurious in the presence of the other parental influence variables, conventionality and supervision.

School Commitment

The results provide evidence for Hypothesis 4 which states that alienation from school affects delinquency indirectly by increasing the chances of delinquent peer association where delinquent attitudes that promote delinquency are learned. Our findings show this to be true for all groups. A close inspection of the indirect effects of school commitment on delinquency reveals that for both groups of boys, school commitment has the greatest total effect on delinquent attitudes (beta = -.320 and -.429 respectively, p<01, see Table 1, Block 2, Columns 2 and 4, Row 4). Furthermore, for both groups of girls, school commitment has the second largest effect on attitudes (beta = -.238 and -.322 respectively, p<.01, see Table 1, Block 2, Columns 6 and 8, Rows 4) preceded by parental conventionality. For all groups, school commitment also exerts fairly strong direct effects on delinquent peer association in comparison with other variables (beta = -.357, -.235, -.226, and -.378 respectively, p<.01, see Table 1, Block 3, Columns 1, 3, 5, and 7, Rows 1 to 4). These findings are in agreement with differential association theory and differential social control theory (Heimer and Matsueda 1994) which argue that since commitment to education reduces the likelihood of affiliation with delinquent peers and hence the adoption of delinquent attitudes, it therefore indirectly reduces the risk of delinquent behaviors.

On the other hand, a weak yet statistically significant direct effect was found only for the late adolescent boys (beta = -.152, p<.05, see Table 1, Block 1, Columns 1 - 8, Row 4). Therefor our findings fail to provide support for social control theory that posits direct effects of conventional activities in restraining delinquency.

Delinquent Peer Association

Hypothesis 5 predicts that delinquent peer association affects delinquency both directly and indirectly. Our results reveal this to be true for both late adolescent boys and girls (direct effect beta = .229 and .188 respectively, total effect beta = .301 and .279 respectively, p<.01, see Table 1, Block 1, Columns 3, 4, 7, and 8, Row 5). For early adolescent boys and girls, however, the direct effect is weak and insignificant (beta = .040 and .091 respectively, see Table 1, Block 1, Columns 1 and 5, Row 5). Consequently, the total effects for these two groups are weaker than those reported for the late adolescent groups. These findings indicate that delinquent peers have greater effects for older adolescents than for early adolescents.

The overall findings lend support to differential association theory which argues that association with deviant peers facilitates the transmission of delinquent attitudes that promote delinquent behavior. Thus, delinquent peer association has an

Table 4. Zero-Order Correlation of Causal Variables and Delinquency: Early and Late Adolescent Boys and Girls

		Parental Conventionality (1)	Parental Supervision (2)	Parental Attachment (3)	School Commitment (4)	Delinquent Peers (5)	Delinquent Attitude (6)	Delinquency (7)
Parental Conventionality	(1)	-----	.301**	.377**	.299**	-.323**	-.322**	-.366**
	(2)	-----	.281**	.295**	.333**	-.377**	-.375**	-.298**
	(3)	-----	.207**	.275**	.315**	-.367**	-.357**	-.444**
	(4)	-----	.203**	.345**	.300**	-.387**	-.407**	-.308**
Parental Supervision	(5)	-----	-----	.466**	.429**	.335**	-.312**	-.401**
	(6)	-----	-----	.468**	.348**	-.302**	-.203**	-.340**
	(7)	-----	-----	.347**	.191**	-.380**	-.287**	-.462**
	(8)	-----	-----	.372**	.352**	-.321**	-.405**	-.334**
Parental Attachment	(9)	-----	-----	-----	.529**	-.272**	-.225**	-.301**
	(10)	-----	-----	-----	.394**	-.271**	-.161**	-.281**
	(11)	-----	-----	-----	.338**	-.326**	-.241**	-.250**
	(12)	-----	-----	-----	.221**	-.226**	-.260**	-.178**z
School Commitment	(13)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.435**	-.370**	-.379**
	(14)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.379**	-.489**	-.407**
	(15)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.378**	-.352**	-.258**
	(16)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-.502**	-.525**	-.405**
Delinquent Peers	(17)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.444**	.377**
	(18)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.474**	.462**
	(19)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.417**	.442**
	(20)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.507**	.452**
Delinquent Attitude	(21)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.619**
	(22)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.457**
	(23)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.526**
	(24)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	.594**
Delinquency	(25)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	(26)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	(27)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
	(28)	-----	-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----

p<.05, ** p<.01. For each pair of correlation, the first row is Early Adolescent Boys, followed by Late Adolescent Boys, Early Adolescent Girls, and Late Adolescent Girls.

indirect effect on delinquency mediated by delinquent attitudes. The findings reported for the older adolescent groups, however, also lend support to differential social control theory (Heimer and Matsueda 1994) which stipulates both direct and indirect effects of delinquent peers on delinquency.

Delinquent Attitudes

The results show delinquent attitudes affect delinquency directly. As predicted by Hypothesis 6, adolescents who report attitudes favoring rule and law violation are more likely than others to engage in delinquent activities. Indeed, among the predictor variables in our model, delinquent attitudes exert the strongest direct effects on delinquency for all four groups (beta = .494, .238, .322, and .396 respectively, p<.01, see Table 1, Block 1, Columns 1, 3, 5, and 7, Row 6). These results also represent a total effect greater than any other predictor variables in the model for all groups except the late adolescent boys (see Table 1, Block 1, Columns 2, 4, 6, and 8, Rows 1 to 6). These findings lend support to differential association theory which emphasizes the critical role of delinquent attitudes in affecting delinquent behavior. These findings also are in agreement with social control theory that views belief in conventional norms as a means for directly controlling delinquency.

CONCLUSIONS

The principal aim of this study was to introduce an integrated model of juvenile delinquency which reflects modifications of social control and differential association theories. The path model we developed grants us the opportunity to empirically test the hypotheses derived from this model. The hypotheses include those which traditionally originate from social control and differential association theories in addition to a new set of hypotheses obtained from our modifications.

As reported, on several occasions direct paths from Hirschi's bond components and delinquency did achieve statistical signifi-

cance, hence, we cannot argue for a total rejection of social control theory. These direct causal paths, however, are limited and indeed are secondary to mediating influences. We discovered, for example, that paths between the bond components and deviant behavior actually are more mediated by several intervening variables including delinquent peer association, thus clearly giving support to the underlying premise of differential association theory. Differential association theory, however, traditionally has focused on the indirect relationship between peer association and delinquency. Our findings, nonetheless, reveal significant direct effects of peer association on delinquency for our late adolescent sample, thereby lending some support to our argument concerning the direct effect of peer association on delinquency.

The main contributions our model makes to the understanding of juvenile delinquency, however, are reflected in the findings regarding Hypotheses 1 that reflects our proposed modifications. These findings have implications for both the development of an integrated framework explaining juvenile delinquency and also for empirical research directed at delinquency.

Hypothesis 1 reflects our argument for a theoretical framework that examines the relationship between parent's unconventional attitudes and behavior and juvenile delinquency. Our findings indeed do lend support to our argument. As reported, except for a few occasions, not only does parental conventionality have both direct and indirect effects on juvenile delinquent behavior, but also it is related to all other variables in our model.

Although we did not discover any direct effects of parental conventionality on delinquency for our late adolescent groups (male and female), the total effects of this variable are significant for all age and gender groups. Furthermore, the directs effects for early adolescent boys and girls persisted net of the mediating effects of deviant peer association. In other words, the anti-

social attitudes and behaviors of the parents directly affect deviant behavior on the part of the young adolescents. Parental conventionality also has a greater direct influence on this group than does delinquent peer association. Conversely, delinquent peer association had a much greater impact on delinquent behavior for our late adolescents than did parental conventionality. We posit, therefore, that the antisocial behavior and attitudes of parents may be more significant in fostering early introduction to delinquent attitudes and behavior, while peers become the predominant influence for late adolescents.

The findings of our study illuminate the consequences for youth being raised by antisocial parents, yet our literature review reveals the major theories of delinquency avoid any consideration of parent's attitudes and behaviors. Social control theories view the family as a conventional agent of socialization wherein social values and socially appropriate behavior are observed and learned, and thus it examines the family as the primary source of attachment in preventing delinquency. Differential association theory, on the other hand, which is concerned with factors that facilitate delinquent behavior, exclusively focuses on the role of delinquent peers in this process. As far as parental influence is concerned, they argue that this variable is mediated by exposure to delinquent peers where positive definitions of deviant behavior are learned. Research thus, according to Liska and Reed (1985:548) "sees parents as an unconditional source of conventional control, whereas peers can be a source of either conventional or unconventional social influence."

We argue, however, that it is erroneous to assume that all families provide a conventional environment for their youth. With this caution, we contend that since the family is the first primary group with whom the individual interacts, the need for studies to theoretically include and empirically examine the family as an arena in which delinquent attitudes and behaviors

can be learned becomes even more imperative.

We propose, therefore, that including the role of unconventional parents into an integrated social control and differential association framework would expand the explanatory power of the theory. First of all, this addition would add another dimension to parental influence as contained within social control theory. Secondly, since differential association theory deals with the role of primary groups in the learning of attitudes and behavior, including the family as a primary group into this framework would be very natural. Finally, reconceptualizing the role of primary groups to include parents would necessitate a reassessment and reexamination of the role of delinquent peers as discussed in this theory. It is this last point that deserves elaboration.

Our findings reveal delinquent peers mediate the relationship between unconventional parents and delinquency for all age and gender groups. The regression coefficients in our path model indicate that being raised by unconventional parents may lead some youth to seek out a peer group with similar antisocial attitudes and behaviors and that such association further encourages deviant behavior. We propose, therefore, that we cannot simply state that delinquent peer association directly causes delinquency, rather consideration also should be given to the mediating effects deviant peer association has on delinquency.

Our study contains several limitations that must be considered. The causal ordering established in our path model did not consider the likelihood of reciprocal relationships between our variables, in particular, the possibility of a reciprocal relationship between delinquent peer association and delinquency. The ordering of the relationship between these variables has traditionally been presented as unidirectional from association to delinquency, and little attention is given to the effects of delinquency on peer association. Our findings provide us with enough evidence to

propose that the relationship between these variables may indeed be reciprocal. For example, we argued that adolescents growing up with antisocial parents might seek out a delinquent peer group. The rewards and reinforcement for behavior that are gained from membership in the group may serve to perpetuate association with the group, thereby facilitating further involvement in deviant behavior. We thus concur with Aseltine (1995:116) when he argues that "a more fruitful approach to deviant research would explicitly consider the ways in which individuals select environment and social contexts, shape and change those environments, and are indeed acted upon by their social environment."

This brings us to a methodological issue that we believe must be addressed. Although there are those who stress the need for longitudinal studies to more clearly understand the development of delinquency (Thornberry et al. 1994), we employed the cross sectional method in our study. The findings generated from our hypotheses reflecting both social control and differential association theories, however, are very consistent with those discovered in longitudinal studies testing these theories. Nonetheless, since our study contained several modifications to these theories that have not yet been examined, we cannot extrapolate that a longitudinal analysis would produce results similar to our own. We cannot justifiably conclude that once youths are introduced to delinquent attitudes and behavior in the family, they are then led to gravitate to or become a member of a delinquent peer group. Consideration of this active role of the adolescent, as Aseltine (1995) emphasizes and as we concur, requires a longitudinal analysis to adequately test the trajectory of such a process. We suggest, therefore, that future research testing our model and employing the longitudinal method is needed to examine this process.

Despite these limitations, our findings clearly emphasize the need to separate adolescent groups according to age when examining the causes of delinquent behavior. Much of the current literature on juvenile delinquency generally collapses all adolescent age groups into one sample group, implying that the influences on delinquency do not vary according to age. We, however, highlight our findings that reveal differences in the significance of the variables for age groups and methodologically suggest the need for research on juvenile delinquency to acknowledge these differences. Nevertheless, the amount of variance our model explained for both gender groups indicates our model is applicable for both boys and girls.

In conclusion, the modifications we proposed concerning the influence of parents on delinquency can readily be integrated into Sutherland's differential association theory. Undoubtedly, differential association theory has contributed much to our understanding of delinquent behavior. Nonetheless, we believe the modifications proposed in this study would greatly enhance those contributions. Rather than exclusively attending to the role of the delinquent peer group in explaining delinquency, we contend the basic premises and theoretical constructs which comprise this theory are very conducive to including unconventional parents as a primary group which influences delinquent behavior. By reconceptualizing the role of parents in the explanation of delinquent behavior, this work contributes to theory and research in the field of juvenile delinquency.

APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES

Variable	Alpha	Description
Parental Conventionality		Agreement with the following statements, coded as
early adolescent boy	.6266	1 = never; 2 = sometimes; 3 = usually; 4 = always:
late adolescent boy	.5222	(1) My parents try to obey the law and stay out of trouble.
early adolescent girl	.6122	(2) My parents respect the police.
late adolescent girl	.6346	
Parental Supervision		Agreement with the following statements, coded as
early adolescent boy	.7050	1 = never; 2 = sometimes; 3 = usually; 4 = always:
late adolescent boy	.7901	(1) My parents know who I am with when I am away
early adolescent girl	.6962	from home.
late adolescent girl	.7216	(2) My parents know where I am when I am away from home.
Parental Attachment		Agreement with the following statements, coded as
early adolescent boy	.7608	1 = never; 2 = sometimes; 3 = usually; 4 = always:
late adolescent boy	.7942	(1) My parents want to help me.
early adolescent girl	.7617	(2) My parents know what is best for me.
late adolescent girl	.8220	(3) My parents explain their feelings.
		(4) My parents explain their rules.
		(5) My parents talk to me over my future plans.
		(6) I can share my thoughts and feelings with my parents.
		(7) I want to be the kind of person my parent is.
School Commitment		Agreement with the following statements, coded as
early adolescent boy	.7864	1 = never; 2 = sometimes; 3 = usually; 4 = always:
late adolescent boy	.7924	(1) I try hard in school.
early adolescent girl	.7361	(2) I like school.
late adolescent girl	.7797	(3) Getting good grades is important to me.
		(4) School attendance is important to me.
		(5) I read and write at home.
		(6) The things I do in school are worthwhile and meaningful to me.
		(7) My teachers know what is best for me.
		(8) My teachers want to help me.
		(9) I can share my thoughts and feelings with my teachers.
		(10) I would like to be the kind of person my parent is.
Delinquent Peers		Agreement with the following statements, coded as
early adolescent boy	.6961	1 = never; 2 = sometimes; 3 = usually; 4 = always:
late adolescent boy	.7020	(1) My close friends tend to follow the rules.
early adolescent girl	.7013	(2) My close friends respect the local police.
late adolescent girl	.7741	(3) My close friends) tend to get into trouble with the police.
		(4) My close friends tend to get into trouble with their parents.
		(5) My close friends tend to get into trouble with their teachers.
		(6) My close friends tend to get into trouble at school.

(Appendix A continued)

Variable	Alpha	Description

Delinquent

Attitudes Agreement with the following statements, coded as

Early adolescent boy	.6994
Late adolescent boy	.6826
Early adolescent girl	.7082
Late adolescent girl	.6279

1 = never; 2 = sometimes; 3 = usually; 4 = always:
(1) It is alright to get around the law if you can get away with it.
(2) To get ahead, you have to do some things which are not right.
(3) I can't seem to stay out of trouble no matter how hard I try.
(4) "Suckers" deserve to be taken advantage of.

Delinquency

Answer to the following questions, coded as: 1 = not at all;

Early adolescent boy	.9457
Late adolescent boy	.9002
Early adolescent girl	.9065
Late adolescent girl	.8700

2 = once; 3 = twice; 4 = 3 or 4 times; 5 = 5 or more times:
In the past year, have you ever
(1) skipped school?
(2) hit either of your parents?
(3) hit a teacher?
(4) gotten into a serious fight in school or at work?
(5) take part in a fight where a group of your friends were against another group?
(6) hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or a doctor?
(7) used a knife, gun, or some other thing (like a club) to get something from a person?
(8) carried a weapon?
(9) taken something not belonging to you worth under $50?
(10) taken something not belonging to you worth over $50?
(11) taken something from a store without paying for it?
(12) taken a car without permission of the owner?
(13) taken part of a car without the permission of the owner?
(14) gone into some house or building when you were not suppose to be there?
(15) set fire to someone's property on purpose?
(16) damaged property at school or work on purpose?
(17) smoked marijuana?
(18) used alcoholic beverages (beer, wine, hard liquor)?
(19) used other drugs (cocaine, speed, acid, uppers)?
(20) sold any drugs?
(21) gotten into trouble with police (picked up or arrested) because of something you did?
(22) had sexual relations with a person against her/his will?
(23) been suspended or expelled from school?
(24) run away from home?

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RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE 5-ITEM LANGUAGE - BASED LATINO ACCULTURATION SCALE

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Abstract

While there are several reliable and valid measures of Latino acculturation in use, they are relatively expensive to administer and analyze because of their length. Although Marín et. al , 1987 12-item acculturation scale is quite appropriate, factor analytic results suggest the feasibility of a shorter, 5-item scale focused on language use alone. This study investigates the psychometric properties of that *Language Scale* by comparing it with the longer 20-item *Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans*. Results indicate the proposed scale 5-item scale has high reliability and validity. The *Language Scale* does not have sufficient precision to measure the extent to which persons incorporate both their host and birth cultures. It adequately measures the extent to which the host culture has become familiar or remains unfamiliar to the individual. In some instances, the use of a lengthier scale may not be required, and may even be counterproductive. This is true in some applications, such as clinical trials, pilot studies, and longitudinal studies where the use of the proposed shorter scale can be useful. It applies specially to research situations when investigators wish merely to control for acculturation, rather than study acculturation as a phenomenon in its own right.

Keywords: Acculturation, Psychometrics, Controlled Clinical Trials, Health Related Research

INTRODUCTION

It has been successfully argued that the health beliefs and behavior of Latino immigrant populations are influenced by the individual's level of acculturation - the extent to which the immigrating individual has adopted the beliefs and practices of the host culture (Balcazar, Aoyama, 1991). While the process of acculturation is an area of investigation in its own right, it can also play an important role in studies investigating topics that do not have acculturation as their primary focus. In these studies, acculturation is usually incorporated as a covariate, i.e., a measure which removes the effects of acculturation from the main phenomenon under study (Scribner, Dwyer 1989; Espino, Maldonado 1990; Helman 1994). Researchers in a clinical trail may also want to have participants with equal level of acculturation in each of the various "legs" of the trail to avoid bias in some culturally important condition. The same applies to longitudinal studies where changes in acculturation levels may influence variable outcomes.

Although there are a number of reliable and valid measures of Latino acculturation available (Cuellar, Harris, Jasso 1980; Mendoza 1989), most consist of numerous items and, as a result measure at a depth unnecessary for the research situation in which the investigator wants only a means of controlling for acculturation levels. Thus, longer scales, with the additional expense associated with administration, coding, and analysis, may not be cost effective. This is especially true in the clinical trial situation when much must be accomplished in a short time with many subjects without sacrificing psychometric integrity.

This study focused on a simplified scale to measure acculturation levels among Latinos, the largest and fastest growing immigrant populations in the country. The measure evaluated is a 5-item version of a somewhat longer (12-item) developed by Marín et al. (1987). The 5-item version proposed here limits its questions to language use, therefore we will refer to it as the *Language Scale* throughout. It was

selected because it is easy to use either in a telephone interview or via self-administration, and because it is currently available in both English and Spanish.

The 12-item, *Short Acculturation Scale* has been demonstrated to have high reliability in terms of its internal consistency, and Marín et al. (1987) investigated its construct validity. The criterion validity of the *Language Scale* will be investigated by correlation with two, more complex scales, the *Cultural Life Style Inventory (CLSI)* (Mendoza, 1989), and the *Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA)* (Cuellar 1980). However, reliability and validity for the *Language Scale* have not been demonstrated. (Carmines, Zeller 1979; DeVellis 1991) Describing the results of that evaluation is the purpose of this report. Table 1 shows the *Language Scale* and *Short Acculturation Scale* from which it has been derived.

The first of the longer scales, the *ARSMA* was designed for both normal and clinical populations. Its 20 questions have response sets that employ a 5-point Likert format. They address the respondents' preferences and behavior, including language, ethnic identity, cultural heritage,

and generation. When all 20-item responses have been averaged, a high score indicates a strong accommodation to the host culture, or a high level of acculturation.

The second of the longer acculturation scales, the *CLSI* is somewhat different in structure (Magaña et al, 1996). It attempts to measure patterns of acculturation rather than the position in an assimilation continuum.

The *CLSI* treats acculturation as a complex construct consisting of three separate patterns or cultural life styles: *Resistance* to the host culture, *Shifting* to the host culture, and *Incorporating* both the host and Latino cultures. Each subject receives three separate scores on the *CLSI*, one for each of the three patterns of acculturation listed above. Mendoza argues that the three patterns measured are distinct; therefore, the *CLSI* does not produce an *overall* score measuring the extent of each subject's acculturation. However, two of the three scales produced by the *CLSI* correlates with the 5-item *Language Scale* in a predictable way: the *Language Scale* is expected to have a positive correlation with Mendoza's *Shifting* and a negative correlation with *Resistance*.

Table 1: Language Scale and the Short Acculturation Scale

Language Scale

1. In general, what language(s) do you read and speak?
2. What was the language(s) you used as a child?
3. What language(s) do you usually speak at home?
4. In which language(s) do you usually think?
5. What language(s) do you usually speak with your friends?

Short Acculturation Scale

1. In general, what language(s) do you read and speak?
2. What was the language(s) you used as a child?
3. What language(s) do you usually speak at home?
4. In which language(s) do you usually think?
5. What language(s) do you usually speak with your friends?
6. In what language(s) are the TV programs you usually watch?
7. In what language(s) are the radio programs you usually listen to?
8. In general, what language(s) are the movies, TV and radio programs you prefer to watch?
9. Your close friends are:
10. You prefer going to social gatherings/parties at which the people are:
11. The persons you visit or who visit you are:
12. If you could choose your children's friends, you would want them to be:

Table 2: Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA)

1. What language do you speak?
2. What language do you prefer?
3. How do you identify yourself?
4. Which ethnic identification does (did) your mother use?
5. Which ethnic identification does (did) your father use?
6. What is the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had as a child up to age 6?
7. What is the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had as a child from 6 to 18?
8. Whom do you now associate with in the outside community?
9. What is your music preference?
10. What is your TV viewing preference?
11. What is your movie preference?
12. a) Where were you born?
    b) Where was your father born?
    c) Where was your mother born?
    d) Where was your father's mother born?
    e) Where was your father's father born?
    f) Where was your mother's mother born?
    g) Where was your mother's father born?
13. Where were you raised?
14. What contacts have you had in Mexico?
15. What is your food preference?
16. In what language do you think?
17. Can you read Spanish?
    Can you read English?
18. Can you write in Spanish?
    Can you write in English?
19. If you consider yourself a Mexican, Chicano, Mexican American, member of La Raza, or however you identify this group, how much pride do you have in is group?
20. How would you rate yourself?

Table 3: Cultural Life Style Inventory (CLSI) Scale

1. What language do you use when you speak with your grandparents?
2. What language do you use when you speak with your parents?
3. What language do you use when you speak with your brothers and sisters?
4. What language do you use when you speak to your spouse or person you live with?
5. What language do you use when you speak to your children?
6. What language do you use when you speak to your closest friends?
7. What kind of records, tapes or compact disks do you own?
8. What kind of radio stations do you listen to?
9. What kind of television programs do you watch?
10. What kind of newspapers and magazines do you read?
11. In what language do you pray?
12. In what language are the jokes with which you are familiar?
13. What types of food do you typically eat at home?
14. At what kinds of restaurants do you typically eat?
15. What is the ethnic background of your closest friends?
16. What is the ethnic background of the people that you have dated?
17. When you go to social functions such as parties, dances, picnics or sports events, what is the ethnic background of the people that you tend to go with?
18. What is the ethnic background of the neighborhood where you live?
19. What national anthem do you know?
20. Which national or cultural heritage do you feel most proud of?
21. What types of national or cultural holidays do you typically celebrate?
22. What is the ethnic background of the movie stars and popular singers that you most admire?
23. If you had a choice, what is the ethnic background of the person that you would marry?
24. If you had children, what types of names would you give them?
25. If you had children, what language would you teach them to read, write and speak?
26. Which culture and way of life do you believe is responsible for the social problems found in some Mexican-American communities?
27. What kind of stores do you typically shop?
28. How do you prefer to be identified?
29. Which culture and way of life would you say has had the most positive influence in your life?

METHODS

Thirty-seven consecutive Latino men and women were recruited from the subject pool of a larger study, the NIMH Multisite HIV Prevention Trial, which evaluated an HIV prevention intervention. The clinic in which the study was conducted was situated in East Los Angeles, a community populated almost exclusively by Latinos, most of whom are of Mexican descent.

Table 4 reports the study participants' demographic characteristics. As shown, about half had been born in the U.S. and 84% had lived only or mostly in the U.S. The subjects represent a broad spectrum of acculturation, including individuals who have lived all of their lives in the United States as well as recent immigrants from Latin American countries, mostly Mexico.

As part of the larger study, subjects were paid to complete a baseline interview and a series of weekly instructional sessions. In addition, they completed the 5-item *Language Scale*, the *CLSI*, and the *ARSMA* as part of the initial interview.

Other variables analyzed here to replicate the validation portion of Marín et al.'s earlier work were taken from the baseline interview. All subjects were interviewed in the language of their choice.

RESULTS

All three acculturation scales had high internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha was .96 for the five-item *Language Scale*; .95 for the 29-item *CLSI*; and .94 for the 20-item *ARSMA*. Table 3 reports the Pearson correlations between the *Language Scale*, *ARSMA*, and two *CLSI* scales, *Resistance* and *Shifting*. The correlations are all strong and in the expected direction. These coefficients suggest, that the *Language Scale* has high criterion validity and can be substituted for the more lengthy scales, when a less detailed measure of acculturation is required.

We also replicated an evaluation of the validity of the *Short Acculturation Scale* for the *Language Scale* using the same demographic measures of acculturation used in the original analysis and described

Table 4: Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Characteristic	Category Label	%	Mean	(SD)	Min	Max
Sex	Male	44.4				
	Female	55.6				
Age			33.0	(9.9)	20	56
Education	High School	37.8				
	HS/GED	32.4				
	Some College	18.9				
	Baccalaureate	5.4				
	Grad School	2.7				
Where Born	U.S.	54.1				
	Outside U.S.	45.9				
Years in U.S. for those born outside			18.2	(9.5)	4	35
Where lived	U.S. Only	54.1				
	U.S. Mostly	29.7				
	Outside U.S. Mostly	16.2				
Latino Group	Mexican	57.1				
	Mexican-American	20.0				
	Chicano	11.4				
	Other	11.5				

Table 5: Correlation of the Language Scale with ARSMA and CLSI to Estimate Criterion Validity

Language Scale	CLSI		ARSMA
	Resistance	Shifting	
	-.702*	.647*	.883*

* $p < .001$

Table 6: Replication of Reliability and Construct Validity Analysis

Reliability	Construct	Short Acculturation Scale	Language Scale
alpha		.90	.96
	Generation	.69**	.59*
	Percent Life in U.S.	.76**	.40*
	Self-Evaluation	.74**	.33*
	Acculturative Index	.86**	.60**
	Age of Arrival	-.72**	-.44*

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .001$

by Marín et al (1987). These measures consisted of (1) generation; (2) percentage of life spent in the United States; (3) self-evaluation of cultural identification; (4) an acculturative index obtained by multiplying the percentage of time as a U.S. resident by 4, adding generation minus 1, and adding self-evaluation minus 1; and (5) age of arrival in U.S. (coded as 0 for those born in U.S.). Table 6 shows that Cronbach's alpha was a high .96 for the *Language Scale* compared to .90 for the longer *Short Acculturation Scale*.

The table also shows that all of the validity coefficients were statistically significant, even though the magnitude of the coefficients was generally lower than those observed by Marín et al. One explanation for the drop in coefficient magnitude may in fact be that the *Language Scale* has less information than the *Short Acculturation Scale* to which it is being compared in this table.

DISCUSSION

Studies have shown that the level of acculturation is related to many psychological and sociological constructs (Kaplan and Marks 1990; Moyerman, Forman 1992; Cuellar et al 1997), especially as they refer to mental health, and the health beliefs and practices of Mexican-Americans (Rogler, Cortes, Malgady 1990; Epstein et al 1994; Sabogal et al 1995; Gardner et al 1995). Thus, a short, easy-to-administer and easy-to-score measure of acculturation with demonstrated reliability and validity would be a critical addition to many health-related studies, large scale longitudinal studies, and screening instruments. While the more complete measures of acculturation are longer and can be complicated to score (e.g., Mendoza's 29-item scale), the 5-item *Language Scale* is recommended here as an economical alternative measure. The *Language Scale* behaves as predicted with both the *ARSMA*

and *CLSI* scales, which are representative of most available scales used to measure acculturation. While the *Language Scale* does not have sufficient precision to measure the extent to which persons incorporate both their host and birth cultures (i.e., Mendoza's *Incorporating Scale*), it does adequately measure the extent to which the host culture has become familiar or remains unfamiliar to the individual. Thus, the smaller 5-item *Language Scale* derived for Marín's (1987) *Short Acculturation Scale* is recommended for use as a statistical control for levels of acculturation in research rather than study acculturation as a phenomenon in its own right. Future measurements of acculturation should take into consideration the value systems of the actors in a specific context. A person who measures at a high level of acculturation may not behave in the "culturally appropriate" way in some situations. When confronted with situations in a particular context, the actor may "revert" to the expected behaviors in their native culture. A highly acculturated human resources manager favoring a twice-removed cousin in a job situation may be seen as acting inappropriately, but be in perfect synchrony with his or hers native culture value system.

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ANOMIE, DEVIANT BEHAVIOR, AND THE OLYMPICS

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Abstract

Criminal and deviant behavior is known to occur in all places, settings, and times. The Olympics, both Summer and Winter, are not immune to deviant behavior. This paper focuses on the specific types of deviant and criminal acts arising out of the Olympic settings and the anomic factors that possibly lead to deviance in this particular arena. The way that athletes are conformists, innovators, ritualists, and retreatists is considered along with the way that norm confusion influences the Olympic event. Also considered is the role of norm saturation in confusing the way actors interpret appropriate behavior in this setting. Implications are provided.

INTRODUCTION

Every four years athletes gather together and compete for what is likely the pinnacle of a sport career—a gold medal in the Olympics. The Olympics have changed economically, politically, and socially since the original Olympics in ancient times (Mollins 1992, p. 58). Even so, accusations of deviance regarding various aspects of the Olympics are not a new phenomenon. In fact, the ancient Olympics were eliminated in 393 A.D. by the Roman Emperor Theodusius I because he believed they were a deviant Pagan ritual. Three years later, Theodusius II ordered Olympia destroyed "in an effort to eradicate anything non-Christian" (Poulakidas 1993, p. 37).

Sixteen hundred years later the Olympics and the participants in the Olympics are not immune to allegations of deviance. Indeed, accusations of misdeeds and inappropriate actions continue to be thrown at Olympic athletes as we enter the 21st century. A non-exhaustive list of the deviant acts Olympic athletes have been accused of committing includes: gender misrepresentation (Brown 1992; Lemonick 1992), professionals posing as amateurs (Lucas 1980; Benjamin 1992; Starr 1993; Gorman 1994), steroid use (Ludwig 1976; Blackwell 1991; Noden 1991; Noden 1992; Nemeth 1993; Connolly 1994), blood doping (Ludwig 1976; Testing Problems 1992; Williams 1996), violating event rules (Kanin 1981; Morris 1992), maintaining citizenship (Noden 1992), and attacking other athletes (Smolowe 1994).

Previous research has addressed various reasons why deviance is found in various types of sports. These reasons include political economy (Eitzen 1988), socialization, (Forsyth, Marckese 1993), flawed character traits, use of alcohol, peer pressure, and thrill seeking (Snyder 1994). Others suggest that a need to generate revenue combined with "the ideological commitment to winning" contribute to deviance in athletics (Frey 1994, p. 110). In this paper, this "ideological commitment to winning" is also viewed as an important factor leading to deviance by athletes. The notion of commitment clearly relates to the concept of anomie. The way that anomic conditions provide a setting for the illicit actions is addressed in this paper. Through this discussion we hope to provide some general understanding about deviance in the Olympics, and in other settings for that matter.

Anomie

Anomie is a concept from which different theoretical perspectives have evolved that potentially explains much of the deviance related to the Olympics. Derived from the Greek word 'a nomos' (meaning without norms or normlessness), anomie was first introduced by Emile Durkheim who originally used the term to refer to deregulation, and a weakening of social controls (Williams, McShane 1994). Since

then, the concept has been interpreted at least three different ways: 1) anomie as difficulty in achieving goals; 2) anomie as norm saturation; and, 3) anomie as confusion of particular norms. (Martin, Mutchnick, Austin 1990). The following describes how these interpretations may apply to deviance in the Olympics.

Anomie in Achieving Goals

Though Durkheim was the first to apply the concept of anomie to society, Merton broadened the concept to describe strain between a person's goals and the means to attain those goals. In particular, he "redefined anomie as a disjuncture (or split) between those goals and means as a result of the way society is structured, for example, with class distinctions" (Williams, McShane 1994, p. 88). As well, Merton (1938) suggested that society prescribes both goals, and the means to attain the goals, to its members. If individuals are able to attain goals through legitimate means, then no problem exists. However, if individuals are not able to attain their goals, then strain (or anomie) develops between the goals and the means outlined in Table 1. The individual is forced to adapt to the "anomie" resulting from this contradiction. Merton's typology is useful in explaining many of the deviant acts that Olympians are accused of committing.

TABLE ONE
Merton's Modes of Adaptation

ADAPTATION	GOALS	MEANS
Conformist	Accept	Accept
Innovator	Accept	Reject
Ritualist	Reject	Accept
Retreatist	Reject	Reject
Rebel	Reject/Replace	Reject/Replace

Conformist. Based on media reports, most Olympians are conformists who accept the goals, and means by which they can attain the goals. Their goals are to do their best, win a gold medal, but to do it by working hard and training for the Olympic

event. Indeed, very few will experience strain between their goals and means. Those who do may be seen as reflecting one of the other modes of adaptation described by Merton.

Innovator. Athletes who commit illegal acts to enhance performance and come closer to victory can be regarded as innovators in Merton's typology. Innovators are those who accept the goals of society but reject the legitimate means to attain the goals. Innovators want to become a part of history at the Olympics but do not want to do so by playing by the rules. Such aspirations and practices often start at an early age. Skolnick (1996) notes that grade school children have been encouraged "to take prescription diuretics such as furosemide (Lasix) prior to weigh-ins to enable them to compete against children in a lower weight class" (p. 348).

For athletes, the problem that arises is that the orientation to "win" can be described as representing a "strain towards anomie" (Merton 1938) and effected by one's "life chances" (e.g., the possibility of being born a natural athlete with amazing physical and athletic abilities, or into a family where even minor talent can be trained—expensively—into something more). Further, one can argue that many of the misdeeds committed by athletes arise as a result of the emphasis placed on winning and subsequently being "the best." Recall Frey's (1994, p. 110) notion that "the ideological commitment to winning" contributes to deviance by athletes. As one author notes, "Olympic athletes are driven by many things: a lust for fame, the hunger for money, or just the elemental desire to be the best" (Phillips 1992, p. 51).

Those athletes who use prohibited substances can be described as innovators. Prohibited substances include stimulants, narcotics, anabolic agents, peptides, diuretics, and glycoprotein hormones (Catlin, Murray 1996). Reasons the substances are used vary. Some Olympic athletes use steroids to increase their mass, strength, and durability. Some reports indicate that steroid use may increase the mus-

cle mass of weightlifters 16% (Ludwig 1976). Although scientific reports do not substantiate such claims, users nonetheless tend to view the potential impact of steroids in a positive light. Such perceptions undoubtedly impact many athletes' decisions to partake in steroid use, using illegitimate means to attain their goals. Phillips (1992) describes one athlete's battle with steroids:

In 1985, when Hannamann was 17, his trainer gave him tiny blue pills containing a daily dose of five milligrams of oral turinabol, a steroid. "I knew it was illegal, but everybody was taking them," says Hannemann, now 24 and a sports reporter..." I was terrifically motivated—I was 17 and I wanted to be a world star. The trainers said you needed the pills for that five-percent edge that makes you a champion (p. 51).

Ben Johnson, perhaps the most well known Olympic athlete who tested positive for steroid use at the 1988 Olympic games, most likely perceived the benefits of steroid use and gave little attention to the negative aspects associated with the drug. Because of the positive test results, Johnson was banned for life from track meets. He, of course, is not alone. Recently, East German swim coaches admitted that they gave steroids to world-class swimmers in the 1970s and 1980s (Noden 1992)

Again, the desire to become a champion (and win) is set forth as the reason for using the drug. The "Olympic innovator" is also described by Catlin and Murray (1996) who write:

It is partly a function of the sport, but chances are that the athlete began his or her climb to elite status while young. It is likely that he or she has had to forsake many other aspects such as the development of other talents, a rich social life, and education to perfect their athletic abilities. At some point along this arduous climb, perhaps after many years of effort, the athlete may discover that his or her competitors hold an advantage based on their willingness to use performance-enhancing drugs....[some] find themselves feeling compelled to use perfor-

mance-enhancing drugs to level the playing field (Catlin, Murray 1996, p. 235).

Instances of blood doping are also related to the innovator. Blood doping involves "taking an athlete's blood out of her or his veins, keeping it refrigerated while the body replaces the missing blood, and... injecting the blood back into the system so that the athlete has a reserve of strength and oxygen" (Ludwig 1976, p. 21-22). These actions increase red blood cell mass and increase the amount of oxygen given to the muscle (Catlin, Murray 1996). Practices started in the military during WWII and moved to the Olympic arena in the seventies (Williams 1996). In past Olympic events, athletes were accused of injecting their own blood into their bodies and today they are accused of injecting engineered blood. Blood doping became an issue when ten Dutch and Belgian cyclists died of sudden heart attacks when they were supposedly at their best physical level (Testing Problems 1992, p. 32). No one knows whether blood doping caused their premature deaths, but many suspect it played a role. It was not until several U.S. cyclists admitted to blood doping during the 1984 Olympics that blood doping was actually listed as a banned substance (Catlin, Murray 1996). The reason the cyclists doped their blood was to gain an edge in attaining their goals. Clearly, blood doping is an example of the innovator mode.

Cases where the athletes' coaches or parents engage in illegitimate means in order to win are also examples of the innovator mode. In particular, it has been argued by some commentators that the strict regimentation and discipline coaches provide—especially among female gymnasts— is a form of child abuse (Press 1992). The training athletes undertake exceeds that which the average person's exercise routine requires. Tofler et al (1996) note that the training of female gymnasts starts at a very early age (5 to 7) and "most are usually injured during training and performance and many are encour-

aged to continue performing with the injury" (p. 281). Tofler et al (1996) go on to suggest that many athletes develop eating disorders in an attempt to remain as small as possible.

When investigative reporters or researchers learn about training programs, they sound nearly torturous. For instance, during the 1992 Olympic games many allegations of child abuse filtered through the media. These charges of abuses against young female gymnasts never got further than the media. Interestingly, conceptualizations of child abuse rarely consider potential abuses inflicted on young people who are employed in 'adult occupations' (i.e. athletics and the film industry). Indeed, there seems barely any concern about gymnasts who practice or exercise to states of exhaustion, or who develop life threatening eating disorders in an effort to maintain small size of their weight.

As another example of the innovator mode, one might additionally consider the financial crimes perpetrated against Olympians when financial managers and/or parents (frequently one in the same) misuse or misappropriate earnings from appearances or endorsements. Consider as an example, Dominique Moceanu, who claimed that her parents (as financial managers) squandered $4 million of her money, effectively everything in her trust fund earned after her gold medal at the 1996 Olympics (Becker 1998). In this case, her parents used illegitimate means to attain their financial goals.

Ritualist. Ritualists are those who do not accept the goals but continue to abide by the legitimate means. This mode of adaptation does not easily apply to Olympic athletes because the very nature of their socialization involves the development of goals toward which they make every effort to attain (Catlin, Murray 1996). Ritualists do not necessarily reject the goals, but are unable to attain their goals while stubbornly holding on to using the means. Note that the goals of athlete are not the goals of society but are specific to athletes (winning). In the context of the

Olympics, ritualism applies to those athletes who still work out, keep practicing, invest time, energy, and money (e.g., the legitimate means) despite the fact that they fail to reach the goal of winning (or even competing in the Olympics). According to Merton, ritualists are deviant but not criminal.

Retreatist. Retreatists are those who reject the goals and reject the means. Applying this mode to Olympic athletes requires that we look at the athletes' emotions after participating in the Olympics. In particular, one author has described to "post-Olympic blues" to capture the feelings of depression that some athletes experience after the Olympics (Plummer 1996). These feelings of depression are not always caused by the inability to attain one's goals. In fact, there have been cases where winning leads to depression. In these cases, it is believed that the fact that the athlete did not get what he or she expected as a result of winning leads to depression (Gallahan 1996; Springer, Starr 1996). One athlete describes his retreating in the following way: "You train so hard for a medal, you get it, then you wake up and things haven't changed dramatically. You achieve that lofty goal, and then what?" (Goldberg 1996, p. 42).

Retreatism might better explain adaptations at other sport levels. For instance, retreatism could apply to recreational sports. Consider the high school athletes who are successful when they are young but do not compete as much once they enter college. Later in life they drop out of organized sports to become "beer-belly" softball players who eventually give up on competitive sports altogether. Thus, they reject the goals and the means.

Rebellion. This adaptation involves instances where individuals "reject and replace" the goals and the means to attain the goals and is related to some deviant acts by Olympic athletes. The U.S. hockey team's acts of vandalism against the hotel room after their unexpected defeat seem to relate to this adaptation. Briefly, the transgressors felt anger at their loss (or anomie)

and took out their feelings on the hotel room. Or, they rebelled against the rules.

Rebellion also applies to athletes who not only give up on the goals and means of the Olympics but do something else in hope of revolutionizing the way we think about sports. Some would argue that the Xtreme sports athletes and underground cultures of hardcore skateboarders and surfers fit this category. Indeed, they are rejecting typical sports events and replacing the events with their own activities.

Acts of terrorism against athletes can also be seen as relating to the retreatist mode. Until the recent bombing of Centennial Park in Atlanta, when discussing crime and the Olympics, the 1972 Olympics was perhaps the example cited most often. After holding eleven members of the Israeli Olympic team hostage, the Palestine Liberation Organization shot and killed each hostage (Doctorow 1994, p. 60). Doctorow (1994) writes: "International games are a precise gauge of international relations" (p. 65). On a related level, Krantz (1996) notes that the Atlanta attack destroyed "whatever innocence remained of the Olympic games" (p. 25). The political nature of these crimes is clear. The Olympics provide a setting where terrorists are able to accomplish their perceived goals and gain worldwide attention.

Anomie as Confusion of Norms and Anomie as Norm Saturation

Martin et al. (1990) suggest that too many rules leads to confusion among members of a society or culture. Specifically, they write: "[T]he problem is not so much with an absence of norms as it is with the difficulty in assimilating a multitude of rules or norms" (p. 56-57.) That there is likelihood that too many norms might cause confusion is related to deviant acts committed by Olympic athletes.

The exact number of rule violations at the Olympics is unknown. It seems clear, however, that the majority of the athletes are aware of the rules guiding their events. It might appear, on the surface, unlikely

that an abundance of norms could cause norm confusion. However, when faced with a large volume of rules one is likely to become somewhat daunted if not confused. As a graphic example, consider the complexity of instructions that frequently accompany "do-it-yourself" office equipment such as desks, bookcases, and the like. Many people experience considerable confusion in the anomic situation of trying to figure out the pages of instructions—usually depicted as pictures, rather than written instructions in language. The remedy for many people experiencing such anomic situations is simply to ignore the instructions and sequence, and fabricate the item on their own—in short, violate the rules.

At the Olympics, if there are too many rules confronting the athletes, and some of these rules seem to exist simply for the sake of having rules, they may be taken less seriously than desired by the governing committee. Because some of the rules may be seen as futile, the athlete may be unsure as to which rules will be enforced and which will not. Thus, too many rules might lead to rule breaking on the part of the athlete, as he or she becomes daunted and confused by the volume of trivial or confusing rules. For instance, Morris (1992) notes that among other rules, there are rules describing how golfers can swing the putter, that polo players must be right handed, that table tennis players cannot wear white shirts, and that yellow balls cannot be used in indoor volleyball. Though some of these rules may be warranted given the nature of the specific competition, the fact is that too many rules may be more problematic than helpful.

As another example of norm confusion, consider the case of Ross Rebagliati. After winning the gold for snowboarding in 1996, Rebagliati tested positive for marijuana and lost the gold medal. He claimed that he had not used marijuana in months and that the amount found in his system was the result of second hand smoke from his friends sulking over the death of a

friend. Experts claimed that there was no way that second hand smoke would lead to the amount found in Rebagliati's blood. Eventually, the IOC returned the gold medal and the victory to him. However, the IOC's decision was not overturned because they believed his argument about second hand smoke. Instead, "Under Olympic rules, marijuana is banned only if the sport's governing body says it is" (Chidley, Hunter 1998, p. 42). Since the Federation of International du Ski never banned marijuana, the substance could not be banned from snowboarders. Snowboard supporters were pessimistic about the IOC's norm confusion. One said, "Thanks to an idiotic mistake made by the IOC, snowboarding's debut is going to be remembered as the year those wacky pot smokers invaded the Olympics, not as the year snowboarding athletes showed the world an amazing new sport" (Galbraith 1998).

Tied into this rule making process is the rationale for a governing body's development of specific rules. In particular, if a governing body fears it is losing control, it will implement and enforce laws in an attempt to prevent chaos (e.g. anomie). The result, however, is that the implementation and enforcement of the rules leads to, rather than prevents, chaos. Consider the example of gender misrepresentation, which entails males posing as females in order to gain a competitive edge over competitors.

Concerns about gender misrepresentation can be traced to Dora Ratien who finished fourth place in the women's high jump in the 1936 Olympics held in Berlin. Two decades later, the world learned that Dora Ratien was actually Herman Ratien. Ratien indicated that he was ordered by his superiors to participate as a female (Ultimate Olympic Test 1992, p. 16). As one might expect, most cases of gender misrepresentation involve males posing as females in hopes of exercising biological superiority and increasing chances of victory.

To combat the potential problems stemming from gender misrepresentation and to prevent men from masquerading as female athletes, the International Olympic Committee started gender tests in 1966. The first tests involved the female athletes standing nude in front of a group of gynecologists who would certify the athletes as female. This demeaning and controversial method changed in 1968 to a theoretically "more scientific chromosome test" (Lemonick 1992, p. 65).

Polymerase Chromosome Reaction (PCR) gender verification tests are currently given to the female Olympic athletes. Although chromosome tests have been used to determine an athlete's gender for nearly three decades, the actual purpose and effectiveness of the tests is questionable (Grady 1992, p. 78). Proponents of chromosome tests include Bernard Dingeon, the individual in charge of gender verification at the Albertville Winter Olympic Games. He praises PCR as opposed to medical examinations, suggesting that the medical examinations would be too costly (Dingeon 1993).

In contrast, Simpson et al (1993) point out that the chromosome tests have an inherent potential for an insufficient false-positive rate. They point out that an error rate of 1% (as indicated by supporters of PCR gender verification) would potentially eliminate 6 female athletes each time the test were administered to all of the female Olympic athletes (1993, p. 358).

Maria Jose Martinez Patino, a Spanish hurdler, was one such false positive at the World University Games held in Kobe, Japan, in 1985. Patino is but one of a handful of women who fail the chromosome test each year due to chromosome anomalies. After being certified as female, they are given certificates they can present to officials at the games and avoid subsequent tests. Patino forgot her certificate and was eliminated from the competition (Lemonick 1992, p. 65). Part of the error rate includes a bias that is built into PCR gender verification. Specifically, the test

excludes females who have Turner's Syndrome—a condition describing women who have a single X chromosome (rather than two) (Brown 1992, p. 13).

An International Amateur Athletic Foundation (IAAF) panel has stated that the false positive can "wreck a woman's mental health" and destroy an athlete's emotional stability (Ultimate Olympic Test 1992, p. 16). Stephenson (1996) notes that the tests "have the potential for causing great psychological harm for women who, sometimes unknowingly, have certain disorders of sexual differentiation" (p. 177).

Negative treatment towards females in sports has been linked to a desire to prevent their participation in athletics (Kunesh, Hasbrook, Lewthwaite 1992). Because of this, the IAAF now uses a version of the original method in that a doctor takes a quick look at the athletes' genitals during a routine physical (Lemonick 1992, p. 65). Through this technique, the false positives will be eliminated and only those who are obviously misrepresenting their gender will be eliminated from events sponsored by the IAAF (Brown 1992). It is interesting to note that while the tests have been in effect since 1966, there have not been any substantiated documented cases of men masquerading as women (Ultimate Olympic Test 1992, p. 16). Because of this, some say that the tests are basically useless (Stephenson 1996). The high rate of false positives combined with the negligible success rate brings into question the usefulness of the chromosome tests. Or, it seems that confusion has arisen from the development of additional rules. Nonetheless, the IOC still uses the chromosome tests.

Concluding Remarks

The preceding discussion focused on deviance in the Olympics. Of central concern was whether anomie theory can be used to address Olympic deviance. On the one hand, it seems as if few athletes engage in these acts and some of the control exerted over the athletes by the IOC might border on the extreme. On the other hand, it is possible that some of the acts are more common than some may think. Voy (1991) for example has accused the IAAF of covering up positive drug tests. In particular, he writes: "[I]f by chance, my drug testing crew were able to detect an elite athlete's drug use, there still seemed to be enough loopholes in the protective testing program to allow the athlete to get off the hook with little problem" (p. 106). Based on his views about the flaws of testing Olympic athletes for drugs, Voy (1991) makes a number of recommendations that would reduce the amount of drug use by athletes and increase the efficiency of the testing programs. We contend that similar recommendations would be useful to deal with all of the deviant acts of which athletes have been accused. The model Voy (1991) advocated included the following: 1) Lay down the law; 2) Improve research; 3) Change attitudes; 4) Initiate better testing procedures; 5) Involve the right people; 6) Change authority; and, 7) Implement the plan. Each of these elements seem to imply that Olympic athletes are rational actors and that awareness about laws, practices, and changes in policies will reduce the likelihood of deviance by these athletes. Based on this, it seems important that the role of education as it relates to anomie and deviant acts by the Olympiad becomes of significant import.

Indeed, if anomie contributes to deviance, then increased understanding on various levels should be a useful tool to minimize the likelihood of deviant acts. In other words, educating various actors about the rules and risks of criminal or deviant behavior should help alleviate the problem. Education efforts should be directed toward athletes, fans, potential offenders, and policy makers. Educating the athlete should include efforts of coaches, family members, and trainers. At the same time though, the "educators" must be made aware of the consequences of the illicit actions. Skolnick (1996) quotes one athletic trainer who said that he helps par-

ents obtain prescription diuretics for their children "and defended the practice as safer than vomiting or enemas to 'make weight'" (p. 348). Clearly, not all parents and coaches would encourage this behavior. That some do, however, is troublesome.

Athletes must also come to realize that expectations placed on them are typically too high, and that strain (e.g. anomie) will occur should they focus too much on those expectations. Past Olympic skating champion Scott Hamilton stated: "Olympic athletes are expected to live up to a higher ideal, to remain pure" (Smolowe 1994, p. 61). Interestingly, based upon reports in the media, deviance by Olympic athletes seemed to be lower than deviance by other athletes. This suggests that understanding why most Olympic athletes do not commit deviant acts may help explain why other athletes do engage in such behavior.

Our purpose in this paper was not to suggest that anomie theory is the only theory that explains deviance in the Olympics. Indeed, several other theoretical approaches might be just as useful to serve as a guide in understanding these sort of acts. However, given the nature and breadth of anomie theory, we believe it is a good point at which social scientists can begin their approach to building a better understanding about deviance and the Olympic athlete.

Relatively speaking, empirical social science research on crime and deviance and the Olympics is noticeably scarce. However, the role that athletics and the Olympics play in our social arena cannot be overlooked. In fact, there are six practical reasons why social scientists should continue to examine deviance in this arena. First, Olympic athletes are in the public eye and information on their misdeeds are generally available to the social scientist. Second, because such examinations are retrospective, there is no reason to expect that scientific observation impacts the athlete's actions. That is, problems associated with the Hawthorne effect are negligent.

Third, increased understanding about deviance in the Olympics equates to increased understanding about deviance in general. Fourth, understanding why crimes are committed against athletes and fans will provide the boundaries to minimize future risk. Fifth, since criminal and deviant acts by Olympic athletes are relatively rare as compared to the illicit acts of other athletes (i.e. professionals), finding out what it is about the Olympian that decreases likelihood of malfeasance could shed some light on ways to decrease illicit actions in other groups as well. Finally, through examinations of such phenomena, a more in-depth understanding of the dynamic relationship existing between the different systems in society (i.e. political, social, educational, economic, and legal) and the Olympics will be provided.

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