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THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF CRIMINAL PROFILING

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ABSTRACT

Criminal Profilers enjoy a prominent status in the public eye due to dramatized media coverage, both fictionally and non-fictionally. However, literature is scarce on how one becomes a profiler and the degree to which the occupation is independent and professional. This study examines the current level of professionalism among criminal profilers. Through a content analysis of both literature and job announcements, this article suggests that, currently, there is little movement toward the professionalization of criminal profilers. Using Friedson's model of professionalization, this article suggests the professionalization of profilers is hindered by the lack of centralized expertise, the absence of any formal credentialism, and minimal autonomy.

INTRODUCTION

The use of profiling has a prominent status among U.S. media outlets. Movies such as *Silence of the Lambs* and *Red Dragon* and TV programs such as *CSI* have popularized criminal profiling. Still, profiling as portrayed by the media is not limited to fictional shows or movies – unsolved murder cases often result in headline news stories where “experts” are brought on air to describe the type of person that would commit such murders. Given the vast attention to criminal profiling, one would assume “real” criminal profilers enjoy a rather prominent status in both law enforcement and society at large. But are profilers experts? How does one become a profiler? Is profiling a profession? The purpose of this paper is to examine the current level of professionalism among current profilers.

This research considers criminal profiling to be any investigative technique utilized by law enforcement that is intended to classify unknown criminal offenders. Literature surrounding the professionalization of profiling is limited (for example Egger 1999; Turvey 2002). Though profilers clearly do not comprise an autonomous professional organization, this research considers whether profilers exhibit characteristics which are comparable to other professionals and thus lend themselves to future professionalization. A content analysis of both literature and job announcements was conducted to examine both the level of professionalism and any current movement to improve this level. The findings suggest a limited movement toward professionalization, particularly among workers who profile at the local law enforcement level.

The History of Profiling

The use of profiling dates back to the late 1600's, when steps were taken to predict the physical characteristics of witches (Vold & Bernard 1986; Goode & Ben-Yehuda 1994). Since that time, drastic steps have been taken to improve not only the perception of criminal profiling, but also the scientific approach by which it is guided. According to Turvey (2002), 1956 marked the first well-publicized case in which psychological profiling was applied in the U.S. when a psychiatrist, James Brussel, proffered that, through the analysis of several crimes performed by a single offender, several key behavioral and psychological characteristics of the offender could be ascertained. Amidst the hunt for the “The Mad Bomber,” Brussel's profile was introduced in the *New York Times*. A typology which included that the suspect would be male, unmarried, Roman Catholic, and suffer from paranoia, Brussel also felt the man would be wearing a double-breasted suit upon his apprehension. George Metesky was later arrested and largely met the profile created (Turvey 2002).

Beginning around 1972, the FBI began to explore criminal profiling and its institutional use (Ainsworth 2001). Conducted at the FBI headquarters in Quantico, Virginia, FBI personnel worked extensively with thirty-six convicted serial murderers through interviews and developed psychological profiles of these murderers. Through the discovery of common trends among these criminals, the FBI developed profiles which included typologies of organized and disorganized offenders (Theoharris 1999). Organized offenders were thought to be sexually competent, have average or above average intelligence, a skillful job, and it was believed that they would

commit crimes in a similar manner. They typically planned their crimes, showed behavioral control at the scene of the crime, left very few clues at the crime scene, and frequently attacked strangers (Egger 1999). On the other hand, disorganized offenders were credited with possessing the opposite characteristics – socially deficient, below average intelligence, sexually incompetent, etc. They did not plan their crimes, and committed crimes in a haphazard manner (Egger 1999). The organizational approach to criminal profiling was monumental and brought about a new method of studying crime. As a result, police, through profiling, hope to identify the amount of planning that went into the crime, the amount of control used by the offender, the level of emotion at the scene, and the risk level (O'Toole 1999).

At about the same time, Groth and colleagues began to develop typologies of rapists, which resulted in four categories: power assurance, power-assertive, anger-retaliatory, and anger-excitement (Groth, Burgess & Holmstrom 1977). Today, psychological profiling is not limited to murderers and rapists. It is also used in hostage negotiations, terrorism, letter analysis, burglary, and arson (Campbell & DeNevi 2004).

The use of profiling has its critics, though. Pfohl (1985) argues that the terminology used in profiles only results in confusion. For instance, a sociopath is considered, amongst other symptoms, to possess superficial charm and good intelligence. But what exactly is superficial charm? Moreover, in a profile of the organized or disorganized offender, it is difficult to assess symptoms such as above average intelligence or sexual incompetence. To compound the ambiguity, Ainsworth (2001) adds that more often than not, the offender is actually classified as "mixed". Nevertheless, psychological profiling is a common tool used in law enforcement. Despite this acceptance, it can be argued that there is a general confusion among the public about what exactly a profiler is, what a typical profiler does, and how one becomes a profiler. So, can profiling be considered a profession?

THEORETICAL CONCERNS

Weber (1958) once noted that professionalization was the result of an ever-expanding bureaucratization of society. Research has focused on numerous aspects of profession-

alization, including the critical traits which characterize professionals (Etzioni 1964), the influence of social class on becoming professional (Leggatt 1970), and the role of institutional control in creating and maintaining a "monopoly of expertise" (Larson 1977; Abbott 1988). Still others have focused on the particular trajectory which is followed to acquire a professional status (Goode 1969; Friedson 1984).

Elliot Friedson (1984) points to three characteristics of professionalization which serve to distinguish a profession from an occupation: expertise, credentialism, and autonomy. First, a set of knowledge is possessed by the group that is considered superior to alternative forms. Moreover, this knowledge is specialized and monopolized. Thus, medical assistants may understand the origins of a particular illness, but the doctor is expected by others to be more knowledgeable and qualified to diagnose and treat. In part, expertise is the result of a second characteristic of professionalization, credentialism, which refers to an educational system for formal training which permits the transfer of knowledge. Professional groups most often require that a certain level of education has been attained or some type of formal training is required. Finally, a third characteristic of professions is autonomy, which refers to the profession's ability to self-govern through its own decision-making. For instance, police departments, for the most part, are self-regulating. Thus, when accusations are made, such as those involving the use of excessive force, typically the police department itself responds to the problem by initiating an internal investigation. The autonomy provided to professions is often a consequence of both expertise and credentialism.

This research considers the level of professionalization among criminal profilers. Though it is clear that profilers do not constitute a formal professional group, there have been recent attempts to gain such status (Turvey 2002). Thus, I explore three key characteristics of professions – expertise, credentialism, and autonomy – and examine the extent to which these characteristics have been achieved among criminal profilers.

While measuring expertise, several questions were considered. First, are criminal profilers "experts" within their field? Is this expertise measurable? If so, how is expertise achieved? Can expertise be achieved merely

through formal education or other training? Second, this paper considered the level of credentialism among profilers. Can profilers earn a professional status through some formal process? Is there a certification process involved in becoming a profiler? Finally, the third characteristic of autonomy was addressed through several questions. Do authorities who employ psychological profiling constitute a self-regulating entity? Who is ultimately responsible for the profile they create? Is psychological profiling a full-time position, in which one is hired solely on their ability to develop criminal profiles?

METHODOLOGY

This research used a content analysis of both existing literature and job announcements to explain the current level of professionalism among profilers. Babbie (1998) provides several steps for conducting a successful content analysis, including the development of a research question, the determination of the units of analysis, and the coding and categorization of data. In order to measure professionalism among current profilers, an in-depth review of fifty works of literature including books, peer-reviewed journals, and newspaper and magazine articles was performed. In addition, twenty job announcements were reviewed.

Specifically, 13 journal articles, 8 books, and 29 newspaper & magazine articles were content analyzed. The publication dates ranged from 1977, which included one of the first scholarly accounts of the use of criminal profiling to characterize rapists, to 2005. Over 90 percent of the published works, including the job announcements, were prepared from 2000-2005. This range of years was selected to determine the level of movement, if any, toward professionalization. The books and journals, prepared by profilers and/or scholars, were selected for their macro-orientation toward profiling as it is generally used by law enforcement. The newspaper and magazine articles were selected for their focus on more local, case-specific uses of criminal profiling. Databases including Factiva, Ebscohost and Proquest to were used to locate such accounts. The analysis of scholar and/or profiler accounts of profiling, combined with journalistic accounts was aimed at providing both the "ideal" and "actual" use of profiling among law enforcement. In addition to these fifty articles, the author

also chose to examine twenty job announcements and descriptions available on the internet to infer the necessary duties and qualifications of a profiler.

After the selection of texts was completed, the researcher noted all thematic elements contained in the literature. For instance, in the articles reviewed on profiling, themes emerged which focused on the development of profiling, the success of profiling, the extent to which it is used, the people who employ profiling, and the manner in which the approach is used. The major themes in the job announcements regarded the various job duties to be performed and the qualifications necessary within various law enforcement departments. After the development of thematic elements, the researcher categorized those themes into the following five groups: "Usage", "Method", "Duties", "Training and Qualifications" and "Success".

First, "Usage" refers to the particular crimes that psychological profiling encompasses. Second, "Method" refers to the ways by which various profiles are constructed. Third, "Duties" included themes related to the expected accomplishments of hired profilers. Fourth, "Training and Qualifications" refers to the ways in which individuals can learn to profile and what level of learning is expected. Finally, "Success" is a category that refers to how valuable profiling is according to those individuals who use and/or support the use of profiling and those who oppose it as a law enforcement technique. Upon the construction of categories, the data was then linked to Friedson's model of professionalization to examine the level of professionalism among profilers.

FINDINGS

Usage

Each article reviewed emphasized at least one type of crime in which profiling could be used. Of the fifty articles, twenty directed the focus to one use of profiling. For example, Kapardis and Krambia-Kapardis (2004) focused on the use of psychological profiling in fraud detection and prevention. White (1996) directed attention to profiling used in arson. Also, Chaddock (2000) and Morris (1999) focused on the infusion of psychological profiling into schools to identify potential "trouble-makers." Furthermore, psychological profiling has also been used to determine the likely characteristics of cer-

tain foreign leaders, such as Aristide, Yeltsin, Castro, and Hitler (Omestad 1994). The remaining thirty articles focused on psychological profiling as a whole as it applies to its use in serial murders, rapes, arson, robbery, fraud, hostage taking, kidnappings, letter analysis, and bombings albeit from a more general perspective. Clearly, there is much diversity in the use of criminal profiling.

Method

The articles also had themes which focused on the way in which profilers actually develop a typology of offenders. Thus, a category labeled "Method" was created. This category refers to whether the method is perceived as a science or an art.

Several authors argue that profiling is more closely aligned with an art (Egger 1999; Lehrer 2002; Parker 2002), or at least profiling conducted by the FBI (Jarvis 1997). Some argue that because the strategies and techniques of profiling performed by the FBI are rather secretive, resultant typologies then lend themselves to criticism relating to their validity and reliability (Ainsworth 2001). Also, the term "educated guesswork" was used widely to describe the development of a profile (Lehrer 2002; Parker 2002). Thus, although profiles may be "educated" or learned through training at the FBI, many believe such typologies are also largely a result of "guessing," rather than the product of an explicit, scientific approach.

Several authors argued that the process is either scientific, or could be scientific (Crace 1995; Jarvis 1997; Tandler 1993; Turvey 2002). Turvey (2002) suggests that such an approach can be taken during the creation of any psychological profile. He argues that profilers should 1) define the problem and assess the known victimology; 2) collect data to determine further characteristics; 3) form a hypothesis and prepare a written document which contains the evidence, victimology, patterns and behaviors, and potential motivations; 4) test the hypothesis as new evidence emerges; 5) interpret the results and 6) develop the profile.

Duties

The category labeled "Duties" was created due to the job announcements' emphasis related to the various chores that profilers would complete if hired. The duties required

by the various law enforcement agencies suggest that there are many similar elements involved in each job, but there are also several key distinctions. One concerns the very title of the job itself. For instance, 17 of the job announcements and descriptions discussed the need for "Crime Analysts." The Stillwater Police Department in Oklahoma employs a "Police Psychologist." Steilacoom, Washington was searching for a "Forensic Services Manager." Finally, Amarillo, Texas was looking for an "Investigative Trainee" who "collects and evaluates evidence to formulate defensible investigative conclusions." Only one agency was hiring a "Psychological Profiler." What explains the inconsistent nomenclature? Though these job descriptions clearly called for someone to develop profiles based on crime scene and related characteristics, there appeared to be a reluctance hire a "Profiler." One could possibly turn to Erving Goffman,

Society establishes the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories. (1963)

Goffman believed that certain categories of behaviors in society are stigmatized, and one such behavior that has recently received much negative publicity is "racial profiling." Thus, law enforcement agencies are perhaps hesitant to hire a "profiler" in fear that the public would believe racial profiling to fit under the purview of criminal profiling.

However, the data suggest a more telling account which concerns the objectives of the hired worker. For instance, each job announcement contained information that explicitly stated that the worker would be expected to discover and analyze criminal trends, whether these trends derive from the criminal or the crime itself. While this is certainly criminal profiling, only seven of the job announcements used the specific term "profiling" within their list of duties. Eleven job announcements also noted that the worker was to directly consult with other authorities and are subject to the organization's rules and regulations. Another expectation within ten positions was the ability to employ mapping techniques to determine criminal patterns. Two police departments desired one who could contribute to the grant-writing process.

Importantly, then, profiling was expected for these positions, but so were numerous other duties. Moreover, psychological profiling may have been used, but so were other techniques such as geographical profiling.

Training and Qualifications

This category was constructed to refer to the process in which one can become a profiler. While Ainsworth (2001) notes that there are no degrees offered that result in one graduating as a "profiler," others suggest that there are at least several ways in which people can gain the necessary knowledge to become a profiler. For example, Kocsis, Irwin, Hayes and Nunn note that,

It remains fair to say that the most internationally renowned program for training psychological profilers is that conducted at the FBI Academy in Quantico, Virginia by members of the FBI's Behavioral Science Unit. (2000 311)

The job announcements reveal many different qualifications necessary within each department. Two largely accepted degrees were Criminal Justice and Public or Business Administration. Besides these programs, Newport News, Virginia would hire one with an equivalent to a Bachelor's in fields related to Urban Affairs or Statistics with experience. Santa Rosa accepted applications with Computer Science degrees and related experience. Corpus Christi, Texas sought one with a degree in Math and/or related experience. Salisbury, North Carolina desired a degree in Information Technology or a related field. Adding to the variety of degrees accepted was the Texas Department of Justice, which sought an Investigator Trainee who had a bachelor's degree or military experience which would replace the former requirement. Finally, only two agencies required education beyond the Bachelor's. A police department in Washington desired a doctoral degree in Psychology with a state license to practice and two years of post-degree practice. The Metropolitan Police Department in Washington D.C. required its Crime Analyst to have two years of graduate study.

Success

Finally, "success" was another pervasive thematic category within the literature. This

term carries with it many references. First, many authors considered ways in which the success of profilers should be measured (for example Tendler 1993; Bennetto 1995; Moor 1998). Two approaches were highlighted: 1) success as a measurement of catching the offender and 2) success as a measurement of narrowing the investigation. Several authors measured the success of psychological profiling in terms of whether the profile led to the arrest of that suspect (Beech 1995; Smith & Guillen 2001; Cowan 2002; Lehrer 2002). Smith and Guillen (2001), for instance, argued that cases in which profiles produce an arrest and conviction are not likely, with a few exceptions such as Gary Ridgeway, also known as the "Green River killer." The authors contend that the lack of arrests and convictions as the result of profiles suggest profiling is an unsuccessful investigative tool. Others contend that constructed profiles rarely consist of details and predictions the general population could not arrive at on their own (Beech 1995; Lehrer 2002). Moreover, some argue that even if the profile is accurate, decades might ensue before the apprehension of the suspect, which questions whether profiling is of much use overall (Vedantam 1996). Other authors believe that a different measurement must be used to ascertain the success of profiling. This perspective centers on the argument that profiling should be assessed in terms of how well it helps the investigation by narrowing the list of possible suspects (Douglas, Ressler, Burgess & Hartman 1986; Egger 1999; Theoharris 1999; Kocsis et al 2000; Kapardis & Krambia-Kapardis 2004).

Another theme related to success involved the characteristics inherent in a successful profiler. For example, Toufexis (1991) argues that a profiler's ability is the result of experience and research. Rosen (1997) says that intuition is also an important characteristic in profilers. Klump (1997) adds proper training as another feature. Kocsis et al (2000) argue that psychological understanding is the most important element. Finally, others cite the importance of characteristics such as brainstorming, educated guesswork, and viewing the crime from the offender's perspective (Ressler, Douglas, Groth & Burgess 1980; Douglas et al 1986).

THE LINK TO PROFESSIONALIZATION

Expertise refers to a standardized knowl-

edge that is unique and centralized. While the literature on profiling debates the key characteristics which leads to expertise, such as intuition, educated guesswork, formal training, etc., the job announcements suggest, in reality, that expertise in profiling is not something expected upon arriving at the job. Because such a wide variety of university degrees are accepted, expertise may lie in Psychology, Math, Business, or a plethora of other areas, but not Criminal Profiling. In addition, "related experience" is a highly valued characteristic. But whether related experience equates with expertise is highly debatable. Thus, what makes any profiler an expert? Lawyers are considered experts of the law due to years of schooling, training, knowledge of legal statutes, and their certification. Likewise, doctors have a centralized knowledge of the human body, attend years of school, receive certification, and are considered experts by the general public. Moreover, there is a certain amount of public trust that lawyers and doctors are more knowledgeable of the law and human body, respectively, due to these characteristics. However, profilers may have expertise in Psychology, but does that make them successful Criminal Profilers? Is there a certain number of years of law enforcement experience that eventually renders one an expert in developing criminal profiles?

An important discussion should also be had related to the different types of profiling that are conducted. If one has expertise in profiling arsonists, do they also have expertise in developing profiles of serial killers? A cardiologist and a neurosurgeon are both doctors, but one clearly has more knowledge of the human heart and the other of the brain. Further, this knowledge is obtained through years of formal schooling which prepared them for those specific positions. But a profiler of arsonists, though he or she may have years of experience related to investigating fires, has not combined this experience with years of formal training from other accredited profilers. Moreover, it appears from the job descriptions that one would not only develop profiles of arsonists, but they would also be expected to understand serial killers.

Credentialism refers to the profession's form of licensing or system of barrier in place to prevent some from entering the profession. The analysis above shows that there is

no current form of credentialism in place for profiling. Few job announcements and descriptions asked for anything beyond a Bachelor's degree in various fields of study. Currently, there is no form of certification available to deem one a profiler. Many of the authors presented profilers as properly trained and capable profilers. However, once again, this training clearly does not come from other accredited profilers or university degrees specifically related to Criminal Profiling.

Finally, autonomy suggests that the profession has the ability to self-govern. Clearly, profiling has yet to achieve this standard as well. While the creation of the Academy of Behavioral Profiling (ABP) shows movement towards professionalization, much progress has yet to be made. The job announcements show that profilers, specifically those working full-time with police departments, are subject to the rules and policies of the department rather than those of an autonomous organization of profiling. In order for profiling to be considered professional, an autonomous organization such as the ABP has to take complete control over psychological profiling in the U.S. Currently, it is logical to assume that if a profiler who also belongs to the ABP were to breach his or her code of ethics while working for a police department by helping to create a profile, that person could have his or her membership stripped away. However, it does not mean that the police department would not be able to use that same person in a future investigation which requires his or her development of a profile. This scenario clearly shows that autonomy, in Freidson's model, doesn't exist.

CONCLUSION

This study has looked at psychological profiling and the process of professionalization. The author has studied whether or not there is a level of professionalism, and if not, whether there is a current movement towards professionalization. By conducting a content analysis of literature related to profiling and job announcements calling for workers that use profiling, the study shows that there is no current level of professionalism among profilers. Several things must happen in order for profilers to professionalize. First and foremost, there is not a standardized, unique expertise central to profiling. In essence, anyone can be a profiler based on various educational outcomes and/or "related experi-

ence." Second, professionalism implies that some level of credentialism has been attained. Though there are certifications for areas that may incorporate profiling, no certification or licensing process exists which is unique to profiling. Third, profilers do not have the level of autonomy necessary to professionalize. Though profilers have a sense of autonomy in that they are able to create profiles using their own techniques, they are many times subject to the police departments' rules and regulations, as was illustrated in the review of job announcements.

For the most part, then, there is little movement toward professionalization. One may ask why this movement isn't taking place. There are relevant reasons as to why this is not occurring. To begin, one could consider why occupations should become professional. The manifest function of becoming professional is that the process enhances knowledge. In addition, knowledge becomes standardized. Given these valuable reasons to become professional, why isn't a movement occurring? There are several valid reasons for this. To start, a personal conversation with one who develops criminal profiles suggests that by demanding a process of certification, many previously capable and experienced experts would no longer be "qualified" to profile. This is similar to what many law enforcement agencies would experience if policing gained a professional status, rather than its current position where many local police departments hire applicants with only high school diplomas. This suggests that expertise can exist without unique credentials. Surely, there is logic to this argument. On the flip side, if a certification process exists and profilers obtain the necessary credentials, does this automatically deem them experts? The literature reviewed highly suggested that experience plays a major role in becoming a successful profiler. So, if a certification process takes hold, this process doesn't necessarily include experience, which is considered a valuable asset to a profiler. Most certainly, this applies to other fields as well. Finally, concerning autonomy, it could be argued that profilers should remain subject to the police department's rules, regulations, ethics, and procedures, rather than their own set of guidelines. This makes the department's expectations more uniform. While this research shows that there is no current movement towards profession-

alization, there are limitations to this study that future research could help to strengthen and solidify.

The primary limitation to this study involves the methodology that was used. This research does not include the perspective of profilers in regard to their attitude towards the professionalization of profiling. These perspectives are important, but appear to be fairly difficult to obtain. This is especially the case when virtually anyone can be a profiler. Nevertheless, future research would be strengthened through the use of interviews of individuals who use profiling on a regular basis. What characteristics do they believe makes them qualified to profile? Is expertise gained through education, experience, or a combination of both? Is one more important than the other? Research should also more deeply explore the advantages and disadvantages of accreditation for profiling.

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AN ASSESSMENT OF KENNETH BURKE'S INFLUENCE ON THE SECOND CHICAGO SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

This essay critically assesses some of the ways that some members of the Second Chicago School used Kenneth Burke's ideas. On the whole, they selectively graft some of Burke's ideas onto their existing approach to sociology, an approach that was deeply rooted in symbolic interactionism. However, their selection and use of particular Burkean ideas suggests they were more interested in maintaining the integrity and unity of their existing framework than they were in critically using Burkean ideas to identify and overcome problems intrinsic to their own theory and methods. A fuller appropriation of Burkean ideas, I argue, would have led the Second Chicago School to a self-reflection and criticism that might ultimately have led them to create an approach that was radically different, and arguably richer, from the one they in fact did develop.

INTRODUCTION

Kenneth Burke once wrote "the pragmatist is strongest when he is more like the artist than like the metaphysician" (1957). His influence upon American sociology can be found in three places. First, he influenced some members of the Second Chicago School in the 1950s and beyond. Second, his thinking was the springboard for C. Wright Mills' (1940) often cited article, *Situated Actions and the Vocabulary of Motives*. Third, contemporary sociologists who are more receptive to the currents of postmodernism and poststructuralist thinking are increasingly utilizing his work, partly because these sociologists are being informed by academics from other disciplines, such as Jameson and Lentricchia who themselves engage with Burke, while participating in debates on social theory.

In this essay, I critically assess how some members of the Second Chicago School used Burke's ideas. I begin with the assumption that some of the ideas developed by Kenneth Burke are more nuanced and more sophisticated than the fundamental ideas of George Herbert Mead, the symbolic interactionists, and those inspired by them. Burke's ideas provide a richer seedbed for theoretical developments.

On the whole, the members of the Second Chicago School selectively graft some of Burke's ideas onto their existing approach to sociology, an approach that was deeply rooted in symbolic interactionism. However, their selection and use of particular Burkean ideas suggests they were more interested in maintaining the integrity and unity of their existing framework than they were in critically using Burkean ideas to identify and over-

come problems intrinsic to their own theory and methods. (A few notable members of the Second Chicago School, including Erving Goffman and Joseph Gusfield, particularly in their later work, appeared to demonstrate an increasing willingness to allow Burke's ideas to more fundamentally shape their overall intellectual frameworks, but such influences were rather limited within the context of the overall School.) A fuller appropriation of Burkean ideas, I argue, would have led the Second Chicago School to a self-reflection and criticism that might ultimately have led them to create an approach that was radically different, and arguably richer, from the one they in fact did develop.

THE SECOND CHICAGO SCHOOL

The Second Chicago School of sociology was a group of scholars at the University of Chicago in the post-World War Two decades, including Howard Becker, Erving Goffman, Joseph Gusfield, Anselm Strauss, Herbert Blumer, C. Everett Hughes, among many others, who reinvigorated the sociology program at Chicago. In the early years of the twentieth century, the first Chicago School of sociology developed the first coherent approach to sociology in America. This earlier school was applied in its orientation; it was keenly interested in urban sociology; and it attempted to fuse qualitative and quantitative approaches, though it was most noted for producing numerous, classic case studies. It also drew intellectual inspiration from the pragmatist school of American philosophy, specifically from the works of George Herbert Mead.

While there is much debate over whether and if the scholars in Chicago during the post-World War Two period actually shared a

common orientation towards sociology (with many of the members claiming they did not), it is my contention that a review of their empirical work clearly shows some important commonalities. The Second Chicago School drew inspiration from the earlier school. It appropriated some of its ideas, modifying some, while rejecting others. It fully embraced Mead's work and developed it into what it now known as symbolic interactionism. Several themes run through this approach. In keeping with the influence of the pragmatists, the members embraced the theoretical focus upon language, self, and social interaction: The self is an active agent and is continually and actively constituting itself through symbols in a social process. Methodological, the members of the Second Chicago School embraced the qualitative approach, embodied in the case studies of the earlier school. The School produced numerous case studies and other forms of qualitative work. They largely avoided quantitative research.

The conceptual approach to methodology and to the communicating of their empirical work (often field work) is another unifying feature of the school having its roots in the earlier school. Second Chicago School scholars tended to look at the mundane as if it were not mundane. They sought to view humans behaving in their natural settings and specifically sought to understand how social encounters can and do occur. Social psychology, from a micro-sociological orientation, was at the core of their project. They wished to assess how humans create and recreate social settings and encounters. In short, they took the obvious and demonstrated the subtle, hidden and implicit features of this obvious.

A defining feature of this school is the method of presentation of their research findings. Second Chicago School scholars strove for simplicity and clarity in presenting their work. Eschewing all a priori theorizing, aside from their own symbolic interactionism, they sought to understand and to describe how and why individuals do what they do as they set about trying to define, maintain, and reinvent their personal identities through social interactions.

The Second Chicago School's sympathy for induction is another methodological theme reverberating throughout their body of work. While most members did not fully and

explicitly embrace this, a number of them did (Spector & Kitsuse 1987). The Second Chicago approach is much more compatible with induction than with deduction because of its philosophical foundations which claim that a social analysis should begin with the assumption that human behavior can best be understood when it is seen as practical problem solving behavior. The social scientist should first observe the mundane before developing elaborate theoretical explanations of the mundane.

The school is also characterized by another substantive concern. Many of the members focused on understanding deviance and the social reactions to deviance. Whether it is Becker's (1963) *Outsiders* or Goffman's (1959) *Asylums*, the Second Chicago School was quite interested in the social dynamics by which deviance and deviant identities were created and recreated.

KENNETH BURKE AND THE SECOND CHICAGO SCHOOL

Burke advanced three themes relevant to a discussion of how the Second Chicago School appropriated or misappropriated his thinking: the pentad, the theory of tropes, and his embrace of dialectics. The pentad is at the heart of his theory of "dramatism," which is a theory of an interpretation of motives. In the opening pages of *A Grammar of Motives*, Burke describes the pentad:

any complete statement about motives will offer *some kind of* answers to these five questions: what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose). (1969 xv)

His theory of tropes is rooted in the notion that meaning is often made possible through turns in the language, i.e. through the use of tropes. Tropic strategies are an intrinsic feature of communication. Tropes in ways are like cognitive frames through which language passes to make meaning. The task for the social analyst is to recognize and identify tropes and to assess how they are utilized in social encounters. His embrace of dialectics is evident throughout his writings. The centrality of dialectics is quite clear when one attempts to develop a clear, consistent, and unambiguous reading of his work. His writings do not lend themselves easily to this.

Instead, they are difficult, conflictual, ambiguous, and unstable, partly as the result of his use of dialectics. Dialectics goes to the heart of his thinking. As living, subjective human beings, we are confronted with an objective world. We live within the tension of permanence and change (Burke 1967). Dialectics is a Burkean methodological homage to anti-essentialism.

We can now examine how or if the Second Chicago School appropriated these three elements. Several members certainly utilized Burke's pentad in their own work. This is perhaps most evident in the work of Goffman. Though Goffman was known for his unwillingness to discuss his precise methodological strategies, it is clear he drew much inspiration from Burke (this despite the fact that the relatively limited amount of acknowledgements in his citations might suggest otherwise)(see Edgley & Brissett 1990; Mitchell 1981). Perhaps most starkly, the term Goffman uses to describe his own method, dramaturgy, is almost identical to the term Burke uses to describe his, i.e. dramatism. The similarities are not a coincidence.

Goffman used theatrical metaphors extensively in *Asylums* and elsewhere. (However, toward the end of his career in the opening pages of *Frame Analysis*, he rejected as inappropriate the use of Shakespeare's phrase "All the world's a stage..." as a foundation for social analysis, suggesting a self-reassessment of his earlier work.) His dramaturgical method incorporates at least two of the five elements of the pentad – scene and agency – and arguably it incorporates most of the other elements. The use of more than one element of the pentad comes directly from Burke. Burke, when writing about the usage of the pentad champions the use of "ratios," i.e. the explanation of motives that concurrently employ two of the pentadic elements (such as scene-act or scene-agent).

On the surface, it would appear that Goffman has kept true to Burke's interpretive method. Upon closer inspection, however, it becomes clear that Goffman's dramaturgical method bastardizes Burke's dramatism. At the heart of the pentadic scheme lies a fundamental claim about motivation: Motivation is an attribute assigned by an observer to explain individual or social phenomena. It is not something that rests within individuals, such as a spring that launches human

behavior (Burke 1969). Motives do not have a transcendent home or vessel within individuals or within social settings. (C. Wright Mill's essay, "The Vocabulary of Motives," written fifty years ago, provides a sociological awareness of this Burkean way of interpreting motives.)

The assignment of motives, in a Burkean scheme, to one or another element of the pentad should not be based upon an a priori theoretical framework which states that motives should be located solely and universally within one or another of these elements. As Burke notes,

if you try to reduce the [pentadic] terms to any one of them, you will find them branching out again; for no one of them is enough. (1969 xx)

Yet this is precisely what Goffman and the other Second Chicagoans do. Their faithful embrace of Mead's pragmatism leads them to locate motives squarely within the agent and/or agency. For the symbolic interactionist the subject is motivated continually to create and recreate a stable self. Mead makes this point on many occasions, as do the members of the Second Chicago School. Here is just one example taken from Mead's discussion of the concepts of the "I" and the "Me":

In the duties of what we call rational conduct, in adjusting ourselves to a world in which the laws of nature and of economics and of political systems obtain, we can state what is going to happen and take responsibility for the thing we are going to do, and yet the real self that appears in that act awaits the completion of the act itself. Now, it is this living act which never gets directly into reflective experience. It is only after the act has taken place that we can catch it in our memory and place it in terms of that which we have done. It is that "I" which we may be said to be continually trying to realize, and to realize through the actual conduct itself. One does not ever get it fully before himself. (emphasis added)(Mead 1962 [1934] 203)

Here we see we see the self is unaware perhaps of the motive propelling it forward, but the motives nevertheless are there: The "I" is "continually trying to realize" itself. The motives are located within the transcendent

self. He or she is propelled blindly forward, motivated in ways that conform to the dictates of symbolic interactionist principles.

If we are to take Burke at his word, then motives are not to be found a priori within any single element of the pentad. The scene can motivate an action as much as an individual agent can. The asylum can motive the patient no less so than the patient is motivated to realize, create and recreate the self.

It is not simply that Goffman and the other members of the Second Chicago School reduced the richness of the pentad to only one of the five elements (or perhaps to the ratio of agency-scene). More importantly, these scholars located motives within one of the elements of the pentad instead of, as Burke advises, within the interpretive process of the social analyst as he or she is analyzing.

The flattening of the pentad by Second Chicago sociologists is evident in the works of others members besides Goffman. Gusfield, for example, in an introductory essay to a compilation of essays by Burke, discusses the pentad in ways that suggest that he too does not appreciate the rich fullness of Burke's ideas. Rather than recognizing that motives are attributes, and rather than recognizing that this implies that it might be important for the social analyst to examine the interpretive process of the social analysis, Gusfield seems to see the pentad as nothing more than a list of menu options available to the analyst from which he is to choose an explanation: The social analyst can focus on What took place (Act); What is the context in which it occurred? (Scene); Who performed the act? (Agent); How was it done? (Agency); Why was it done? (Purpose) (Gusfield 1989 15). Gusfield suggests that the pentad is useful as a device to orient the social analyst to one or another of the elements. He explains by referring to his work on drinking-drivers:

Burke refers to this relationship between parts of the Pentad as a matter of "ratios," of the fit between parts. What is significant is the lack of balance between parts. In a scene-act ratio, for example, the scene may be portrayed as explainable through the agent or vice-versa. Different meanings are conveyed. In my research on auto deaths, I have pointed out that to describe the problem of *drinking-drivers* creates a different problem than to describe it as a problem of *drinking-driving*. The first directs

attention to the agent as the source of the act. The second frames the experience as an event, with the act as paramount. As Burke puts it, "The ratios are principles of determination". The first, *drinking-driver*, is a call to transform the motorist. The second, *drinking-driving*, directs attention to the auto, the road, the event. (Gusfield 1989 15)

Here and elsewhere Gusfield seems at best ambivalent about the full impact of the pentad. On the one hand, he seems to recognize its profound implications for sociology – "Different meanings are conveyed." On the other hand, he presents an understanding that fits neatly into the existing paradigm of American sociology, and specifically of symbolic interactionism. That is, he sees the pentad as nothing more than a menu, each item of which could be selected and applied at any time to explain an act. But the pentad seeks to do more than explain an act. It seeks to destabilize the notion of motive, to remove motive from the metaphysical plane – the plane where it is vested safety within the individual — to the interpretive plane of the social analyst in his act of interpreting.

Burke's pentadic scheme also moves from the concrete and specific to the abstract and universal, something the members of the Second Chicago School did not, on the whole, do. Instead, the latter, firmly embracing the tenets of Mead's pragmatism, focused exclusively upon the concrete and specific in their analysis of social phenomena. The members of the Second Chicago School were adverse to speculative and highly abstract conceptualizations, and instead believed it best to remain close to the ground. Burke, on the other hand, rejects the search for certainty in the concrete and specific, and has criticized pragmatism for doing so. As David Blakesley notes in his essay on "Kenneth Burke's Pragmatism,"

Burke criticizes the positivist strain in pragmatism throughout Part IV of the *Grammar of Motives*. (1999 85)

Burke argues that one can identify and locate not only specific incidents within the pentadic scheme, but one may also locate large scale social theories and philosophies within this scheme. He argues that schools of thought can rightfully be characterized as

embodying one or another of the five elements. He locates Marxism within one of the elements and pragmatism squarely within one of these five. This opens up numerous possibilities. For our purposes, it calls into question the claims of the universal correctness of the symbolic interactionist ideas. If pragmatism is no more or no less privileged than other modes of social philosophy or social theory, then how is it possible to build a conceptual and applied program such as symbolic interactionism (rooted on pragmatism), which appears to rest on such a solid foundation, when in fact it is built on little more than a bed of sand?

The Second Chicago School was also influenced by Burke's theory of tropes as well. Here too we find the former distilling the latter's thinking into unrecognizable forms. In the most shallow of interpretations of the tropic strategy of the Second Chicago School, one might be tempted to claim that the members ignored or eschewed even the existence of tropes. Their penchant for describing everyday life in plain language, freed from excessively complex conceptual baggage, proclaims a philosophy of language in which words are little more than vehicles for an interactive process by which the subject sets about to define and redefine itself.

Yet the members of the Second Chicago School were well aware of Burke's ideas. Of the members of that school it was Goffman that used an understanding of Burke's theory of tropes in the most sophisticated, though often very subtle, manner. Others such as Gusfield toward the end of his career utilized Burke's tropic strategy more explicitly (particularly on his work with drunk drivers). Here I will focus on Goffman's work.

Both Goffman and Burke appear to recognize that tropes can and do operate on multiple levels, not unlike the levels noted above in the discussion of pentads. We can roughly divide these levels into two: The thematic and the substantive. By a substantive use of tropes I mean here a focus upon the use of particular words or phrases as tropes. By thematic I am referring to a more globalized understanding of tropes: The structure of entire books or other works or entire schools of thought (cf White 1990) can be tropic in nature.

Numerous examples of Goffman's use of substantive tropes can be found. Perhaps the two most classic uses are in his works

Asylums (1959) and *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959). For example, in *The Presentation of Self*, he describes some aspects of performances:

A theatrical performance or a staged confidence game requires a thorough scripting of the spoken content of the routine; but the vast part involving "expressions given off" is often determined by meager stage directions... And in this, of course, we approach the situation of the straightforward man in the street. (1959 73)

Asylums provides other examples. It is ostensibly a case study of a mental hospital. It is a descriptive analysis of the essential workings of total institutions. Yet ever since its publication it has been widely seen not simply as an account of the workings of a single mental hospital, but as a metaphorical statement of the oppression of modern psychiatry (it was widely embraced by the anti-psychiatry movement), and more broadly as a statement of the oppression of large-scale, rational institutions that have spread far and wide on the social landscape. It was a case study and a political commentary.

Phillip Manning in his intellectual biography of Goffman makes similar points. Manning describes the latter's use of one trope, metaphor:

He used metaphors as conceptual models rather than as words, exploiting our ability to extent their use to a multiplicity of settings. Metaphors can be "stretched" across many different examples. Thus, for example, his metaphor "life is a confidence trick" was shown to apply on all manner of occasions. (Manning 1992 144)

This relates to his more important use of tropes, which lies in the thematic rather than in the substantive realm. And it is here that one might locate Goffman's most impressive achievement. His work can be characterized as turning the banal into the surprising; the mundane into the extraordinary. At the heart of his method lie two sets of themes: First, he looks at the particular and sees the universal, and he looks at the universal and sees the particular. Second, he looks at a seemingly simply interaction and sees complexity, and looks at complex social interactions and sees simplicity. These

two turns in language, the particular and the universal and the simple and the complex reflect the tropes of synecdoche and metonym.

Even the title of *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* captures the theme of particularity-universalism. Here he describes how living individuals in real encounters behave, but his depiction is also about the universal ways that people behave. The behavior is everywhere and it is somewhere in particular.

Always, however, his use of tropes, whether implicit or explicit, was firmly grounded within the context of the application of a symbolic interactionist perspective. His embrace of symbolic interactionism created a frame within which to operate and it allowed him to use tropes in some ways for somethings, but it did not allow him to use them in other ways for other things. Specifically, he was committed to the conventional American sociological need for metaphysical anchors; one can only play with tropes, and one can only stray so far, if one has a conceptual mooring that grounds the entire intellectual apparatus. (One need not assume that the above claim about a "need" for metaphysical anchors implies anything about the motives of Goffman or of other sociologists. Motives are not essential to the argument being advanced herein. Indeed, "motive mongering," a concern expressed in one way or another by Burke and one ostensibly recognized as a concern by symbolic interactionists and other American sociologists, is not the most fruitful course to pursue in attempts at understanding social realities.) This mooring is the notion of a transcendent self – a universal self with universal properties: The self is a unified and universal entity, having timeless properties shared by all. It is fundamentally motivated by a need to define itself; it does so through the use of the symbolic in social interactions.

The self, I argue, if we are to be truer to Burke, could and should be thought of itself as a trope. Here the genuine fluidity of the self – a theme Mead so very much wished to capture – would be allowed to emerge. If the self is thought of in such a way, much of Goffman's work would need to be reevaluated. (His later work on frame analysis suggests a greater appreciation of this issue, but it remained inchoate.)

Burke grappled with similar issues

throughout his life. For example, earlier in his career he embraced the assumptions of a metaphysical essence of the subject that was located in biology (Wess 1996; Burke 1967 [1935]). Wess writes about Burke's Marxism and his early ideas about mind, body, and the subject:

In the body...Burke locates a primal level of identification that makes possible a corresponding level of aesthetic communication cutting across bourgeois and proletarian differences. In his early aesthetic...Burke sought permanence and found it in innate forms in the mind. In the 1930s, he seeks it again, this time finding it in the body... . (1996 66)

Later Wess quotes from a letter written by Burke in 1932 to Malcolm Cowley in which Burke is discussing Marxism and biological essentialism:

The organic productive forces, the weapons integral to the body, have remained unchanged, so we might expect some vestiges of an ideological 'constant' in keeping with this constancy on the part of the productive forces themselves. (Wess 1996 65-66)

However, his increasing embrace of anti-essentialism as he grew and changed later led him to reject such claims.

Of the three Burkean themes being discussed herein, Burke's formulation and use of dialectics is the one that is most alien to the Second Chicago School. Burke presumably appropriated dialectics from his early exposure to, and embrace of, Marxist thinking (see "Auscultation, Creation, and Revision" (1993), originally written in 1932; see also *Attitudes Toward History* (1984) [1937] for early examples of his use of dialectics and his focus upon history). Yet while he jettisoned the Marxism of his youth, he kept the dialectics. Dialectics allowed Burke to embrace the inherent instability or changeability of the social world. It provided a conceptual foundation upon which to build a methodology thought to be free from the metaphysical weight that sank so many other approaches.

The notion of dialectics has echoes within the symbolic interactionism that served as the foundation for the Second Chicago

School perspective, but these are little more than faint resemblances. At its heart, Burke's use of dialectics stands in opposition to the Second Chicago School. For Burke, dialectics captures the inherent contradictions in the human experience. It captures the contradictions of the social actors in their actions, and it captures the contradictions in the interpretation of these actions by social analysts.

Goffman and his associates, it might be argued, embrace a form of dialectal thinking. This is evident in a number of ways. For example, the continual exchange between the "I" and the "Me" as well as the formation and reformation of identity within social encounters perhaps could be examples of this same process. However, the Second Chicagoan perspective was one that rejected the premature imposition of abstract theoretical concepts onto the world. They rejected the obtuse philosophizing of the Europeans, and instead embraced, in a quintessentially American manner, the practical, the pragmatic, understanding of social action. Dialectics, they might say, is a confused and confusing concept. It is one that is unnecessary to adequately explain social phenomena. It complicates and obfuscates rather than clarifies and simplifies.

The fact that the Second Chicago School members did not embrace Burke's dialectics is a major reason for their distorted use of the pentad and the theory of tropes, discussed earlier. Had the Second Chicago embraced dialectics much of their otherwise reductionist thinking would have been forced to change, and it would have been enriched as a result. But it would have been enriched in such a way as to render it, at least potentially, unstable. The beauty and simplicity of the writings of this school, a style that so neatly uncloaks the complexities of the social world, might be jettisoned if the members had embraced dialectics.

CONCLUSION

One might challenge the above argument by noting that I have focused here on the earlier works of Goffman and the Second Chicago School, and have ignored the distinctly different approach Goffman and others such as Gusfield took later in their careers. The later works, one might wish to argue, are in fact more conceptually sophisticated than the earlier ones criticized herein and do in fact

address the problems noted above. Two remarks can be made to address this concern. First, this essay is motivated to understand the constellation of people and ideas that constitute the Second Chicago School. This essay focuses on those shared ideas of this School, and is less interested in tracing the intellectual movements away from the core School principles, which are reflected in the later works of people such as Goffman and Gusfield. Second, the changed intellectual directions of people such as Goffman and Gusfield may have been prompted in part by intellectual dilemmas such as those noted herein, but the solutions they propose do not fully incorporate the Burkean sensibilities described above. For example, Goffman's (1974) intriguing work, *Frame Analysis*, does not reference Burke even once, and even though this in itself does not demonstrate the absence of influence – after all, Goffman has acknowledged the influence of Burke on his earlier works even though there are scant references to the latter found even there, one could argue that the conceptual framework he uses is less inspired by Burke than it is by phenomenologists, cultural anthropologists, and non-Burkean language theorists. The Burkean influences on *Frame Analysis* are at best vague and are arguably negligible. Perhaps a fruitful intellectual course to take might be to reintegrate Burke's ideas into Goffman's later works.

In conclusion, sociologists who attempt to recognize and correct all of the problems related to meta-theory or meta-methods within their own approaches routinely face the prospect of falling into a solipsistic abyss, or as Clifford Geertz calls it, naval-gazing. Phenomenology and ethnomethodology, for example, have led some like Harold Garfinkel to conduct studies which engage in the futile attempt to capture the experiential moment of a social science research interview. Post-modernist scholarship of all stripes has been notoriously identified as having gleefully hopped on to a slippery slope of anti-essentialism in their quest for certainty in the uncertain. This can perhaps most memorably heard in Foucault's famous appeal:

Do not ask me to remain the same. Leave it to the police and the bureaucrats to see to it that our papers are in order.

Similarly, some symbolic interactionists who

have taken to heart the implications social constructionism have also found a bottomless pit of uncertainty.

Kenneth Burke's scholarship also seems to be on this same merry ride of uncertainty and confusion. It is possible that the Second Chicago School selectively appropriated ideas from Burke because they were well aware of the full implications of attempting to graft his whole orientation unto theirs. Such wholesale use of Burke might lead down the same path as the other schools just noted. As such, in keeping with their pragmatist roots they took what they believed they could use. More precisely, they took those things that they could use from Burke that would not force a radical reformulation of their framework, a reformulation which may not appear to offer the possibility of productive, meaningful social science research.

This leads to a final thought about the relationship between theory and practice. It would appear that that if one wished to graft Burke's ideas onto Second Chicago school sociology in a manner that is true to the former, without destroying the possibility of constructing a viable sociology, then one must turn toward practice rather than abstract theorizing. For both Burke and the Second Chicago School, knowledge and experience are not separate. Yet the Second Chicago School embraced the traditional sociological project of emulating other sciences, and as a result a rigid divide emerged between the social actor being observed and the social analyst doing the observing. In other words, shades of positivism crept into the conceptual apparatus of symbolic interactionism. This is a crucial flaw within the Second Chicago perspective and it is one that Burkean ideas could help overcome.

What is being suggested here is a model of knowledge-in-practice. This is of course an essential element in the work of Habermas (1981) and the Critical Theory tradition. Habermas drew inspiration for his theory of communicative action from a number of sources, including Mead. Nevertheless, many of the intellectual currents that shaped the formation of his theorizing — including Critical Theory, Marx, Weber, Freud, and others (such as philosophers of language) — are quite different from those of the Second Chicago School and from Burke himself. Perhaps a critical synthesis between the American perspectives of Burke and the Sec-

ond Chicago School together with Habermas's theorizing might prove useful.

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THE BALANCE OF WORK IN INITIATING RELATIONSHIPS

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ABSTRACT

The initiation of relationships is a relatively neglected topic of investigation within the interdisciplinary field of personal relationships. One aim of this research was to examine the degree to which heterosexual romantic relationships were perceived to be initiated more by one partner versus by both partners mutually. A second aim was to examine dispositional (sex and attachment style) and relational factors (relative interest early in the relationship and current satisfaction) associated with doing the work of relationship initiation. Study 1, which combined several samples of young adults who had been asked about the initiation stage of their relationship, indicated that relationship initiation was generally imbalanced; one partner was perceived as doing more of the work than the other. Further analyses indicated that women were more likely to report that the partner rather than the self was the initiator, but no such difference was found for men. Those with a preoccupied attachment style reported greater degrees of self-initiation. Consistent with Waller's principle of least interest (e.g., Waller and Hill 1951), greater interest (relative to the partner) was also associated with doing the work of relationship initiation. Participants with balanced relationship initiation reported greater current satisfaction and commitment. In a follow-up study, based on data from both members of 75 couples, moderate agreement between partners was found about who initiated the relationship.

It takes two partners to maintain a relationship, but only one to dissolve it (e.g., Attridge, Berscheid & Simpson 1995). In fact, relationships are often dissolved non-mutually, more by one partner than by both equally (e.g., Hill, Rubin & Peplau 1976; Sprecher 1994). Is the non-mutuality that is characteristic of the exit stage of relationships also found at the entrance stage? That is, are relationships generally initiated by one partner or by both equally? This question highlights a gap in our knowledge of relationships. The first objective of this research was to examine this issue of whether the work of relationship initiation is perceived to be shared equally by the partners or conducted more by one partner. The second objective was to examine dispositional and relational factors associated with balance versus imbalance in relationship initiation.

conditions that were in force at that time.
(2006 159)

BACKGROUND

In the past two decades, the burgeoning field of close relationships has focused on topics related to the development, maintenance, and dissolution of relationships (for reviews, see Vangelisti & Perlman 2006), but much less so on their origin. However, as noted by Berscheid and Regan,

to understand why others currently are in the relationships they are – and to understand why we ourselves developed the relationships we did – it is usually necessary to retrace the history of the relationship back to its very beginning and to identify the causal

What is meant by relationship initiation? Relationship initiation may span from the time of first awareness between two people to the time when the two begin to think of themselves as in a relationship (Sprecher, Wenzel & Harvey 2008a). Specific phenomena that have been studied that potentially contribute to relationship initiation include flirtation and initial nonverbal behavior, opening lines to initiate conversation, early attraction, and get-acquainted disclosures (for reviews, see Sprecher, Wenzel & Harvey 2008b). Although the initiation process may be complex and span over a period of time, it is an important relational transition that can often be vividly recalled later (Baxter & Bullis 1986). Therefore, people currently in a relationship are likely to have a "story" of how the relationship began, including who did the work of initiation. In this research, we consider how sex and attachment style, the two individual difference variables that arguably have been most frequently examined in the relationship field (Miller, Perlman & Brehm 2007), are associated with relationship initiation. Are men or women more likely to be identified as the initiators of heterosexual, romantic relationships? Furthermore, how are attachment styles, which are global relationship orientations that are influenced by past experiences (e.g., Shaver & Mikulincer 2006), associated with being instrumental in initiating relationships?

SEX DIFFERENCES IN RELATIONSHIP INITIATION

Traditional sex roles cast men as relationship initiators and women as "gatekeepers" who can either accept or reject the overtures that they receive (Bredow, Cate & Huston 2008). These traditional sex differences are particularly relevant in regard to first dates, considered to be one step in the relationship initiation process. Research on cultural scripts for first dates indicates that young adults expect men's role to be active and women's role to be reactive. Furthermore, actual first dates are described in these sex-typed ways (Laner & Ventrone 2000; Rose & Frieze 1989, 1993).

While men may engage in direct initiation strategies to a greater degree than women (e.g., Clark, Shaver & Abrahams 1999; Mongeau & Carey 1996; Rose & Frieze 1989), women have been described as controlling the period that may lead up to a first date, through nonverbal behaviors such as smiling and making eye contact (Clark et al. 1999; Cunningham & Barbee 2008; Moore 1985; Perper & Weis 1987; Walsh & Hewitt 1985). In addition, the process of relationship initiation extends much beyond initial interactions and the first date. For example, Hendrick and Hendrick suggest that the initiation stage occurs over "the first few months of the life of the relationship" (2008 338). During these months, there may be escalating breadth and depth of communication, the development of a sense of couple identity, the integration of the relationship with existing social networks, and the initiation of physical activities – all phenomena that can be linked to the process of relationship initiation.

Indeed, because there are many steps to the relationship initiation process, it is difficult to predict how men and women will respond at a later time if asked to recall this period and describe who initiated the relationship. There is some evidence, however, to suggest that men are later recalled as the initiators of relationships. Custer, Holmberg, Blair, and Orbuch (2008; see also Holmberg, Orbuch & Veroff 2004) examined the relationship initiation narratives in the sample of couples from the Early Years of Marriage project. They found in the narratives that male initiation was more common than balanced initiation or female initiation, with the latter being the least frequent.

ATTACHMENT STYLE AND RELATIONSHIP INITIATION

A dispositional factor that may be associated with the balance of relationship initiation is attachment style. Shaver and Hazan (1988) argued that there are parallels between infant attachment (e.g., Ainsworth 1989) and romantic attachment in adulthood. Adults, similar to infants, can be categorized as secure, avoidant, or anxious-ambivalent. Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) contributed to the understanding of attachment styles by identifying four unique styles: secure (positive model of self and others), dismissive (positive model of self, negative model of others), preoccupied (negative model of self, positive model of others), and fearful (negative model of self and others).

Adult attachment styles have been found to be associated with various relationship outcomes and processes (for reviews, see Feeney, Noller & Roberts 2000; Shaver & Mikulincer 2006). In addition, attachment security has been found to be linked with many qualities (e.g., openness to new experiences, trust of others, social skills) that are likely to facilitate relationship initiation (for a summary, see Creasey & Jarvis 2008). However, very little research has been conducted to examine how attachment styles are related to the initiation stage of the relationship, although researchers have called for more investigations (Eastwick & Finkel 2008).

IMBALANCE IN ATTRACTION AS A PREDICTOR OF RELATIONSHIP INITIATION

Generally, relationships are initiated because one or both partners are attracted enough to engage in initiating behaviors. For example, in their conceptual model of first romantic encounters, Bredow, Cate, and Huston wrote, "The decision to make a bid for another's attention is driven by attraction" (2008 11). However, two people who move toward a relationship are not always equally attracted. Therefore, unequal or nonmutual attraction is likely to be associated with unequal work in initiation. This relates to Willard Waller's principle of least interest. Commenting on the phenomenon of unequal emotional involvement and its effect on relationship development, Waller and Hill wrote:

One person usually becomes more involved than the other and must therefore take the lead in furthering the movement from stage

to stage. (1951 190)

Waller (1938) observed that in many romantic pairs, one person is more interested or loves more than the other. This can occur even at the very early stage of the relationship and likely dictates who does the work of relationship initiation, although this is an unexplored issue.

RELATIONAL OUTCOMES OF BALANCE VERSUS IMBALANCE IN THE RELATIONSHIP

Whatever its cause, balance or imbalance in a romantic relationship can occur at any stage of the relationship and in regard to a number of phenomena. For example, and as noted above, researchers have studied the degree of imbalance versus balance in relationship breakups (e.g., Hill et al 1976; Sprecher 1994). Researchers have also examined nonmutuality in power dynamics (e.g., Felmlee 1994; Peplau 1979); decision-making (e.g., Gray-Little & Burks 1983); exchange of resources or equity (Sprecher 2001); and emotional involvement (Le & Agnew 2001). Although some imbalance may be found in most couples at least occasionally, balance or equality has been found to be associated positively with relationship satisfaction and commitment, whereas inequality or imbalance is associated with dissatisfaction (Felmlee 1994; Sprecher & Schwartz 1994). Extrapolating from this prior research, we would expect that recalled balance at the initiation stage may have later positive effects on relationship satisfaction and commitment.

SUMMARY OF PURPOSES TO THIS RESEARCH

On the topic of who is doing the work of relationship initiation, we have formed several research questions and hypotheses. Our first research question addresses the balance of relationship initiation:

RQ1: Is relationship initiation perceived to be more often balanced or imbalanced?

Second, we examine dispositional factors that might be associated with being identified as the partner who does more of the relationship initiation:

RQ2: Are men or women perceived as doing more of the work of relationship initiation?

H1: Participants with a secure attachment style are more likely to initiate relationships than are those with a preoccupied, dismissive, or fearful attachment style.

Third, in a way consistent with Waller's principle of least interest, we predict:

H2: The person who is more attracted early in the relationship is also likely to be the one who does the work of relationship initiation.

We also consider the relational outcomes of mutually and non-mutually initiated relationships:

H3: Those who report balanced relationship initiation will be more satisfied and committed (currently) than those who report imbalanced relationship initiation.

METHOD TO STUDY 1

Samples

Analysis of pre-existing data based on three samples from a Midwest University was conducted.¹ Two samples were obtained from a classroom setting where students completed the questionnaire. The third was collected through a network sample (as an optional research assignment, students were asked to distribute a questionnaire to a person from their social network who was in the early stage of becoming attached to someone.) Because our interest is in romantic relationships, we eliminated those who completed the survey for a friendship. We also eliminated those in same-sex relationships because there were too few to conduct comparisons. We combined the participants remaining in the three subsamples because they responded to identical questions. In all, there were 455 participants from heterosexual romantic couples (161 male and 294 female), ages 18 to 35 ($M=20.22$; $SD=1.99$). Ninety-two percent of participants were dating, five percent were engaged, and three percent were either married or cohabiting. Although no data had been collected on ethnicity or social class, the samples reflected the larger student body at this Midwest University, where a majority of the students were White.

MEASURES

Relationship initiation. To measure rela-

relationship initiation, participants were asked, "Who would you say worked harder to initiate the relationship?" The response options were: 1) The other did a lot more; 2) The other did somewhat more; 3) The other did a little more; 4) We both did equally; 5) I did a little more; 6) I did somewhat more; and 7) I did a lot more.² In some of the analyses below, we use the original scores, which ranged from 1=no self initiation; to 7=complete self initiation. In other analyses, we collapsed the 7-item response scale into three groups: 1) those who reported greater relative partner initiation (responses 1, 2, or 3); 2) those who reported balanced initiation (response of 4); and 3) those who reported greater relative self initiation (responses 5, 6, or 7).

Balance of attraction. The participants were asked, "Who would you say was most attracted early in your relationship?" The options were: 1) The other was a lot more; 2) The other was somewhat more; 3) The other was a little more; 4) We were both equally; 5) I was a little more; 6) I was somewhat more; and 7) I was a lot more.

Attachment style. In a section of background questions, participants were presented with Bartholomew and Horowitz's (1991) measures of the four-category adult attachment theory. Four paragraphs, each describing one of the four attachment styles, were presented to participants. For example, the secure paragraph read:

It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me. (Bartholomew & Horowitz 1991)

Respondents were asked to choose which paragraph of the four best described them.

Relationship outcomes. Two global items were used to assess satisfaction and commitment. The measure of satisfaction read: "Currently, how satisfying is the relationship?" (options ranged from 1=not at all; to 7=extremely). The measure of commitment read: "Currently, how committed are you to maintaining the relationship in the future?" (identical response options were used).

RESULTS TO STUDY 1

Balance in Relationship Initiation

Our first objective was to examine whether

relationship initiation is more often balanced or imbalanced. Only 32 percent responded "we both did equally" to the question asking who initiated the relationship. Conversely, 68 percent indicated that the work was done more by one partner than the other. More specifically, 39 percent reported that their partner did more of the work and 29 percent reported that they did more of the work. A one-sample chi-square test indicated that these proportions differed significantly from an equal distribution ($X^2(2, N=455)=7.86, p<.05$). Follow-up tests indicated that the proportion who reported partner initiation was significantly greater than the proportion who reported self initiation ($X^2(2, N=311)=7.10, p<.01$). In addition, there was a near significant difference between the proportion of participants who reported partner initiation and the proportion who reported balanced initiation ($X^2(2, N=323)=3.79, p=.05$). There was no difference in the proportions of participants who reported self initiation versus balanced initiation. These results indicate that relationships are perceived to be initiated more by one partner than by both, and that there is a tendency to perceive the partner as more instrumental than the self in relationship initiation.

Sex Differences in Relationship Initiation

Our second objective was to examine whether there are sex differences in the work of relationship initiation. An independent t-test comparing men's and women's mean responses to the original initiation item revealed no significant sex differences (men $M=3.86, SD=1.64$; women $M=3.61, SD=1.59$).³

We also examined sex differences by comparing the relative distribution of the three initiation groups. For men, the percentages of participants in the partner, balanced, and self initiation groups were 34 percent, 33 percent, and 33 percent respectively. These proportions were not significantly different from an equal distribution. For women, the proportions were 42 percent, 31 percent, and 27 percent, respectively, which were significantly different from an equal distribution ($X^2(2, N=294)=11.08, p<.01$). Follow-up tests indicated that the proportion of women who reported partner initiation was greater than the proportion who reported either self initiation ($X^2(2, N=203)=9.98, p<.01$) or balanced initiation ($X^2(2, N=215)=5.07, p<.05$). However, the proportion that reported balanced initiation was not significantly different from the

Table 1 - Type of Initiation by Attachment Style: Results from Study 1

Attachment Style	Partner Initiation	Balanced Initiation	Self Initiation	Totals
Fearful	<i>n</i> = 42; 39.3%	<i>n</i> = 35; 32.7%	<i>n</i> = 30; 28.0%	<i>n</i> = 107; 24.5%
Preoccupied	<i>n</i> = 20; 32.3%	<i>n</i> = 14; 22.6%	<i>n</i> = 28; 45.2%	<i>n</i> = 62; 15.2%
Dismissive	<i>n</i> = 42; 53.8%	<i>n</i> = 17; 21.8%	<i>n</i> = 19; 24.4%	<i>n</i> = 78; 16.9%
Secure	<i>n</i> = 75; 36.1%	<i>n</i> = 78; 37.5%	<i>n</i> = 55; 26.4%	<i>n</i> = 208; 44.6%

proportion that reported self initiation.

Attachment Style and Relationship Initiation

We hypothesized (H1) that individuals who identified with a secure attachment style would be more likely to report being the initiator of their relationship than were those who identified with one of the insecure attachment styles (preoccupied, dismissive, or fearful attachment style). To test our hypothesis, we grouped participants by their self-identified attachment style. A oneway ANOVA revealed significant overall differences in responses to the degree of self initiation ($F(3,455)=2.69$, $p<.05$). However, contrary to what was predicted, participants who identified with a preoccupied attachment style had the highest mean score ($M=4.05$; $SD=1.91$), followed by those with a fearful attachment style ($M=3.76$; $SD=1.52$), secure attachment style ($M=3.71$; $SD=1.52$), and finally those with a dismissive attachment style ($M=3.29$; $SD=1.67$). A post hoc bonferroni analysis revealed that the only two groups to significantly differ were preoccupied individuals and dismissive individuals. To further investigate attachment differences in relationship initiation, we compared the four attachment styles on the proportions that reported partner initiation, balanced initiation, and self initiation (Table 1). As can be seen, those reporting a preoccupied attachment style had the largest percentage of self-initiators, followed by the fearful, secure, and dismissive attachment styles. These results parallel the comparisons across attachment styles on mean scores described above.

Relative Attraction and Relationship Initiation

In our second hypothesis, we predicted that the partner who is more attracted early in the relationship is likely be the one who is credited with doing the work of relationship initiation. In support of this hypothesis, responses to the item asking who was more attracted (higher score = perception that the self was more attracted) was correlated posi-

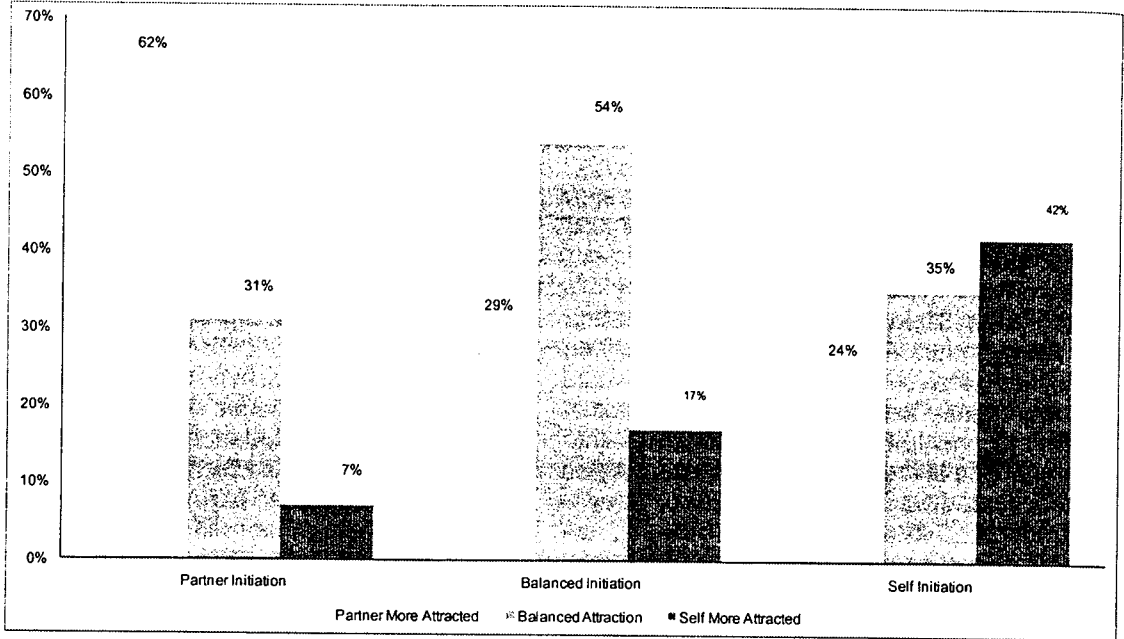
tively with responses to the item asking who worked harder to initiate the relationship (higher score = more self initiation), $r = .57$, $p < .001$.

To further test this hypothesis, we cross-classified three categories of attraction (partner more attracted, balanced attraction, self more attracted) by three categories of relationship initiation (greater partner initiation, balanced initiation, greater self initiation). A two-way contingency table analysis revealed that the distribution of responses to relative attraction was significantly associated with the distribution of responses to the three initiation groups ($\chi^2(4, n=455)=91.03$, $p<.001$, Cramér's $V=.35^4$). Essentially, this test indicates that partner initiated relationships were most often characterized by a more interested partner, balanced initiations were characterized by balanced attraction, and self initiations were characterized by a more interested self (Figure 1).

Relationship Outcomes Regarding Mutuality

Our third hypothesis predicted that those who report a balanced relationship initiation will be more satisfied and committed (currently) in their relationship, as compared to those who reported imbalanced relationship initiation. We first compared those who reported balanced initiation ($n=144$) with those who reported imbalanced initiation ($n=311$) on measures of satisfaction and commitment. Independent t-tests revealed that participants who experienced a balanced initiation were more satisfied ($M=6.02$; $SD=1.24$) than participants who experienced an imbalanced initiation ($M=5.53$; $SD=1.42$) ($t(315.45)=3.73$, $p<.001$), and were also more committed in their relationship ($M=6.09$; $SD=1.31$ and $M=5.62$; $SD=1.59$ respectively, $t(331.97)=3.33$, $p<.01$).

Additional ANOVA analyses compared the three specific groups – partner versus balanced versus self initiation. These analyses revealed significant overall differences for sat-

Figure 1. Crosstabs of Relative Interest and Initiation

Note: Totals more than 100% are a result of rounding error.

isfaction, $F(2, 452)=6.48, p<.01$, and commitment, $F(2, 452)=4.90, p<.01$. A Bonferroni post hoc analysis revealed that participants in balanced initiation relationships were more satisfied with their relationship ($M=6.02$; $SD=1.24$) than were either those in self initiated ($M=5.48$; $SD=1.48$) or partner initiated relationships ($M=5.58$; $SD=1.37$). An identical analysis conducted with commitment scores indicated that participants in balanced initiation relationships were also more committed to their relationship ($M=6.09$; $SD=1.31$) than were those in self initiated ($M=5.66$; $SD=1.57$) or partner initiated ($M=5.59$; $SD=1.61$) relationships. Using these same analyses, we found that participants in self and partner initiated relationships did not differ on either satisfaction or commitment.

STUDY 2

The respondents in Study 1 did not take the survey as couples. Therefore, it was impossible to know whether their view of who initiated the relationship was shared by their partner, or whether there were biases in their perceptions and memories of the relationship initiation. In Study 2, we examined how much agreement or disagreement existed between partners (from a pair sample) in beliefs about who worked harder to initiate their relationship. On the one hand, we may find almost no agreement between partners,

which could suggest that people perceive a relationship process such as relationship initiation in biased or self-serving ways. For example, it may be flattering to perceive the partner to be the pursuer. On the other hand, there could be complete agreement, particularly if the two people have had many opportunities to develop a narrative together of how their relationship began (e.g., Custer et al 2008). We also re-examine many of the same issues as in Study 1, including the degree to which relationship initiation is balanced versus imbalanced overall and whether there are differences between the sexes (this time the men and women are relationship partners).

Method to Study 2

An analysis was conducted with pre-existing data collected from a network sampling procedure. Students in a large class were asked to interview and administer a questionnaire to two people from their social network who were in a relationship together. Approximately one-half of the students were requested to find a dating couple and the other one-half were requested to find a friendship pair. For these analyses, we have selected only the dating pairs, which consisted of 75 male-female dating couples (mean age=21.4, $SD=3.37$). The mean length of their relationships was 23 months ($SD=17.33$). The

Table 2 - Cross-tabulation of Partners' Perceptions of Relationship Initiations: Results from Study 2

Male's Perception	Male's Perception	Female's Perception		
		Male Initiated More	Equal Initiation	Female Initiated More
Male Initiated More	Male Initiated More	22.7% (n=17)	10.7% (n=8)	8.0% (n=6)
Equal Initiation	Equal Initiation	9.3% (n=7)	5.3% (n=4)	6.7% (n=5)
Female Initiated More	Female Initiated More	8.0% (n=6)	4.0% (n=3)	25.0% (n=19)

participants completed measures identical to those described above for Study 1.

Results to Study 2

Similar to the results of Study 1, perceptions of imbalance in relationship initiation were more common than perceptions of balance. Of the male partners, only 21.3 percent (n=16) chose the "both equally" option; the other 78.7 percent (n=59) indicated that either the self (41.3%; n=31) or the partner (37.3%; n=28) worked harder to initiate the relationship. A similar pattern of results were found for the female partner. Only 20 percent (n=15) chose the "both equally option," and the remaining 80 percent indicated that one partner worked harder than the other (40% partner n=30; 40% self n=30).

No sex (or partner) difference was found in the mean response to the initiation item. A paired sample t-test, comparing the score for the male partner with the score for the female partner, indicated no significant difference ($M=4.05$ [$SD=1.94$] and $M=3.88$ [$SD=2.11$] respectively). In addition, as was found in Study 1, who was perceived as being more attracted to the other in the relationship was associated with the perception of who worked harder to initiate the relationship ($r=.58$, $p<.001$ for male partners and $r=.53$, $p<.001$ for female partners).

To examine to what degree partners agreed about who initiated the relationship, the initiation variable was recoded so that a higher score indicated greater male initiation and a lower score indicated greater female initiation (with a score of 4 continuing to be equal initiation). The correlation between the male and female partners on this initiation variable was .45 ($p<.001$), indicating some but not complete agreement. To further explore the extent of agreement versus disagreement, the male partner's score was crossed with the female partner's score (each collapsed into three groups: male greater initiation, equal initiation, female greater initiation). These results are presented in Table 2.

Fifty-three percent of the couples agreed about who initiated the relationship. In another 31 percent of the couples, there was slight disagreement; one partner reported balance in initiation work whereas the other reported that one partner did more of the work. The remaining 16 percent of couples exhibited strong disagreement meaning that one partner reported that the male did more of the initiation work while the other reported that the female did more of the initiation work.

DISCUSSION

Our results indicate that relationship initiation is more often perceived as imbalanced than as balanced. In fact, more than two-thirds of our participants reported that one partner did more of the work of relationship initiation, with the majority of the two-thirds indicating that they were the one being pursued. These findings are especially interesting when considering the literature on relationship breakups (Hill et al 1976; Sprecher 1994). It has been found that after breakups, members of the dissolved couple develop accounts of the relationship (Duck 1982), often presenting themselves favorably (i.e., as the one who initiated the breakup) (e.g., Gray & Silver 1990; Sprecher 1994). It could be reasoned that perceiving the self as being pursued offers similar benefits to one's self-esteem. That is, when later recalling the initiation stage of one's relationship, self-esteem may be enhanced by recalling the other as the pursuand and the self as the pursued.

If such a bias does exist, it seems to be endorsed only by female participants, however. In Study 1, when male participants responded to our question about initiation, they were not more likely to report one type (partner initiation, balanced initiation, or self initiation) more than any other. Yet, female participants overwhelmingly reported that the male partner initiated their relationship. This difference between males and females can be explained, in part, by social scripts of courting (Rose & Frieze 1993) which place the male

as the initiator. However, in order to be a complete explanation, male participants would have to be more likely to report themselves as the initiator. Instead, we found that men did not report any one category more than the others. This suggests that other aspects are at work when recalling relationship initiation.

It is possible that some relationship initiating behaviors are weighted more heavily than others in the recall of who initiated the relationship. For example, the direct initiation strategies used by men are (by definition) more overt, possibly leading these strategies to be more easily recalled than the indirect strategies used by women. It has also been found that men are prone to interpret the innocent behaviors of women (i.e., a casual touch) as sexual advances or as indicators of women's interest (Abbey 1982; Haselton 2002). Given that this study dealt with participants' perceptions of relationship initiation, it is possible that our results are also a consequence of male misconceptions (believing that women are initiating more than they actually are).

Individual differences may play a role in our findings. We found that attachment style is a factor in initiation, although not in the way we predicted. Individuals with a secure attachment style were not more likely to initiate their relationship than were those with other attachment styles. In fact, those with a preoccupied style were the most likely to initiate their relationship and those with a dismissive attachment style were the least likely. These findings do have a theoretical explanation.

Examining attachment styles as dimensions of avoidance of intimacy and anxiety over abandonment (Brennan, Clark & Shaver 1998), we find that the preoccupied attachment style is conceptualized to be low in avoidance of intimacy and high in anxiety over abandonment. What results is a strong desire for intimacy with uncertainty that it will come, as portrayed in the paragraph description of the preoccupied attachment style:

I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that *others are reluctant* to get as close as I would like [emphasis added]. (Bartholomew & Horowitz 1991)

Individuals identifying with this attachment style may feel that it is up to them to initiate a relationship. Conversely, those identifying

with a dismissive attachment style are high in avoidance of intimacy and low in anxiety over abandonment:

I am comfortable *without* close emotional relationships. It is very important for me to feel independent. (Bartholomew & Horowitz 1991) [emphasis added]

These individuals, who are comfortable with themselves and do not strive for an intimate connection, understandably, seem to be less motivated to initiate a relationship.

Those with a secure attachment style are also comfortable with themselves, as evidenced by the statement:

I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me. (Bartholomew & Horowitz 1991)

However, unlike the dismissive style, a secure attachment style recognizes the benefits of interdependence:

I am comfortable depending on others and having others depend on me. (Bartholomew & Horowitz 1991)

Securely attached individuals are likely to have a strong confidence in the self as worthy of care (Bartholomew & Horowitz 1991) and unlikely to be characterized with an anxiety about not being in a relationship, as someone with a preoccupied attachment style might be. As a result, they may have a more balanced role in relationship initiation. They are probably not anxious about starting a relationship, but also comfortable having the other take initiative.

Those with a fearful attachment, however, are high in avoidance of intimacy and high in anxiety over abandonment:

I am uncomfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely or to depend on them. (Bartholomew & Horowitz 1991)

These individuals' fear of relationships may result in the lack of extra work when initiating relationships (as the preoccupied individuals do) but also the inability to walk away from a potential partner (as the dismissive individuals do), because they still have a desire

for closeness. It is likely that the difference in desire for an emotional attachment between dismissive and fearful participants prevents the latter from being the least likely to initiate a relationship. The need for connection may become strong enough for fearful individuals that they are willing to take the risk of misplaced trust. We acknowledge, however, that these are only speculations; and the differences found in balance of relationship initiation based on attachment style could also be based on the attachment style of their partner.

When testing our second hypothesis, interest appeared to play a role in initiation. Our test revealed that attraction was associated with relationship initiation. The partner (self or other) who the participant believed was more attracted was also more often perceived to be the initiator. The magnitude of the association between participants' reports of relative attraction and who did more work in initiating the relationship offers strong support for Waller's principle of least interest. Nearly half of the participants in self initiated relationships reported that they were more attracted than their partner. The association between attraction and initiation is not only mirrored but also magnified in mutual and partner initiated relationships. More than half of mutual initiations were characterized by equal attraction, and nearly two-thirds of partner initiations were characterized by greater partner interest. While there is a strong association between relative interest and relationship initiation, it is clear that these are two different phenomena as one can find exceptions to each rule (i.e. a person who perceives herself as more interested can also report having done no work in the initiation of the relationship).

As hypothesized, individuals in balanced initiation relationships were more satisfied and committed than those in imbalanced initiation relationships. Participants in self-initiated relationships were no more or less satisfied with or committed to their relationships than were participants in partner initiated relationships. What this indicates is that unilateral initiation, in any direction, is associated with lesser relationship quality. The direction of the causality, however, cannot be determined with our data. Whereas we are assuming that balanced initiation leads to satisfaction and commitment, it could be argued that being more satisfied and committed in a rela-

tionship may lead to more favorable memories. This is a documented occurrence (Karney & Frye 2002; Newby-Clark & Ross 2003) and is certainly plausible in this study. However, discerning these two outcomes is outside the scope of this study.

Our results from Study 2 corroborated many of the findings of Study 1. Relationship initiation was more likely to be perceived as imbalanced. Again, no sex difference was found in the degree of self initiation, and interest (attraction) was associated with who did more of the work in relationship initiation. Within the couples, we found that there was some but not complete agreement about who initiated the relationship. This implies that for some individuals, there may be a bias in reporting who worked harder to initiate the relationship, though the reasons behind such a bias cannot be examined here.

Limitations

This research offers a small but progressive step in the understanding of relationship initiation, but is not without its limitations. We used nonprobability samples of young, college students, and at only one university. However, we speculate that many of our findings concerning the balance of relationship initiation are robust and would likely also be found in more diverse samples – in age, education, cultural background, sexual orientation, and race/ethnicity. However, the specific steps in relationship initiation might differ for people of different socio-cultural groups.

Another limitation concerns the retrospective nature of the data on relationship initiation. The participants were recalling a prior period in their relationship when answering the question about who initiated the relationship. In addition, there was only one item that measured relationship initiation. Nonetheless, a global measure of initiation is beneficial because it allows participants to consider all initiating behaviors.

Future Research

For addressing the shortcomings of this study, we suggest a larger and more diverse sample that is more representative of the population of romantic relationships. Collecting longitudinal data beginning with the initiation may also help us to understand if there are self-serving biases in reports of initiation or if there are instances of false memories. (We note, however, that it would be very diffi-

cult to capture the initiation stage of couples as it is occurring.) An examination of other predictor variables of relationship initiation would also be important. For example, it may be that individuals use traditional male and female sex roles as a catalyst for remembering their courtships. It may also be worth examining other dispositional variables such as personality or environmental factors including social networks as potential predictors of who initiates relationships. It is possible that one's social network contributes to the initiation of the relationship, and could be considered in future research.

The recently edited book by Sprecher et al. (2008b) indicates the complexity of relationship initiation. We encourage future researchers to develop measures that can assess various dimensions of relationship initiation, including use of social networks, opening lines, nonverbal behaviors, and initial self-disclosure. Some areas of this study would also benefit from forms of replication. Specifically, additional investigation into attachment styles and relationship initiation can offer insight to our interpretation of our unexpected findings. Further, the personality characteristics of masculinity and femininity may have an influencing role in the shape that initiation takes for a couple.

Here, we discussed how sex roles and dating scripts may be involved in heterosexual relationship initiation, but these topics are not likely to hold the same weight in same-sex relationships where both partners may behave in similar ways or have matching sex stereotype expectations. An investigation into relationship initiation in same-sex relationships is warranted. Another interesting venue to be pursued in the future is to examine people's initiation behaviors across relationships, and determine whether the role they play is relationship-specific. Our understanding of relationship initiation will grow exponentially with more research in the area.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ The samples were obtained in a period from 1994 to 1997. Data on other aspects of attraction were previously reported in Sprecher (1998).
- ² Inadvertently, the word "you" was omitted from this question in some of the surveys. Regardless, we believe the question, in combination with the response options, was understood by the respondents.
- ³ It could be argued that gender similarities or differences have changed over time since the period in which these data were collected. However, in a sample obtained in 2008 (not included in this paper), similar gender results were found: no gender difference was found in response to a similar question asking about the balance of relationship initiation.
- ⁴ Information on the follow-up comparisons can be obtained by writing the authors.

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A HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL LOOK AT RITUAL ABUSE LAWS PART II: APPLYING AN INTEGRATED CONFLICT MODEL ANALYSIS TO THE IDAHO BABY X CASE*

Stan H. Hodges, Texas A&M University-Kingsville
and Jason S. Ulsperger, Arkansas Tech University

ABSTRACT

This article is the second that examines the social construction of ritual abuse statutes that uses the Integrated Conflict Model of law formation. Using content analysis findings based on a qualitative, historical phenomenological interpretation, this piece examines the formation of ritual abuse law in Idaho. Examining circumstances surrounding the satanic panic that took place in the mid-1980s to early 1990s, the article supports the idea that the formation of ritual abuse laws involves structural foundations, public demands for information, triggering events, and counter-triggering events surrounding a particular case of suspected ritual abuse. It concludes with recommendations for future research concerning law formation processes.

In the fall of 1989, the burned body of a mutilated infant laid in a southern Idaho dumping area near the town of Rupert. One rumor was that the baby came down with pneumonia, its scared parents abandoned it, and wild animals marred the remains. More popular rumors implied that the infant, later labeled "Baby X," was killed by a local satanic cult composed of black robed figures roaming the woods in Idaho, sacrificing animals and children. Local mental health workers and law enforcement officials provided media outlets with ideas legitimizing the rumors, and several Christian groups held social protests condemning the assumed demonic worship. Local and national media covered those protests providing a high level of credibility to the Baby X stories and prompting the passage of some of the nation's first ritual abuse laws within months of the event (Victor 1993).

Ritual abuse is any symbolic, repeated behavior that fulfills cultural, social, religious, sexual, or psychological needs, and is criminally defined. Laws associated with ritual abuse include acts of child torture, animal sacrifice, forced drug ingestion, unlawful underage marriages, forced interaction with the deceased, and the explicit mutilation of the deceased (Hodges 2008). As indicated by Idaho's Ritual Abuse Act, a person is guilty of ritual abuse when, through a ceremony or similar observance with a child present, simulates or actually tortures, mutilates, or incinerates any warm-blooded animal or human, forcibly drugs child witnesses to suppress recollection of crimes, or places a child in a coffin or open grave with human remains

(1990).

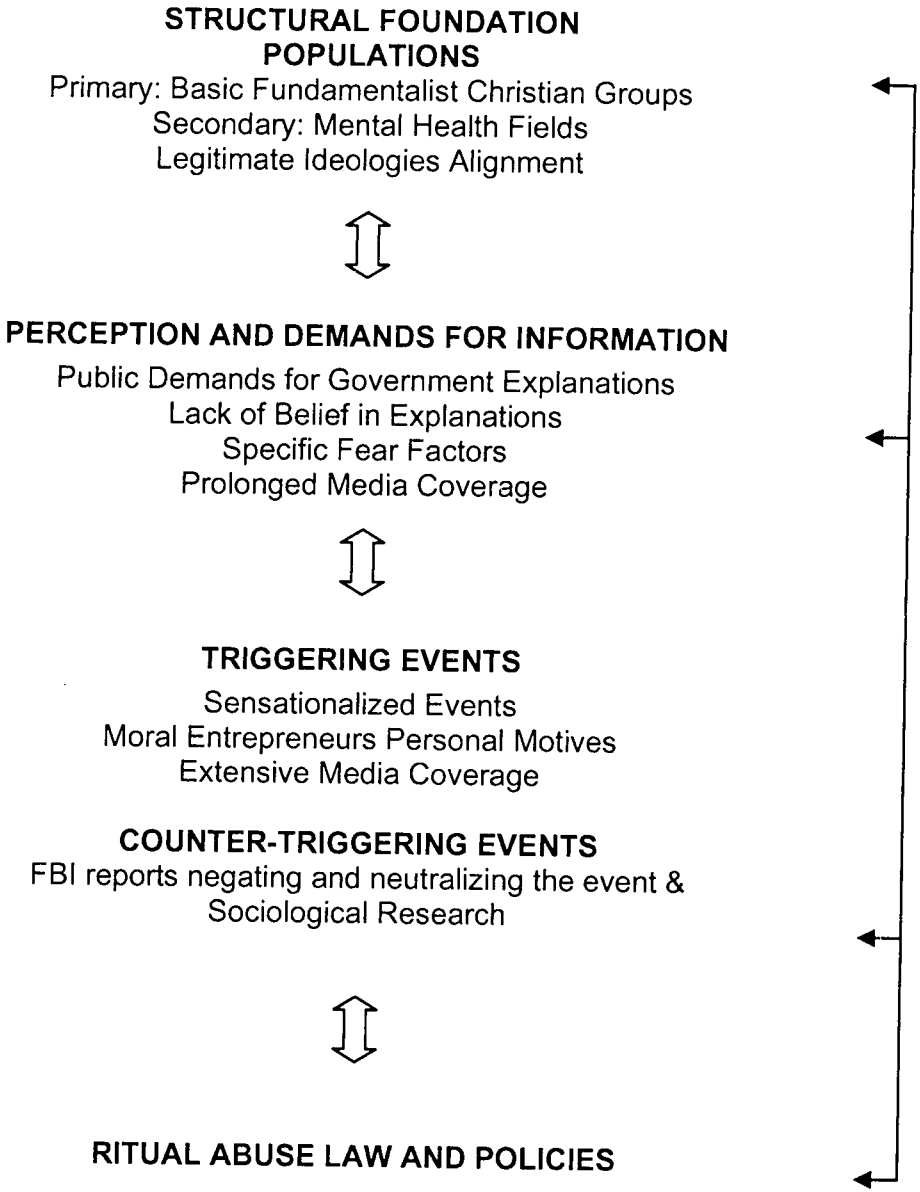
Based on the Baby X case, this article examines the social construction of Idaho's ritual abuse law with the Integrated Conflict Model of law formation. It starts with a theoretical discussion detailing the ideas behind constructionist and integrated conflict perspectives. The article then reviews the methodology we used to research the Idaho Baby X case. Finally, this piece provides findings supporting the idea that ritual abuse in Idaho was the consequence of structural foundations, public demands for information, triggering events, and counter-triggering events.

CONSTRUCTIONISM AND THE INTEGRATED CONFLICT MODEL

Part I of this series offers detailed discussions of constructionist thought and the integrated conflict model of law formation (Hodges 2008). Here, a brief review is helpful. Constructionist views imply that human experiences are socially created and maintained through perceptions of reality. Knowledge that denotes what people view as real is initially created through interaction, it is externalized when others accept it, and finally it is converted into a concrete thing when many others believe the original construction had always been true. The idea of socially constructed reality applies to everyday knowledge that orders our lives, whether it concerns time, money, or religion (Berger & Luckmann 1966).

The Integrative Conflict Model extends this idea by viewing laws as social constructs made of structural foundations, perceptions of crime and demands for punishment, and triggering events that do not require sequen-

Figure 1 - An Integrative Conflict Model of Ritual Abuse Law



tial timing. Structural foundations, focus on both structural and cultural factors. With structural factors, social dynamics have an effect on lawmaking in a number of ways. High levels of heterogeneity, inequality, and declining economic conditions all influence the incidence of inter-group conflict. The most powerful in these situations can determine what is criminal. In relation to cultural factors, ideological assumptions influence perceptions of criminal behavior. Values of a culture help to shape lawmaking processes with understanding and meaning. If the values indicate

that a certain behavior is inadmissible, the public demands restrictions. If the values indicate issues surrounding the activity are acceptable, people will tolerate the behavior. In relation to structural issues, consider drug laws. Research indicates that states with homogeneous, highly religious populations vote in blocs allowing the quick passage of legislation. Those with heterogeneous, ideologically diverse populations sometimes experience longer legislative processes when people propose new laws (Gallihier & Cross 1983; McGarrell & Castellano 1991).

Perceptions of crime and demands for punishment, the most fluid of the three aspects, involves media exposure about allegations of an issue or event. The media exposure can create an elevated sense of public awareness prompting a "call to action" by government officials. If a law already exists to deal with the issue or event at hand, dilemmas for lawmakers emerge. The general public might believe lawmakers are not doing enough to make sure laws are enforced. If a law does not exist, to maintain their legitimacy, lawmakers will feel the need to draft one. For example, Oklahoma passed a law in 2000 that made it a felony for state employees to provide nursing homes with information on surprise inspections. Research indicates that newspaper stories surrounding the transfer of information from the acting health department director to a prominent nursing home owner generated a demand by the public that lawmakers do something to prevent the abuse of inspection information (Hodges & Ulsperger 2005; McGarrell & Castellano 1991; Ulsperger 2003).

Triggering events produce an intense demand for action and public policy. They can occur simultaneously including aspects of election year politics, sensationalized crimes, and appellate court decisions. The aforementioned media exposure sets the stage for action, but the triggering events set the legislative process into motion by creating a critical mass between various social structures and their ideologies, prompting a reality construction battle between interest groups. Research on federal marijuana law shows the power of moral entrepreneurs who have abundant resources in framing public perceptions. Part of the reason the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937 passed in the United States was due to the publicity campaign waged by the Federal Bureau of Narcotics. Harry Anslinger, the FBN director, supported the production of various propaganda creating the perception that marijuana would produce hyperactive, psychotic tendencies in users. Though scientific evidence proved otherwise, his efforts and accompanying media coverage swayed much of the population into demonizing the drug triggering the passage of legislation outlawing marijuana (Galliher & Cross 1983; McGarrell & Castellano 1991, 1993; Ulsperger 2003).

While applying the core conceptions of the integrated conflict perspective, we apply an

adapted model to explain the emergence of statutes concerning ritual abuse in the state of Idaho (see Figure 1). With this model, we first discuss structural foundation populations, including primary groups, such as fundamentalist Christians who have a substantial political influence in Idaho, and secondary groups, such as experts from the mental health field, who play a key part in evaluating witnesses in ritual abuse cases (Hodges 2008). Secondly, we focus on perception and demands for information. In the case of Idaho ritual abuse law, we will see how the public insisted on government explanations, failed to believe them, and felt threatened by the perceived incompetence of leadership. As with previous models, our third aspect involves triggering events. With Idaho ritual abuse law, this concerns sensationalized interviews, the actions of moral entrepreneurs, and prominent court cases that ignited the rapid passage of legislation. Our final aspect relates to counter-triggering events. These involve law enforcement and academic reports that serve to neutralize conflict surrounding the issue of concern, in this case ritualistic abuse. Before discussing the aspects of our findings in these areas, it is necessary to review our research methodology.

METHODS

This research involves content analysis findings based on qualitative, historical phenomenological interpretation of events surrounding ritual abuse law in Idaho. Using multiple record search methods, consisting of library and Internet databases, the researchers compiled a wide variety of documents consisting of books, peer review articles of sociological journals, and printed interviews of clergy, police, psychologists, reporters, and lawmakers, on the development of ritual abuse law in Idaho. Both researchers read and reread large samples of documents separately throughout the phases of the project, allowing us to understand the complexity of themes underlying the formation of a specific set of laws.

We then discussed our emergent themes and categorized the documents and portions of documents into groups based on structural foundation populations, perceptions and demands for information, triggering events, and counter-triggering events. We often reread the documents until we were both in agreement to ensure intercoder reliability. We

found patterns and themes that fit the aspects defined by Integrated Conflict Theory of structural bases, corresponding interest groups, fluid notions of what was perceived and real concerning the triggering events and counter-triggering events. Once the project was complete, we checked for internal and external coherence. Internal coherence involves whether or not you can reanalyze documents you initially study and find similar themes. External coherence concerns an adequate level of correspondence between your findings and theoretical perspective. In reviewing the documents one last time in the context of existing Integrated Conflict Model literature, we determined both types of coherence existed (for more on this process see Hodder 1994).

FINDINGS

The circumstances surrounding the Baby X case provided a perfect storm of components leading to the passage of ritual abuse law in Idaho. The Idaho case study includes issues related to structural foundation populations, public perceptions of and demands for information, triggering events, and counter-triggering events.

Structural Foundations

The structural foundation for the passage of Idaho law considers the ritual abuse dynamics existing previously in other states before the Rupert, Idaho Baby X case. Throughout the 1980s, the idea that ritual abuse was a social problem picked up considerable steam. Norris and Potter (1986) note several occurrences of alleged ritual abuse in California as well as other places in the United States as portrayed in their article that was published in *Penthouse* magazine. Norris and Potter note:

But by far the most insidious and best publicized example of possible ritual terrorism against children is the alleged torture of students at the Virginia McMartin Pre-school in Manhattan Beach, California. A single case of child molestation in January 1984 started an investigation that closed the school and resulted in seven people being charged in 208 counts of child sexual molestation. Three hundred eighty-nine former pupils of this school were interviewed at the prestigious Children's institute in Los Angeles. All of them told of sexual abuse. The institute found that 80 percent of the children had physical evi-

dence to document their abuse. (1986 50)

Those statements on the McMartin case in particular, as well as several others, had an enormous impact on their reading audiences nation wide. This was the major triggering event in California, providing patterns of understanding for similar social constructions across the United States, including the neighboring Idaho. In a community just south of Springfield, Illinois, people accused a group of rambunctious teens of being devil worshipers. In Arkansas, unproven claims that devil worshipers were out to get blonde-haired, blue-eyed virgin children whipped the public into a frenzied condition. A sheriff northwest of Columbus, Ohio reported that satanic homosexuals were on the loose and in a town close to Toledo, a sheriff carried out a heated investigation into ritual abuse from information provided by a confidential informant. From Alaska to New York, tales suitable for the Salem witch trials of the late 1600s emerged involving allegations of grave robberies, orgies with evil spirits, and animal mutilations leading to what is believed to be false conviction after false conviction later overturned or quietly producing reduced sentences. In 1990, the year after the Baby X situation, a child abuse probe of a 9-year-old California boy known as "Timothy" indicated he witnessed babies mutilated and burned. In an interesting twist, his family was from Rupert, Idaho (Gross, Jacoby, Matheson, Montgomery & Patil 2005; Victor 1993). Though previous cases had similar qualities, such as claims of satanic practices and accusations by young children, the difference in the Rupert, Idaho case was that stories of ritual abuse from a child in California were connected to a location where an actual mutilated body was found in Idaho. This created a perception in both states, of the widespread organized nature of the Satanists involved in the Idaho case. With those conjoined elements, structural population groups such as fundamentalist Christians and mental health experts aligned to address the perceived forces of evil at work like they never had before.

With the Baby X case, Idaho responded quickly with ritual abuse legislation, in part, due to fundamentalist Christian populations. Our analysis indicates that the religious group reactions in Rupert, Idaho were stronger than for any other ritual abuse case. The community was more rural and spiritually oriented

than other areas with satanic abuse claims, so a traditional legitimacy for Christian epistemologies of evil and Satan worship plausible for most people, especially when religious leaders made ritual abuse charges to explain the circumstances surrounding the discovery of the dead infant. This legitimacy became stronger when mental health professionals agreed with claims of satanic abuse, but for different reasons. In the Baby X case, as with others, the mental health professional predisposition for some psychologists was to believe in survivor stories and at the same time attribute the effects of ritual abuse experiences to personality disorders, often created by repressed memories discovered through hypnosis and diagnosed in the DSM III. Debates surrounding repressed memories are still current today. However, their use in the Baby X case indirectly supported the concerns of Christian fundamentalist populations, while providing scientific reasons and evidence fostering the perception of a true problem that policymakers needed to deal with legally.

Certain Baby X associated mental health professionals became "self styled" experts involved in training various forces of social control in the Idaho governmental system, such as law enforcement officials, prosecutors, and political leaders. They trained them on the perceived extent of the ritual abuse problem, but also taught the forces of social control how to distinguish ritual abuse from other crimes and social ills. Our findings indicate that this had an unintended consequence. Calling into question the legitimacy of public workers and officials, professional training by experts in the mental health field fueled public speculation that law enforcement and other government figures were ignorant and inept for not recognizing and containing the ritual abuse problem (for more see Lotto 1994). This created public uneasiness, prompting them to demand worthy explanations for ritual abuse and official action. Such explanations were not forthcoming and when they did appear, the public response was one of uncertainty and mistrust.

Public Demands for Information

Our analysis indicates that perceptions creating public demands for information and action have close ties to what we discuss as "fear factors" or a lack of belief and confidence in government explanations and threatening

feelings associated with real physical harm and dangers to status and power of the ideology of the majority group. There are two primary fear factors in the Baby X case important to note. The first involves the long-standing, socially constructed human fear of evil and things embodying it. The second involves fears concerning the safety of children from harm, which may be instinctual. We believe these two core fear factors prompt fear factors that relate to specific situated events, such as the Baby X case. In other words, basic fears concerning evil and the desire to protect offspring expanded public demands for information and policymaker action in Idaho in relation to the ritual abuse of children by Satanists (for elaboration see Passantino & Passantino 1992).

Triggering Events

The main incidents that triggered the scare quickly to the point of legislation passage was the finding of Baby X and the "Timothy" interviews. The media attention surrounding these incidents served as a triggering event itself. In addition, the actions of individuals who may have had their own self-interested motives, such as policeman Larry Jones and journalist Chris Clark, carried triggering event weight.

Lieutenant Jones was on the force in Boise, Idaho during the Baby X events. He insisted that hard core evidence, such as police officer testimonies and the plethora of dead bodies killed by sacrifice, proved that cults carrying out ritual abuse were running wild in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In what our findings indicate as the promotion of law enforcement action and the enhancement of his reputation, he started the Cult Crime Impact Network to train police departments and communities on ritual abuse practices – all for a fee. He subsequently published a newsletter that went out to over 2000 subscribers within a few months of the Baby X case (Wallace 1990).

Chris Clark was a local newspaper reporter who, after the Baby X discovery, met with the supervisor for special services at the local school district Noel Croft, Nazarene Reverend Stephen Oglevie, Rupert Police Chief Paul Fries, and coroner Arvin Hansen, who responded with different motivations and goals. Croft had good intentions; Oglevie wanted to stop satanic practices in his community at any cost; Fries was looking for answers in the midst of public scrutiny; and the

Figure 2. An Idaho Ritual Abuse Law Timeline

1984	January 1984 the McMartin case in Manhattan Beach, California brings ritual child abuse to public attention. Mental health experts are brought in to interview the children involved.
1986	Officer Larry Jones of Boise Idaho attends police training for the first time concerning cult crimes by mental health experts. He later becomes a minister and influential in creating a newsletter and a national anti-cult network.
1989	In November of 1989 Baby X was discovered, this case with media coverage galvanized the general public concerning the reality of ritual abuse.
1990	In March of 1990 the boy "Timothy" is discovered in California and interviewed by experts, which pointed further evidence towards the view that cult members sacrificed Baby X. On April 3, of 1990 Governor Cecil Andrus signed House Bill 817 concerning ritual abuse into law, which had passed unanimously through the Idaho House and Senate. The 1990 April issue of Larry Jones News Letter "FILE 18" proclaims "Ritualized Child Abuse Legislation" passed. It also provided a step by step process how this legislative success could be followed up in other states.
1991	November 1991, a candlelight vigil is held in Rupert, Idaho by 500 persons for satanic abuse victims with media in attendance.
1992	Lanning's FBI report came out in 1992 and stated that there was no physical evidence to support satanic cult criminal allegations in the form of organized group conspiracies. Academic studies were also coming out at this time refuting anti-cult claims.
1993	The State of Illinois passes a ritual abuse law using similar language to that of the Idaho statute.
1995	The State of California passes a ritual abuse law that uses language similar to that of the Idaho statute.

others provided a scientific level of expertise. Clark ended up with samples of drawings by "Timothy," anonymous letters backing up ritual abuse claims, Oglevie and Fries agreeing that satanic practices in the area were certain, and Hansen stating that he was leaning in the direction of ritual abuse as a cause of death. A subsequent series of articles produced by Clark detailing the shaky evidence and assumptions from the meeting sparked an elevated level of public outrage supporting ritual abuse legislation in Idaho and other states (Siegel 1992).

Counter-Triggering Events

Despite the discrediting of many ritual abuse claims, cases involving ritual abuse and Satanism led to the conviction of individuals many question until this day. Consider the "West Memphis Three." Teens found guilty of mutilating and murdering young boys in

west Arkansas in 1993, on the heels of the Baby X affair. Despite new DNA evidence and information relating to exaggerated satanic scare trends at the time of their convictions, Damien Echols, Jessie Misskelley, and Jason Baldwin remain incarcerated (Leveritt 2003; Gambrell 2008). However, certain trends exist to correct misconceptions, that we call counter-triggering events. In relation to the Baby X case, two counter-triggering phenomena are important to discuss. One involves Kenneth Lanning's work, and the other involves the plethora of scholarly research addressing ritual abuse misconceptions. Much of the scholarly research was in the form of sociological research and journal articles.

Lanning started working in the law enforcement field in the early 1980s. He initially bought into the hype of widespread ritual abuse, but changed his mind after being involved in

multiple cases. By 1992, he worked for the Federal Bureau of Investigations Behavioral Sciences Unit. In response to the Baby X case and similar events, he wrote an investigator's guide to satanic ritual killings. The report considers historical circumstances involving ritual abuse and the psychological components leading children to make false abuse claims. He argues that a middle ground for claims of ritual abuse is necessary. The truth about it exists somewhere between exaggerated tales about abuse that may or may not involve satanic rituals, and legal and mental health rationalizations of circumstances surrounding abuse claims. However, he points out that there is little doubt that unsubstantiated claims of ritual abuse take away attention from the real child abuse that takes place way too often (Lanning 1992).

Backing up Lanning's argument, a variety of scholarly pieces on ritual abuse emerged soon after the Baby X case. These include Richardson, Best, and Bromley's (1991) sociological analysis of the Satanism scare along with Goode and Ben-Yehuda's (1994) work on moral panics. Recent research includes Noblitt and Noblitt's (2008) work on the legal, psychological, social, and political dynamics of ritual abuse (also see Cohen 2008 and for a systematic review of literature on ritual abuse see De Young 2002). The public threat however was perceived as too great. Ritual abuse laws were passed in Idaho, providing a template for similar laws in other states.

CONCLUSION

Building on the Integrated Conflict Model of law formation, this analysis examined processes contributing to ritual abuse legislation in the state of Idaho. It found that the social construction of legislation has ties to certain population structures and historical circumstances that lay the foundation for the passage of specific statutes. It also found that those structural factors facilitated a public demand for information related to horrific events covered extensively in the media and public outrage that government officials are not doing their jobs. Moreover, this work discovered that triggering events, such as the Baby X body discovery, "Timothy" interviews, and moral entrepreneur actions could be the tipping points in passage of new laws in other states. The findings of this analysis build on previous research in this area (Taylor, Walton & Young

1973; Galliher & Cross 1982, 1983; Cross 1991; McGarrell & Castellano 1991; Ulsperger 2003; Hodges & Ulsperger 2005) in that they are the first in this tradition to discuss counter-triggering events. Previous research using the Integrative Conflict Model fails to mention the ability of governmental or scholarly work in neutralizing the panic associated with scenarios leading to new legislation.

Analysts should continue to use other methodologies to study the development of ritual abuse law, as well as law development on other issues. For example, it would be interesting to review the dynamics of the law making involved in the passage of United States legislation such as the Patriot Act. Could we find similarities with this study? Were structural dynamics such as underlying geo-political conflict setting the stage for legislation designed to enhance the power of the government? Did the salience of fundamental Christian ideologies in the U.S. make it more likely citizens would look the other way when people believed to be of another faith threatened their safety? How did the attacks of September 11, 2001 and subsequent media coverage serve as triggering events propelling certain legislation into written form? Moreover, has the U.S. experienced any counter-triggering events to offset deeply seeded misconceptions that developed around the time of the attacks? Carrying out research on such a contemporary issue will help us understand that our cycle of law development is never far removed from our past, whether it concerns a witch trial in Salem in the late 1600s or Baby X in Idaho in the 1990s.

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EXPANDING RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO ADOLESCENT SUBSTANCE RECOVERY

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ABSTRACT

Youth who are struggling with substance abuse issues and criminal behavior related to their addiction often times find themselves isolated and estranged from their families, peers, and communities. For this study sample participants, once deciding to extricate themselves from a life of drugs and crime, these youth must attempt to reintegrate back into the families and communities they left behind or abandoned, whether by choice or not, while using illicit drugs and involved in delinquent and criminal behavior. Successful reintegration, as well as successful treatment outcomes seems to be attached to a combination of Alcoholics Anonymous 12 Steps and restorative justice precepts, specifically the encounter and amends process. This essay examined the accounts of seven youth who were seeking sobriety and recovery in an in-patient drug treatment facility. Each discovered that an apology for harm and pain caused, an acceptance of this apology, and forgiveness for past transgressions by parents, family, significant others and the community at large were factors that aided their ability to maintain their sobriety. Each also found that parental involvement and support was not only a catalyst for successful treatment outcomes, but also for successful reintegration back into the family, school, and community.

For adolescents entering residential treatment, their involvement in drugs and crime are life-marking events. These life marking events are associated with crime and addiction and serve to underscore how others see them and how they come to see themselves. Any attempt for the study participant's to extricate themselves from illicit drugs and crime and to regain their sobriety requires successful treatment programming and reintegration to their families and community.

These are relatively young individuals whose ages range from 14 to 18 years of age, and whose substance abuse and addiction as well as their criminal behavior have negatively impacted parents, family, and friends, as well as the wider community and society. These youths' substance abuse recovery efforts recognize a need to move away from their "Vida Loca" (Moore 1978). Restorative justice suggests a move toward a new person with a visible new path, a "mantra" for maintaining sobriety (Van Ness & Strong 2000; Braithwaite 2001). For their recovery and assumption of a new life and a place in larger society, community and family networks, traditional drug abuse psycho-social treatment is not enough. This essay serves to provide some insight into options and actions these youth need to consider and take to extricate themselves from their lives with drugs. Moreover, this essay focuses on The Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) 12 Steps and questions of family involvement and support among young drug users who have entered a private drug treatment facility.

Adolescent drug use and abuse and the concomitants that are associated with these behaviors such as crime, delinquency, isolation, separation and estrangement from peers, family, and society has been a growing concern for those who study youth and drug use. Study participant's who want to extricate themselves from substance use and abuse and begin a life of sobriety face a number of struggles due to their lack of maturity. Because of the study participant's age and youth they are unable to comprehend the magnitude of addiction and the recovery process. Central to these efforts are the relationships and reactions of these troubled youths' family and personal friendships. This essay focuses on youths who are seeking to return to families, friends, community and larger society in order to resume their lives. The need to extricate oneself from seemingly unavoidable relationships, contexts and consequences related to drug and crime arise for youths seeking drug abuse treatment. But their current sphere of action and influence provide little meaningful examples, paths, or means to end their existing social networks and enter a world without drugs and crime.

This program consisted of detoxification, in-patient individual and group counseling and the AA 12 Steps. Family support was held to be central to their recovery. Frequently, additional concerns arise to impede youth completion of treatment programs. For many, additional attention is needed to address and facilitate the problems of reintegration.

In this essay, I will examine how combining the treatment process and dealing with issues of family involvement may be helpful to youth who made a decision to live sober and productive lives. Three questions guided this exploratory study. First, for those youth who want to be extricated from a life of drug use and crime, what are the factors that improve their chances for completing treatment? Second, how are youth incorporating AA 12 Steps? Third, how does family support affect the sobriety and recovery in the lives of adolescent substance users and abusers? Prior to describing the study and the design and methods of the analysis addressed in this essay, I will explore the literature that guides restorative justice precepts and its relationship to AA.

CATALYST FOR ADOLESCENT SOBRIETY

In 2001, *Youth and Society* presented a special issue that focused research that addressed adolescent substance abuse in relation to principles and practices of restorative justice. Throughout the special issue, the definition or explanation of restorative justice was explored. There has been debate concerning the definition of restorative justice (Zehr & Mika 1998; Burnside & Baker 1994; Morris 1994; Sullivan & Tifft 2001). Some proponents of restorative justice see it as an acknowledgment of harm done, an apology for it, and forgiveness offered as being central to one's personal healing. Restorative justice also sees the need for some efforts that re-establishes one's relationship with the family and communities that have been impacted by the youths' lives with drugs and crime (Tavuchis 1991).

Stripped to its basics, restorative justice involves the identification and reparation of harms experienced by victims; obligation on the part of the offender to repair harms; and a process involving victims, offenders, and communities (Shenk & Zehr 2001). In Braithwaite's (2001) article, restorative justice is explained as a set of social processes. Typically, in restorative justice processes, stakeholders sit in a circle and discuss how to ultimately restore the victimized, the victimizer, and the community following an injustice. Restorative justice then may be characterized as a process whereby all the stakeholders affected by an injustice have an opportunity to discuss its consequences and what needs to be done to right the wrong

(Braithwaite 2001).

Sullivan and Tifft (2001) also speak of 'making things right' which occurs when the victim, offender, and community attempt to heal from the harm or hurt.

An essential part of the healing process is the public acknowledgment by the community at large of what has taken place, an acknowledgment that something has been ruptured and is in need of repair. If this process of repair is to have any meaning for those directly involved, at the very least it will require that we encourage those who have been harmed to tell us about their pain and suffering in their own terms. That is, they must be able to share with us how their lives have been affected by the harm, how they continue to be affected, and what their expanded needs are.

The Center for Justice and Reconciliation defines restorative justice as a systematic response to wrongdoing that emphasizes healing the wounds of victims, offenders and communities caused or revealed by the criminal behavior. It further posits that restorative justice programs are characterized by four key values: 1) **Encounter**, which

creates opportunities for victims, offenders, and community members who want to do so to meet to discuss the crime and aftermath.

2) **Amends**, which "expects offenders to take steps to repair the harm they have caused"; 3) **Reintegration**, which "seeks to restore victims and offenders as whole, contributing members of society"; and 4) **Inclusion**, which "provides opportunities for parties with a stake in a specific crime to participate in its resolution".

Participants in the restorative justice program seek forgiveness for harm caused to the victims, forgiveness for themselves and forgiveness *from* the community as well. They recognized harm had been done to many they had encountered during their short lives. Relationships were going to have to be repaired if they were to move forward with their lives and their recovery.

Recognition by a substance abuser of the injustices caused by stealing from friends and family, lying, or other untrustworthy behavior is often the kind of recognition of injustice that motivates change through re-

storative processes. (Braithwaite 2001)

Participant interviews reveal that the completion of the encounter and amends stages were the catalyst for their sobriety. Yet, there was little on how this may be related to youth in drug abuse treatment. Serendipitously, the facility's reliance on AA 12 Steps and family involvement allowed exploration of this central question.

DESIGN/METHOD

To answer the questions posed by my research – a) what are the factors that help youth successfully extricate themselves from their addictive and criminal environment, and b) what effect does the AA 12 Steps and family involvement in youths treatment have on youth's completion of treatment and return to their family and community, first, I had to examine the youth's accounts of their extrication from a life of drug use and crime. I sought to identify the factors that improve their chances for program completion. And, second, I wanted to explore the ways that family involvement affected these adolescent substance abusers recovery efforts.

To uncover this information, I observed and interviewed youths seeking treatment in a local, nationally acclaimed private drug treatment facility. The facility afforded the opportunity to explore youth seeking treatment that included AA principles and practices and soliciting family involvement and support.

The researcher approached the director of the Light House Drug Treatment Facility and fully explained the research goals and objectives and requested permission to conduct a study at the adolescent facility. Approval was based on permission from the parents of the participants and from the facility residents as well. After explaining and detailing the purpose of the study and my role in the study (and at the treatment facility) the parents and treatment participants and staff agreed unanimously to participate in the study. I assured them that I would follow human subject research guidelines such as confidentiality, safeguarding records, anonymity, and their ability to end study participation without warning. Each parent and participant signed a permission slip (approved by the IRB) and it was agreed that those who were not part of the research study were not to be made aware of my identity. The thought behind this was that the youth participants

would act more natural and forthcoming if they thought the researcher was part of the treatment team. If the researcher was to encounter, interact, or gain privileged information in regards to one of the residents who was not a study participant then the parent was to be contacted and the parent and resident were to be made aware of my role and the study.

I conducted an ethnographic exploratory investigation into the experiences of these youth and the Light House drug abuse treatment program. Additionally, I delved into their interactions and relationships with family, friends, and community. First, I conducted extensive personal interviews with each subject utilizing a life history approach. The life history information consisted of eight open-ended questions that related to their extrication efforts. Additionally, I participated in group sessions and interviews with counselors and their families.

Throughout a 12-month period the researcher conducted follow-up interviews with each youth, some occurring during treatment and some after treatment. The researcher spent no less than 1 time per week at the inpatient facility and no more than 3 times per week. Creating a qualitative element to the study, I spent hours socializing with the participants, and observing them at the treatment center. I also conducted interviews with various counselors, administrators, and family members to determine their views of the treatment, and, secondarily to assess the trustworthiness of the participants' accounts (Bogdan & Biklen 1982).

Many study subjects were in their last 30 days of a nine month, residential, inpatient treatment program. My initial contact with study subjects began three months before they exited the residential treatment program. Utilizing opened-ended questions, I focused on the youth's background, drug use career, family and peer relationships, and criminal behaviors. After having the interview tapes transcribed, coded, and analyzed, I explored the accounts for synthesizing concepts and patterns. These patterns emerged after listening again to the tapes, continuing to observe and interact with the participants, and sifting and sorting to make a match between categories (Fetterman 1998). I examined each of the participant's cases for completion of treatment program and familial involvement.

Several themes emerged from the life case summaries. Following the initial sorting, coding and memoing the researcher identified many themes. Determining the core themes the researcher decided to

give priority to topics on which a substantial amount of data has been collected and which a recurrent or underlying pattern of activities in the setting under study. (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 1995)

One theme is the making of amends in treatment and upon their return to their families and communities. This occurred for youth in their group sessions, especially as they became involved with AA 12 steps. Additionally, this correspondingly paralleled some family involvement and support activities. From interviews, participant observations, and access to group/family session notes, we sought to explore the importance of two key AA steps: the seeking of amends by those harmed by the addiction and criminal behavior of these youths; and the perception of these two steps in their treatment and subsequent sobriety.

In obtaining these interviews and observing the study subjects in group sessions, I decided to further explore the relationship between the Twelve Steps program and the youths' sobriety. After spending many hours with the residents, therapists, and administration of the facility, this essay focused on one treatment cohort. The treatment cohort consisted of seven teenage participants: two Euro-American males; one African-American male; one Jordanian-American male; two Euro-American females; and one American-Indian female.

The treatment facility also incorporated the 12-Step traditions and philosophy into their facilities treatment efforts. The Light House treatment services included individual, family, and group therapy sessions which addressed the behavioral, emotional and mental health needs of the residents. And following the 12-Step's traditions, each resident received drug related treatment, which included AA group meetings and the assignment of a sponsor. The individually assigned sponsor was to serve as a support system and provide guidance and encouragement to those new to sobriety. The Light House treatment program was centered on AA and the 12-Step traditions. Even though there has

been much debate in regards to the effectiveness of the 12-Steps (DeSena 2003; Trimpey 1996; Peele & Bufe 2000) and particularly in relations to youth (Schwebel & Zaslaw 2002) the facility views AA's 12-Steps, and family involvement as being prominent in the youth's substance abuse recovery. In general, this treatment facility has had mixed treatment results. The program posited that participants who completed the treatment program, followed AA's 12-Steps and sought their family's involvement improved their chance of sobriety and recovery.

The following study subjects' accounts will serve to reflect those youth who were able to complete the facility's program, in contrast to those who were not able to complete the program and relapsed. These accounts will serve to highlight the need for attention to the mechanism for how youth "work the AA's 12-Steps" and how family involvement influences youth treatment completion. The data presented in these accounts also will serve to profile youth who relapsed in contrast to youth who completed their drug abuse treatment program. The following study subjects accounts may indicate possible benefits of the Twelve Steps and issues of family involvement. The significance of these issues in the youths' treatment and pursuit of sobriety are reflected in the following individual accounts and life summaries.

In this section I will describe the issues that emerge from completion of drug treatment, the role of AA 12 Steps and the family involvement requirements of the drug abuse treatment facility. These accounts reflect the questions about the AA 12 Steps requirements and family involvement that I observed, collected from interviews and received from group notes. These are condensed summaries of the larger accounts. As an exploratory study this allows me to focus on key issues that emerged from my observations, life histories and reviews of group notes and administration reports. I will now turn to those Ss who relapsed and were unable to complete treatment and maintain sobriety. Next, I will turn to those who completed treatment and through the study's data gathering process maintained their sobriety.

THREE WHO RELAPSE

All study subjects completed the Light House inpatient drug treatment six month

regiment. Those who relapsed were not able to complete the next phase or solicit their families' involvement and support. The following information describes the situation of the three study subjects who relapsed.

Melinda

Melinda was 14 years old when we first met her. Her mother and father were never married. Her mother, a full blood Navajo, never knew her own parents and grew up in the foster care system. Eventually, she was adopted by a white family during her early teen years. Her father was an alcoholic who was of mixed racial ancestry: Cherokee, German, Filipino, and Guatemalan. Melinda never knew or met her biological father. When Melinda was 10, her mother married a man who became Melinda's adoptive father. Her mother and adoptive father would eventually have another child. Melinda's mother and father eventually divorced, and she and her brother remained with their mother after the divorce. Her adoptive father is a recovering alcoholic. Since the divorce her mother has battled depression. It was not uncommon for her mother to close herself off in her room for 2 to 3 days at a time. When this occurred Melinda would contact her maternal grandmother to come over and meet the needs of her and her younger brother.

Melinda's mother was upset with her being placed in drug treatment. She expressed to Melinda her disappointment, feelings of betrayal and sadness related to her drug addiction and subsequent long-term drug treatment. Melinda's mother visited her only once during her stay, spoke to her by phone only once a week, and wrote only twice during her six month stay at the treatment facility. Her adoptive father was a regular at the facility. He attended weekly family counseling sessions, participated with group counseling sessions, as well as AA meetings provided at the facility.

I remember waiting for my parents to come and see me while I was in treatment. I wanted to catch up on what was happening in the neighborhood and with the rest of the family, especially my little brother. My step father had no problem coming but my mother pretty much refused to come...She always made excuses of why she couldn't come... She came once and stayed less than an hour. She wouldn't come to family counsel-

ing sessions.

This was normal behavior for her mother because she did not want her daughter to go to drug treatment. Her father was very supportive perhaps because of his involvement with the 12 Steps program and his numerous years of sobriety and successful recovery experience. Melinda had grown estranged from her stepfather even though this was the only father she knew. She blamed him for the family demise, the depression of her mother, and to a lesser extent for her role in her drug use.

I started to use when my father left...I had no one to talk to, I felt alone...He knew that my mother's depression prevented her from being there for me and my brother.

Family therapy sessions were the designated time for treatment participants and their parents and other family members to discuss how their drug addiction affected the family and them personally. Melinda commented that her stepfather was too quick to forgive, and she did not feel that it was legitimate.

When I was telling him how sorry I was and the things I had done behind his back, he kept nodding his head back and forth and smiling. As soon as I was finished, he said he understood and said he forgave me.

Melinda asserted that he should have shown more emotion and asked questions about why she began to use and abuse drugs.

It was as if I had told him I broke a coffee mug...I was telling him I stole money from him and mom, broke into the neighbor's house and stole jewelry, and stole from stores in the mall...All while I was telling him this, he kept that stupid smile on his face...He never asked why I was doing it.

Melinda was hurt about the lack of her mother's presence during her treatment.

I wish she would have come so I could have told her I was sorry for hurting her...My father would say that she was disappointed in me and couldn't believe that I embarrassed her and the family by being a

drug addict. That really hurt me. I wanted her to come here so she could see I was really trying to make changes. By her not coming, I was never able to apologize to her. I tried to in a letter once, but it just didn't sound right, plus I wanted to tell her to her face. If she just would have come, I could have told her [sorry].

Further, Melinda was also unsuccessful in getting others she had harmed to come to the facility. She commented that she had made her list of persons to make amends to, but her father felt that it was not necessary to involve all of them. He also felt that it would be more appropriate to do so by letter or phone.

I really wanted to meet face-to-face with the people I hurt. My father stopped that. Everyone else here [at the facility] asked their family and neighbors to come. I asked why, and they said they wanted them to see how much they changed and that they also thought it would be easier to do it with other people there...I told my father and he still wouldn't approve it. After he said no, I didn't want to send out letters...I wanted to see my family and friends even if it meant me apologizing.

Melinda commented that facility residents shared that they were relieved once they attempted to make amends to those harmed.

They all said that it was cool to see people you stole from and lied to smile and say things were okay and they weren't mad at you anymore. The only person that said that to me was my father, and I don't think he meant it...He was just glad I was in treatment.

Melinda ran away from the facility during her sixth month of treatment. She walked away one night with nothing but the clothes on her back. After six months of not hearing from her, her family as well as the treatment center expected the worse. According to the Light House facility case workers, her parents notified several state and federal authorities that she was missing, but to date no one has heard from her. Authorities believe she may be dead.

Ali

When we first met Ali, he was a 17 year old male. Ali and his family moved to the United States from Jordan when he was 4 years old. Ali's parents became financially successful in America owning bakeries, restaurants, and a dry cleaners. This success allowed Ali to live in the comforts of the suburbs and in some ways distance himself from the stigma of being from the Middle East. Ali encountered drugs in the 9th grade; and to his own admission, he enjoyed the escape the drugs provided. Illicit drug use and partying were his way of being like the other American youth. Race issues and discrimination would eventually confront Ali and he did not know how to respond. He would turn to drugs to comfort him. Peers who once called him derogatory names introduce him to drugs. He admitted to using the following drugs: acid, cocaine, crank, crystal methane, and crack cocaine.

Ali's parents were in denial and disbelief when they discovered his drug problem. His stealing from family members was frequent due to his addiction to crack cocaine. After he robbed his parents and an uncle, they filed charges in an attempt to recoup their losses from their insurance. The charges led to Ali's being tried and sentenced. He was placed in state custody and sentenced to drug treatment. His criminal behavior against his family led him into drug treatment.

My mother, father, brother, and sister started out coming here [the rehab facility] for the family counseling. After two sessions, my father, brother, and sister made excuses as to why they couldn't come anymore. I would call them the day before to make sure they were coming, and they would tell me 'yeah,' but they wouldn't show. My mother said my father was ashamed of me. No one in the family had ever had a child with a drug problem or who stole from their parents or aunts and uncles.

Ali's father remained attached to the customs and ways of the Jordanian people. Drug addiction and stealing were foreign to him. He thought that shaming and rejecting Ali would change his son's behavior. He was also embarrassed that he was the first one in the family that had a child imitate negative American behavior.

My father said one time that I was acting like Americans...Stealing, lying, and drugs are common with American kids. You are the first one that I know of from our country that has become so American. You want to be an American so bad that you pick all the bad things that Americans do.

Ali's mother was his rock. She visited weekly regardless of the opinion of her husband and children. She oftentimes attended family counseling sessions alone and promised to work on the other family members to attend the upcoming week. She believed that Ali was trying to change and wanted to support his efforts.

My mother said she believed that I wanted to change and she didn't believe I would steal from them again. I just wish my father, brother, and sister felt the same way... When I visited on a weekend pass, I heard my father, brother, and sister reminding each other that I was home and to hide their money and jewelry...I approached them, telling them that I heard them, and they just said it was the truth...They didn't believe I was trying to change.

This experience hurt Ali, and he stated when he returned to the facility that he probably would not go on any more weekend passes for a while. Ali feels that his attempts to make amends to his family were not going well. In a family counseling session he shared that his family continue to see him as a drug addict and a criminal and that no amount of evidence or proof would change their minds about him.

During one of the family counseling sessions, I tried to explain that the person that stole from them while addicted to drugs don't exist anymore...I told them that I am over my drug problem, and I am the son and brother they knew before drugs. But I could tell things would never be the same. They said they didn't know me anymore...They have difficulty believing me, trusting me, and wanting to be around me. This hurt me. I became upset and started crying and started yelling at them about being stupid and closed minded...After that session, all four never showed up together again. They wouldn't accept me again no matter what I did.

Ali's mother continued to try and get the family to return. She understood that counseling sessions were to help Ali as well as the family as a whole. She convinced his aunt and uncle from whom he had stole from to come to a family session. Ali had written them numerous times and sought their forgiveness for breaking into their home and stealing from them.

I couldn't believe mom got them to come. They just showed up, she didn't tell me they were coming. That was the most difficult thing I ever had to do. They were trying to understand my drug problem and how it related to me breaking in their house, but I don't think they ever got it. They both kept asking me why did I do it? What did they do to deserve such treatment? They said that they don't know if they will ever have me over to their house again...Before they left, I kept telling them I was sorry and that I would make it up to them when I got out. I planned to work for my father in the bakery and repay them all...No one believed me.

Ali's relationship with his family deteriorated more during his stay but he completed the treatment program. His mother remained a strong supporter and believed in him but his father and siblings slowly separated from him.

When I started back taking the weekend passes and went home, my father, brother, and sister had little to do with me. They avoided me when possible...Even while at home, I tried to approach them about my past behavior, but they just ignored me or played like they were too busy to talk to me ...I knew then they would never forget what I had done to them and the family and that no amount of apologizing or explaining would change anything.

Ali was committed to AA and the 12 steps when he left treatment. However, again, the lure of women and the promises of fast money attracted Ali back into drugs and drug sales. Ali was caught and sentenced to prison. His family, even his mother, refused to visit him during his subsequent incarceration.

Anthony

Anthony is an 18 year-old African-American male. His mother and father, who were

never married, had four other children besides Anthony. Anthony's parents relationship was unstable at most. The father oftentimes left their home for weeks and months on end. Anthony speculated that he had other women and maybe even another family. Both Anthony's father and mother seldom worked, but together they managed to get by and provide a decent home and lifestyle for the family. It was when his mother and father decided to permanently end their relationship that Anthony and his family began to experience economic and family hardship. His mother lost their home and moved into low-income housing. Not only did his mother acquire a drug habit during this time but so did two older siblings. Anthony learned quickly about drugs and drug dealing from his family and the community. At 17, Anthony's drug-and-alcohol-related felony convictions led him into treatment.

Anthony was placed in the custody of the state due to his criminal behavior. Like his mother, Anthony was in denial about his addiction. They both felt that his behavior, both criminal and drug induced was similar to that demonstrated by the youth in their community. Anthony dropped out of high school and never was employed. He eventually recognized his drug dependence and need to make changes. His mother would sporadically attend family counseling sessions. Occasionally, she visited him, especially when she was pressured by Anthony to come. His grandmother came once, and his two siblings visited him three times.

I always tried to get my mother and my brothers and sisters to come see me. They kinda always blew me off. They always laughed about me being in drug treatment and would say stuff like 'if I hadn't got caught stealing I would still be getting high'. I never knew how much of a drug problem I had until I came in here and couldn't get any...I smoked weed everyday, used crack on weekends, and drank almost everyday too...This is what all my friends done everyday.

Anthony shared that when he made comments to his mother about his drug use and hers' she oftentimes became upset. He was aware that his mother drank more than she should and got high on occasion. When he would share information from the treatment center with her, she would react negatively.

I remember once she said, 'Boy you the one in treatment. Don't try and tell us how to live ...You wouldn't be saying nothing if you hadn't got caught. In fact, you would be high right now.' The sad thing is she was telling the truth.

Anthony oftentimes admitted to counselors that he was afraid of going home and seeing his friends and family. They were not supportive of his decision to become sober. They thought he was going through the motions until he got out, and then he would resume his old behavior following treatment.

I remember my mother and brother saying at one of my weekend passes, 'We don't want to hear about that drug treatment stuff ...Did they brainwash you or something? You at home with family now, nobody is judging you...If you want to drink a little or get high that's on you. We ain't going to stop you.'

This carefree approach to his treatment was even more evident at his graduation party from the drug treatment program when his family served food, alcohol and illicit drugs to welcome him home.

Anthony's mother and siblings always made excuses for not visiting him while in treatment. His two older brothers stated that they would feel like hypocrites for participating in his treatment because they were using, selling, or both. His younger two siblings stated that they left the facility feeling depressed for him and they did not like talking about their feelings. Anthony was able to experience the encounter and amends stages with family members he felt he had harmed. He thought they went too easy on him.

I don't think my family took my apology serious...They were laughing and wouldn't look at me when I was trying to explain to them the reason why I needed to talk to them in person...The only one who got it was grandma. She asked questions and told me she believed me when I said I was sorry and that I wouldn't steal from her again. My mother, brothers, and sisters kept saying stuff like you're putting on an act to get out of here. They didn't think I was serious or for real.

Anthony asserted that his apologies and attempts to seek forgiveness went in vain. His mother, who had been struggling with addiction for a number of years, was no stranger to the 12 Steps program. More than the others in the family, she was aware of what Anthony was doing. Part of her agreement to keep coming for visits was for him to stop the amends process of his treatment. She informed Anthony that his apologies and attempts to seek forgiveness were getting tiresome and it was making the family uncomfortable. She also requested that he stop trying to convert them and to leave all that he had learned while in treatment at the doorstep of the facility while on weekend passes. She also refused to contact others on his amends list. She stated that this was his treatment and it was not necessary to inconvenience others.

Anthony graduated from the center, and the counselors had high hopes for his recovery. Going back home and into a neighborhood that condones underage drinking and drug use, Anthony was able to maintain his sobriety for only one month. Anthony was arrested for drug trafficking and numerous other charges six months after leaving drug abuse treatment. For these offenses, he was sentenced to 15 years in state prison.

The study subjects' accounts of those who relapsed were most similar in their discussions of their inability to get their families to participate and invest in their treatment and recovery process. They felt their families did not fully support them in their efforts to achieve sobriety. Further they related their parents unwillingness to come to the treatment facility and involve themselves in their treatment. The encounter and amends stages of the treatment were not fully developed or explored due to the lack of attendance and participation of their families. We now will turn to four study subjects who completed treatment and maintained their sobriety.

FOUR WHO REMAINED SOBER

Like the three participants who relapsed, the four who completed all phases of the treatment program and whose families' involvement complied with the program requisite of families involvement indicated that they, too, encountered similar obstacles to those who relapsed. Unlike those who re-

lapsed, these study subjects recounted that their families involvement were positive and sustaining.

Here we see that in these study subjects the AA's 12 Steps, particularly Steps 8, and 9 were keys to their completing the Light House treatment program. Treatment program participants developed plans to address those that they had harmed, and seeking encounters to make amends to them. Subsequently, as their families engaged with their treatment process, these youth were afforded opportunities to make amends. For these youths, the amends process was acknowledged and the family reciprocated by providing support for their completing treatment and in some instances in their return to home and friends. Their individual accounts reveal that the acceptance, forgiveness and support of the people they harmed by their addiction and criminal behavior made the recovery process less difficult.

Jessica

Jessica was a 15 year-old female when we first met her. A Euro-American, she was one of two children born to her mother and father. Her father, who worked in the oil fields, died of a heart attack when she was 11. Her father was also an alcoholic and served time in prison. Her mother worked in the banking industry and would later remarry a man who had three children of his own. According to Jessica, this blended family experience led her to alcohol and drug use. She credits her father's death and her unhappiness with her mother's new marriage as the catalyst for her experimentation with alcohol and eventual use of crank, acid, ecstasy, PCP, and crack cocaine.

Her mother would eventually divorce her second husband. This did not change Jessica's destructive behavior. Jessica had overdosed twice on drugs and suffered blackouts during her drinking binges. She was gang raped by eight adult men who were later arrested for having sex with a minor. This treatment center was her third attempt at sobriety. Her mother and family members agreed that they would fully participate in her treatment this time. They would avail themselves of whatever requirements that would benefit Jessica in her treatment.

My mother came to see me without fail. I could set my watch by her. The staff said

that she deserves a medal for her efforts in my treatment...She'd driven over 50 miles one way weekly to come to the family and group therapy sessions...She said that her love for me grew more while I was in treatment...We really got a chance to talk and get to really know each other during the counseling sessions...It surprised me when she said she wanted me to quit using, but if this treatment didn't work, she would find me another...She wasn't mad like she usually was when she talked about me relapsing. I think she finally understood that I was really trying, and I wanted to stop using.

Jessica's mother was able to convince her younger brother and other family members to come to the encounter and amends meetings. Over the course of her treatment her mother was able to get two adult neighbors and three of her high school friends to come to a meeting.

After I apologized to my mother the others were easy. My neighbors said they knew that I was the one who broke into their homes and they accepted my apology...They said the reason why they came so far to see me is that they wanted me to know they forgave me and there wasn't any hard feelings...My friends were just as cool. We kind of laughed a lot during my apology. They all said they knew I was stealing from them, and they knew of my drug and alcohol problems so they chalked it up to that. They said that the person they knew wouldn't have been stealing and trading sex for drugs if they were not hooked. Like my neighbors they said we were still cool and they couldn't wait until I came home. I was so relieved from all of their responses. Even the people I wrote and apologized to, some of them wrote back and said everything was cool.

Jessica graduated from the treatment facility and was able to get back into school and continue with her education. Her story was so compelling that the school district allowed her to conduct "speak outs" regarding the dangers of drug use. She quickly became recognized by the school district and the community for her willingness to speak to children and youth about the effects of drugs. Jessica speaks fondly of her return back home once discharged from treatment.

My mother and family arranged a party for me, inviting all my old friends. She made it like a picnic so people could come and go...I was able to talk to some of the people that I had written to and told them in person that I was sorry...Their just being there meant a lot...My friends, family and the whole town accepted me back.

John

John a Euro-American male was 18 at the time we met him. He experienced numerous tragedies and deaths in his short life. His mother died when he was six. He then went to live with a grandmother who died shortly after he was placed with her. He later stayed with a grandfather who was too old and unhealthy to care for him properly. Given his grandfather's health status, he was only able to keep John for a short while. John eventually met his grandmother's next door neighbor who would become his legal guardian.

Throughout his teen years John had run-ins with the criminal justice system. He was an admitted gang member and was entrenched in the life that went with it. He was arrested for destruction of public property, car theft, assault and battery, theft, and petty larceny. His convictions led him to drug treatment. When I encountered John, he was undergoing his third attempt at sobriety through drug treatment. Like his other attempts, this one was court ordered. John's legal guardian supported him through his troubles with gangs, drugs, and the criminal justice system. John admits that his guardian's commitment to him probably saved his life as well as led to his recovery.

I remember him coming to visit me while I was in treatment...He would always ask, how I was doing, and if the center was meeting my needs...I asked him 'What if I said no?' He looked at me and said that we would start over and find you a new treatment center...He was like that, always more concerned about me than I was about myself. He came to the treatment center two times a week directly from work, hungry, tired and most times not feeling good. He always supported and encouraged me. I'll never forget that.

John sought former gang members, past neighbors and extended family members

that he had harmed when he made his list of persons to make amends. He was not successful in contacting a great number of the gang members but to those he was able to locate he wrote long letters expressing his life change. In these letters and subsequent discussions he expressed his new found religious convictions, and the regret he felt about his past behavior. He located a few gang member friends of his through the state corrections department. He wrote to them and asked for forgiveness for leading them into criminal behavior. He admitted that oftentimes he was the instigator of most of the gang's criminal behavior and episodes. He received two letters back from former gang members. Besides catching up with old times, they wrote back that there were no hard feelings and that they had been in contact with some of the others gang members whom they told about his letters. Furthermore, they sent word back that they were not upset with him and all was forgiven.

John's legal guardian delivered a message from two neighbors from whom he had stolen and who indicated that they wished him well in treatment and that they were no longer upset with him. According to John, he was hesitant at first in regards to the acceptance by those he had harmed by either his addiction issues or his criminal behavior. His legal guardian had notified friends, family and community members by formal announcement of his graduation, his return home, and his future plans. John stated laughingly that some of the people who received notices sent gifts as if he was graduating from high school or college. He was very pleased by the reception of his church, and Christian community regarding to his recovery progress.

On weekend passes, I would attend church and the minister would call me up for special prayer...After church, so many people would come up and say they were praying for me and that God had already forgiven me. All these people who knew of my past, were supporting me and saying they believed in me. I knew I couldn't go back to drugs and disappoint so many people.

However, John had a few set backs after returning home, but he refrained from using drugs. His faith was tested when he discovered his fiancée had become pregnant by

another man. During that time, the same people that supported him during his treatment were there for that traumatic experience as well. John dropped out of college and worked odd jobs to earn a living. Today, his legal guardian continues to support his efforts in all walks of his life and especially in his recovery.

Mick

At the time of the interview Mick was an 18 year-old Euro-American male. He was the younger of two boys born to working class parents. Mick's mother and father were not strangers to substance use and abuse. His father was a heavy drinker with a bad temper. It was not uncommon for him to unleash his anger on Mick and his brother as well as on their mother. Mick started using drugs when he was 12, usually getting the drugs from his father's "stash." Mick eventually joined a gang and began a life of crime. Mick was arrested for robbery, breaking and entering, drug sales, and drug possession. He dropped out of school during his 10th grade year. Due to failure to comply with treatment rules, he was suspended from the juvenile facility and transferred to the adult inpatient program. There he learned to take his treatment and recovery seriously. Mick admits that he was not taking his treatment seriously when he was at the juvenile treatment facility.

Those young kids were making me crazy... The reasons they were using drugs were stupid to me...No one likes me, I was trying to fit in, I wanted to be popular. They were making me mad every time they opened their stupid mouths. I couldn't take the treatment seriously because I couldn't take the residents seriously.

Mick admitted he was afraid to go to the adult treatment center as young as he was. The adult facility administrator shared that he would be the youngest by far at the facility and questioned his decision to transfer and succeed. Unbeknownst to the administrator was the fact that, if Mick had been expelled from the treatment center, he would have to go back to court and face criminal charges. He had escaped adult sentencing from his charges by agreeing to drug treatment.

Mick expounded on how the encounter and amends process aided his sobriety and re-

covery.

The best thing that could have happened to me was going to treatment with the grown-ups. They were serious about the steps and doing all of them right. I was able to see how to really make amends to people you did stuff to...These people were crying for forgiveness from their wives and husbands, their kids, and other family...I used to think you would only make amends to people you really did bad...Man they had such long list. They were apologizing to everybody.

Mick admitted that after observing the degree to which the adults went to make amends, he decided to do the same.

I had a long conversation with my father talking about how we used to fight and how I disrespected him...We would go at it, and I always got the upper hand because he was always drunk. I would attack him with all my might. Sometimes he would bleed, get black eyes, and bruises...I apologized to him for not treating him like my father... Because he had been in recovery before and in 12 steps, he knew what I was doing...He also apologized for the hurt he caused me and the family. After that, I called up so many people. It felt good to tell the truth after all this time...Some accepted the apology and others told me to go to hell. I figure they will get over it eventually.

Mick had the support of all those he considered important to his life. His probation officer had taken a strong interest in his life and sobriety and arranged for him to enroll in a junior college. Mick shared that he had to also make things right with his probation officer as well. He admitted to criminal behavior that he was not sentenced for and that he was suspended from the treatment center due to a failed drug test.

That was hard to do because he had such hope for me...I didn't want him to find out after the fact. I think I owed him that for all he was doing for me...He said he was proud of me for telling him the truth and he accepted my apology.

Mick realized that most of the people he harmed were willing to accept his request

for forgiveness, but they also expected sincere changes from him.

One time at a family dinner when I was on a weekend pass, they all said that they were going to forget and forgive one time; and if I started using and stealing again, they were going to kill me...I know they won't kill me but I knew they were trying to say they didn't want to go through this again...I really hurt them.

Mick and his family were able to build a stable and supportive relationship with one another. They were all participating in a 12 step program and frequently attended AA/NA (Narcotics Anonymous) meetings. Mick has been able to remain sober and refrain from further criminal behavior. He maintains a job and continues to strive for a college education. He was released from court appointed supervision and moved in with his grandmother.

Lisa

When we first met Lisa, a Euro-American female, she was 16 years-old. She was the oldest of three girls. Her mother and father abused drugs: heroin was their drug of choice. Her father, also an alcoholic, was very abusive, oftentimes beating the mother in front of Lisa and her younger sisters. They would sometimes have to move into a battered women's shelter due to the severity of the beatings and death threats inflicted by her father. The beatings and drug use alerted child protective services. Lisa and her sisters were placed in the custody of the state and assigned to foster care. Her mother and father eventually separated, largely due to both being sentenced to prison for selling drugs. Lisa started using drugs at the age of 11. Her first high came from sniffing gasoline. She moved on to harder drugs, eventually ending in drug treatment after a near heroin overdose. Lisa recounted that she had a tragic upbringing. She was an active gang member, had been raped, and had endured three abortions. She recounted that her drug use and abuse as being closely associated with these life-marking events.

My mother and sisters would come see me on a regular basis, especially my mother. She was trying to get an understanding of why all of us were drug addicts. My two

sisters use drugs like I do and have been in outpatient drug centers. Our whole family is drug addicts. It was not until one of the family sessions that I really realized it...One day here, I was able to talk with my father about how his beating mom and us and his drug using hurt our family...But I couldn't all the way blame him because I was sort of responsible too. That was my best family session. I was able to tell him and mom I was sorry and they apologized to me too. I was so scared to tell him to his face how mad I was at him for destroying our family and probably me and my sisters...We can't go back in time, but I think him and mom ruined our family.

Also, Lisa was able to get other family members to come to the facility to visit. She admitted to thinking that all the adults in her family blamed her mother and father for her own addiction.

During the family sessions, my grandparents, aunts, and uncles would say stuff like they didn't blame us for using drugs and that our mom and dad probably drove us to use...Even when I was apologizing to them for what I had done to myself due to drugs and to them while using they just overlooked it and continued to say that they weren't mad at me and it was my parents fault.

Lisa felt that her family sincerely accepted her apology as well as forgave her. On her weekend passes, they would make certain to visit her, make sure she did not need anything, and made themselves available to her.

My family was never really close, but after those meetings at the treatment center, we had actually become closer...We never said we loved each, kissed each other when we were leaving, hugged or none of that...I think it was because for the first time, all the family got to get stuff off their chest and it made us like each other more.

Lisa was also successful in getting a few friends and their parents to come to one meeting. At the meeting she shared that she cared about their friendship and discussed her inappropriate behavior towards them.

Most of my friends' parents thought they were bringing them to help me with my treat-

ment, and they were surprised when I told them about the things I did to them...One of the parents was shocked when I told her I was the one who had stolen her diamond ring...My friends didn't know how much I had lied to them and stole from them; their mouths dropped when I started telling them what I had done...Before they left, I asked, 'Are we still friends?' and they said yes and the parents said I would be welcome back in their homes.

Lisa went back to public school once she was discharged from the treatment center. Concerned about her returning cravings for drugs she moved into a half-way house. Eventually, she quit school and decided to work. She remains sober and attends AA/NA meetings weekly.

John, Mick, Jessica, and Lisa were able to have face-to-face encounters and to make amends to persons that they viewed as important in their lives. Parents, grandparents, siblings, and other extended family members of those who remain sober were willing to come to the facility at least once to address how the youths' drug and/or alcohol addiction and criminal behavior had affected them. All four recount to being surprised how those meetings impacted their lives and their decisions to become sober. Each discussed the hurt and pain they had caused, the feelings of guilt and shame arising from their group sessions re-counts, and later the feelings of selfishness for their past actions and behaviors. All four also reached out beyond family and sought forgiveness from friends, peers, and neighbors. The persuasion of parents and legal guardians convinced some neighbors to come to the facility and sit through an encounter and amends session. In these sessions they could see for themselves the changes in the lives of these study subjects. These efforts made the transition from the treatment center back to the community or neighborhood less stressful for these substance abusing youth.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although "successful graduates" of the drug treatment program have sought the forgiveness of the people that they harmed, after they formally apologized for their wrongdoings, they also expected to return as full members of their respective families, com-

munities, and society. Participant interviews reveal that the completion of the encounter and amends stages were the catalyst for their sobriety. For most, this was the first time they had to confront their parents, siblings, extended family members and the community at large for their past behavior. During these steps, all they had harmed were invited to come to the rehabilitation facility and address the results (injustices) or their experiences while the youth was under the influence of drugs and alcohol.

Restorative justice principles guided the healing of the research participant's and the people they harmed. Public acknowledgment that the families and friends of the research participant's were harmed and affected by their criminal and drug abusing behavior were the first step in rebuilding and restoring these youths. Communicating their injustices and apologizing and seeking forgiveness were acts that seemed to cleanse the research participants. The agreement by all harmed to meet and address their pain and suffering related to the research participant's criminal and drug abusing behavior seemed to re-connect them with parents, family, and peers.

All research participants had to come face-to-face with their parents, siblings and other extended family members, and close friends who they had harmed. These face-to-face encounters were conducted in family group settings under the direction of the House of Light treatment staff. The research participants had to meet with those they had harmed and ask forgiveness. The victim or person harmed was able to express clearly how they were harmed and the impact of the injustice affected their lives. During the family group session an amends was agreed upon and they discussed how to move forward as a family or how to restore damaged relationships with peers and neighbors. The majority of the research participants offered to make reparations or pay restitution for material losses that they were responsible for which was the result of their theft or damage and destruction. The parents, family members, and friends of the research participants asserted that they were satisfied with their apology and that they forgave them, and more importantly, wanted to restore their relationships. The forgiveness seemed to be easier to give the research participants due to their current sobriety and promises to

continue with AA, the 12-Steps, and aftercare treatment services.

It became evident that for all these youth the working of AA 12 Steps, relationships with their families and some efforts to making amends were posited as being keys to maintaining one's sobriety. The subsequent sobriety for those who were able to remain sober was attributed to their being more successful in managing their new identities and status vis-à-vis their parents, siblings, and friends. Success was also more likely when amends were made and those amends were accepted. The three that failed to maintain their sobriety recounted that they were not able to secure their families' involvement and support regarding their treatment. This may suggest to those in the study that failed that family support is one of several important factors determining successful recovery. During the admission process, all families were made to understand by the facility treatment team the importance of their role and their participation in the treatment of their children. Melinda, Ali, and Anthony were aware of the philosophy of the facility on "working the 12 steps" and the view of how critical the amends process was to their success. After making their list of those to make amends to, they were unable to convince the people on their lists to fully participate or take the process seriously.

These three were told, influenced, or persuaded by parents or other family members not to pursue all those they had harmed, hurt or treated unjust. Their families cited embarrassment, family shame, and the old adage 'let sleeping dogs lie' when the subject of approaching family and neighbors arose to address their past behavior. Even when the families were made aware of the possible benefit to their child's amends efforts, the family members remained steadfast in objecting to the face-to-face meetings or the passing on letters outlining their past injustice to other family members, neighbors, or friends. These three were not able or willing to complete all phases of the Light House treatment regimen.

Those who were able to remain "clean and sober" were able to get support from family, friends and the community. According to John, Mick, Jessica, and Lisa, they were able to pick up their lives with little or no problem after leaving treatment; this was evidenced by their return home. Each recounted

that they believe the reason for such support once arriving home was due to the work their parents or legal guardian performed while they were in treatment. Their parents were active in their treatment. Also, they took the suggestions and recommendations of the facility seriously. When the facility hinted that a supportive home and community were indicators of successful recovery, they made certain that once their children were discharged from treatment, they would help in meeting obstacles and challenges that may cause setbacks or relapse. Those parents made certain the school, neighbors, and others deemed necessary to know were aware of the study subjects return.

Those who relapsed did not build a strong relationship with the sponsor they were assigned while in treatment. The sponsors made themselves available day or night to the residents and offered support and guidance during recovery. The three that relapsed were initially apprehensive about the sponsors or mentors and had difficulty developing a relationship. Ali, Melinda, and Anthony had difficulty communicating with their sponsors and the center staff attributed it to cultural differences because the sponsors were white. Jessica, Lisa, Mick, and John credited their sponsors from the center as being influential in their decision not to use. They mentioned their sponsors when discussing people they would hurt or cause pain if they relapsed.

Strong support and faith in the recovery from those closest to these adolescents were recounted as significant factors in determining a successful treatment and maintenance of their sobriety. The successful study subjects hold that this can only occur if parents, family, peers, and the community of adolescent substance abusers accept the apology for the past harm and pain caused by the addict; forgive the abuser; and recognize the need for the study subjects' attempts to make things right or make reparation. From the parent to significant community members, the accounts also underscore the importance of the communities' reaction to the study subjects' amends, redress, and actions. In all these accounts, the youth's passage through the criminal justice and drug treatment system was held as a way to seek out communal and societal approbations to making amends and changes for their previous involvement with drugs and crime.

In the case of the seven study subjects, the community at large was involved with the injustices of the participants by way of the court system, law enforcement, and drug treatment. The parents and families of those harmed by the drug addiction and criminal behavior were satisfied that the "community system" was involved as a remedy and as an agency of social control. Restorative justice principles and the 12 Steps program complement each other in that they see the need for societal involvement in achieving sobriety and recovery. The amends and encounter process of both the AA and restorative justice programs were key to getting community and societal involvement in helping reintegrate these youths. The result of making amends is the receipt of forgiveness from those harmed by their careers in drug use and abuse.

Although these observations were drawn from a small number of study subjects, these accounts allow for development of synthesizing concepts and patterns that need to be pursued in future studies. Do these concepts apply to youth whose drug involvement are short term or of longer duration? Do these concepts apply to specialized drug using types and patterns (inhalant users, crack users, meth users)? Do these patterns arise in youth in state run youth detention institutions? While the essay's findings are tentative and limited by sample size, the study subjects accounts provide rich and important data that future studies need to consider and explore.

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EMERGING LATINO POPULATIONS: SOCIAL, HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS IN OKLAHOMA CITY

**Cindy L. Keig, Behavioral Assessment, Inc.,
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ABSTRACT

As the Oklahoma City Latino community's population increases, Many in this community will feel socially, marginally, and politically invisible. Presented here are some of the challenges Oklahoma City's Latino population face, including language and cultural barriers, limited English as a Second Language (ESL) education, and lack of health services. Racist attitudes have increased throughout the region. Finding general population statistics easily and readily accessible for Latinos remains difficult. A number of academic, behavioral, and health problems are emerging along with this growing population. Many of these problems are similar to those confronted by other urban Latino groups. These similarities have lead researchers to call for data necessary to address risk factors threatening the Latino community, family, and its' youth. Many researchers argue that when these data are coupled with innovative CBO programming, they will lessen the widening gap between Latinos being at high risk to better health and social functioning. These data and programs may also serve to make Latino families more resilient. Enhancing the Latino community, its family and youth resiliency, and by improving their coping skills, will allow them to meet many of their own personal familial and social needs.

Across the United States Latino populations are growing and spreading in traditional and non-traditional areas. This population growth has been not only in traditionally older immigrant communities and port of entry communities and neighborhoods, but now extends to non-traditional areas. The Latino community is becoming the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the United States. With over 90 percent of recent immigrants coming from non-English-speaking countries, the United States is becoming a more ethnically diverse society than ever before (O'Hare 1992; Martin & Midgley 1994). Among the largest Latino populations in this country are Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cuban Americans. The Latino population is growing faster than any other ethnic group in this country. It has more than doubled in the past twenty years. By the year 2020, it is estimated that Latinos will be the single largest minority group in the United States. Latinos are predominantly young, with more than one in three being under the age of 18 (Latina Girls 2002).

The Census 2000 statistics for the Midwest reflects evidence that the Latino immigrant population in this region has increased dramatically in recent years. This increase in new immigrant communities is mirrored throughout the United States – in regions that have not seen such dramatic demographic shifts in decades (Paral 2000). Results from a recent study commissioned by the Illinois

Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR), shows that the Midwest is beginning to experience "new immigration" beyond traditional areas of settlement. The majority of counties throughout the Midwest states have had an increase in Latino population in the past five years, while the majority of those counties have also lost white population. Much of the new immigration is in response to economic restructuring in the Midwest including growth in the meatpacking industry, an expansion of the service economy, and the development of new manufacturing zones outside of the bigger cities. Census statistics suggest that immigrants are no longer using major cities as "gateways," but now settle directly in small towns and rural areas. One region that has witnessed a rapidly emerging population is in the "sun belt" of America. Oklahoma lays within this region and is exemplary of a state with an emerging Latino population.

According to the 2000 Census, the breakdown of Latinos by origin in Oklahoma is as follows: The total Oklahoma Latino population is estimated at 179,304, with 132,813 from Mexico. There are 8,153 from Puerto Rico; 1,759 from Cuba; 4,348 from Central America (the largest population from Guatemala at 1,839); South American population is at 3,212; 498 from Spain, and 269 from the Dominican Republic. There were 28,252 categorized as "Other Hispanic or Latino". Of the 36 million (U.S. Census 2000) Latinos

living in the United States, 21 million were born in the United States, and most of them are under the age of 35 (McClellan 2002). The Oklahoma Latino community has thrived through the 1950's. In the past three decades, particularly the past decade, Oklahoma City and Tulsa join Little Rock, Nashville, Atlanta, Louisville, Raleigh, and Lexington as areas that have reported the greatest increases in the Latino population. These new areas of settlement may be termed "emerging" communities because they are experiencing similar patterns of growth, labor trends, family characteristics, school demographics, economic, political and civic ties and finally in terms of needing to develop social capital. The prospects and challenges for Latinos in this decade are formidable for both the older and emerging communities, but appear more marked for emerging Latino communities due to their having to develop their own community leadership, organization, and voice. At the same time, emerging Latino communities must deal with larger society demands, dynamics, and trends. The more prominent features of an emerging Latino community are its recency, youthfulness, low social economic status, under-educated status, and the reliance on the family to meet daily needs. As a result of the rapid growth of the Latino community in Oklahoma City, especially this past decade, the community is challenged, stressed, and strained. The Oklahoma City Latino community, as an emerging Latino community, faces serious issues, obstacles, and trends.

This paper provides a brief demographic profile of Latinos in the U.S., Oklahoma, and Oklahoma County. It then provides some historical background about Latinos in Oklahoma, reflecting on early Mexican immigration into the state. It then charts current demographics of the Latino community in Oklahoma City. The essay profiles the youthfulness of this community, and the issues and barriers that need to be addressed to help with their adaptation to life in Oklahoma City, the state, and the American society

This paper turns to the Latino community's efforts to improve their conditions and improve the quality of life for Latinos in this community. The Latino community within Oklahoma City is an under-served community that is continuing to grow. This paper will highlight some programs and services currently available to the Latino community in Oklaho-

ma City and will suggest areas that need to be expanded or enhanced. The concluding discussions will turn to the various services that have been developed to bridge these gaps.

THE STUDY'S DATA AND METHODS

For the purposes of this paper, those referred to as Mexican are descendants of Mexican origin populations. Later we will refer to other Latin American origin populations that also include Mexicans and Mexican Americans as Latinos. While the majority of the Latino population in Oklahoma City (OKC) is of Mexican descent or is Mexican-American, there are other Latin American origin populations.

The study is primarily exploratory and descriptive. The data for this study were largely archival social indicator data from federal and state government documents. The primary author also called and made direct contact with many state agencies and local CBOs. These data will be presented to provide a socio-historic background and also to present a current demographic and qualitative profile of the OKC Latino Community. Today, the Latino population in Oklahoma continues to grow at a steady rate. Along with the Latino population increase in Oklahoma City, one is also seeing a rise in the problems of daily life that they and their families need to address.

EARLY MEXICAN IMMIGRATION INTO OKLAHOMA

For centuries there has been a unique relationship between Mexico and the region that is now known as Oklahoma. As far back as the 1500's, Spanish explorers crossed through present-day Oklahoma in search of fabled treasures. While leaving few traces of their presence in the state, these men provided the basis of Spain's claim to the territory, which became known as the Kingdom of New Spain (Mexico) that included all of present-day Oklahoma (Smith 1981). The harsh conditions of the land served as barriers to further Spanish penetration into the region. However, for hundreds of years, trails and roads through Oklahoma facilitated commercial contact (Smith 1980). The famous Santa Fe Trail and the Chisholm Trail cut across Oklahoma, linking American settlements in Kansas and Missouri to the Northern Mexican province (Smith 1980). Af-

ter the Civil War, millions of Mexican Longhorns were funneled through Oklahoma from Texas to railheads in Kansas and Missouri in great cattle drives. Many of the cowboys and wagoners were Mexicans who introduced the Mexican influence throughout the Southwest (Smith 1981). For example, the Spaniards from Mexico introduced the horse to the Plains Indians, resulting in horse-mounted hunters and later some of the finest light cavalry in history. The American cowboy borrowed practices and equipment from the Mexican culture, including the establishment of ranches, tending cattle on horseback, and branding livestock. The use of the lasso, cowboy hats, and chaps were also introduced (Smith 1980). The Mexican culture played an important role in the everyday life of the Oklahoma cowboy.

Prior to 1900 there were only scattered accounts of Mexicans actually living in Oklahoma, but during the first few decades of the twentieth century, a variety of factors stimulated massive migration of Mexicans across the border and subsequently into Oklahoma. Increasing numbers of Mexicans worked on railroads, in coal mines, and in cotton harvests throughout the state. As the conditions in Mexico worsened, many people faced the chilling alternatives of either flight or starvation. As a result, migration was the only plausible alternative to those facing bleak prospects in Mexico. Most of those migrants were inhabitants of the populous Central Plateau. This included most of the states of Jalisco, Michoacan, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, and Zacatecas. The residents of these states were those who most sharply felt the effects of the social and economic problems of Mexico and who comprised the largest groups of immigrants to Oklahoma (Smith 1981). The ravages of the Mexican Revolution produced widespread suffering and drove even more from the land. The Mexican Revolution and the social upheaval of the next two decades caused a massive migration of Mexicans into the United States.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, American laborers, whose wages and standards of living were rising at this time, were refusing to take many of the jobs in the West (Smith 1980). Traditional sources of foreign labor from Europe and the Orient were eliminated. This caused American agriculturalists and businessmen to develop an increasing dependence upon Mexico as a source of

workers. Since Mexicans came to Oklahoma as migrant or temporary workers, labor needs dictated their distribution in the state. In 1900 there were only 134 Latinos officially recorded for Oklahoma. As the economy developed after statehood, the federal census counted 2,645 Latino residents in the state, with the largest number being in Oklahoma County, which was recorded at 449 (Smith 1981 11). By 1920 the population had risen to 6,697 an increase of over 200 percent. During the two World Wars informal and formal migrant labor trails arose. These migrant streams proved beneficial to migrant [Mexican] agricultural workers and to this nation's need for cheap sources of reliable workers. Mexican workers in the Southwest would soon spread out across the United States.

By 1930 the heaviest concentration of Latinos remained in Oklahoma City where nearly 1000 resided (Smith 1981). The Depression affected the presence of Latinos in Oklahoma. Thousands had either returned to Mexico in 1930 or had migrated elsewhere in search of employment. In other parts of the country, they were repatriated from the United States to Mexico. By 1940, only 1,425 residents were recorded. The Latino population of Oklahoma and Oklahoma City declined by two-thirds. Oklahoma City's Latino community generally remained distant if not isolated from the Anglo majority in a racially conscious society. Those who chose to remain to endure the hardships of the Depression and the tribulations since World War II helped establish the foundations of a lasting and growing Latino community in Oklahoma.

OKLAHOMA CITY'S NEW LATINO COMMUNITY

Census figures illustrate the growth of Oklahoma's Latino population since World War II. In 1970, the largest number of Latinos lived in Oklahoma City. Over 51,000 residents of Oklahoma identified themselves as being of Spanish *descent*, but those of *Mexican* surname comprised the vast majority (U.S. Census 1970). The social and cultural adjustment of Latinos in Oklahoma was difficult. For the vast majority of immigrants and migrants, a major impediment was their inability to speak or read English. A large majority were also illiterate in Spanish (Smith 1980). Before the Revolution, the Mexican govern-

Table 1 - Population Statistics Comparing U.S. Figures on Race, Origin, Language, and Poverty Levels to Oklahoma, Oklahoma County, Tulsa County, and Comanche County, 2000

	USA	Oklahoma	Oklahoma County	Tulsa County	Comanche County
Total Population	284,796,887	3,460,097	662,153	564,079	112,466
Latino	12.5%	5.2%	8.7%	6.0%	8.4%
White	75.1%	76.2%	70.4%	75.0%	65.2%
Other	5.5%	2.4%	4.4%	2.8%	3.5%
Mixed Race	2.4%	4.5%	3.9%	4.4%	4.7%
Foreign Born	11.1%	3.8%	7.2%	5.4%	5.4%
Language other than English spoken at home	17.9%	7.4%	11.6%	8.4%	11.3%
Below Poverty 1999	12.4%	14.7%	15.3%	11.6%	15.6%

Source: 2000 U.S. Population Census, State and County Quick Facts - Oklahoma online <http://www.quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/40/40101.html>.

ment at the time did not support education for the masses. It had built few schools for the lower class, especially in rural or remote areas. As a result, many were uneducated and their poverty status made it necessary to put young children to work. Many immigrants did not take advantage of the educational opportunities available in the United States (Smith 1980).

The local Catholic Church was an important and valued communal institution. In 1921, the Order of Discalced Carmelites established a mission in Oklahoma City to serve the state's largest Latino community. These early Latino settlers also built the Little Flower Church, which remains a key social institution in Oklahoma City today.

The low literacy rate in Spanish accounts for why Latinos did not produce any Spanish language publications or newspapers in Oklahoma as had been done in Kansas City, Kansas. The inability to speak English isolated them from the broader community culture in this western frontier state. Limited English Proficiency (LEP) for recent immigrants and their children remains a key obstacle in becoming full contributing members to their respective communities.

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF A LATINO EMERGING COMMUNITY

Over the last decade, the population of Latinos grew especially fast throughout the nation, ranking Latinos as the second largest minority group in the country. Given their high levels of immigration, the fact that many are of childbearing age, and known for high fertility rates, are three key factors that have

driven this rapid population growth the past two decades. These features are expected to further the growth of the Latino population in the United States for decades to come (O'Hare 1992). These same trends seem to be occurring in Oklahoma, Oklahoma County and Oklahoma City too.

The Latino population in Oklahoma has grown from 86,160 in 1990 to 179,304 in 2000 (U.S. Census 2000). Many argue that these numbers do not include those who did not respond to the census, or that did not claim to be Latino, or those who identify themselves as multi-raced (U.S. Census 2000). By their estimation, the actual Latino population in Oklahoma may be closer to 200,000. The county with the greatest number of Latinos is Oklahoma County with 57,336 (U.S. Census 2000), followed by Tulsa and Comanche counties (see Table 1).

According to Garcia Guillermo (2002) this growth in the number of Latinos accounted for half of the increase in the population of the state's largest city (Oklahoma City). Oklahoma City is now the state's largest city because it's population surpassed 500,000 for the first time. In Tulsa, the growth in the Latino numbers also accounted for one third of the increase in Oklahoma's second-largest city. The population grew seven percent (Garcia 2001). The population growth in Lawton, the third largest concentration in Oklahoma, is a pattern that will be repeated in other Oklahoma cities and towns. While it is a pattern that is not as prominent as it is in Oklahoma City and Tulsa, growth is also expected in Oklahoma's second tier cities. Steady growth in hog farming in the north-

Table 2 - Kids Count Census Data Reflecting Hispanic/Latino Children Population Data in Oklahoma 2000

	Total All Oklahoma	Hispanic	White	Other Race
Total Population (all) children in Oklahoma -all ages	892,360	n/a	n/a	n/a
Population under 18	892,360	70,078	576,731	245,551
Ages 15-17	159,453	10,690	107,000	41,762
Age 3+ enrolled in school	727,603	50,652	477,353	199,598
Ages under 18 living in poverty	171,495	21,034	80,853	70,042
Language Other than English at home (ages 5-17)	50,497	35,801	n/a	n/a
Annual dropout average ages 19 & under	5,899	8.50%	61%	33.40%

western part of Oklahoma as well as southwest Oklahoma's small farms and ranches have opened employment opportunities attracting Latinos to Texas county in Oklahoma.

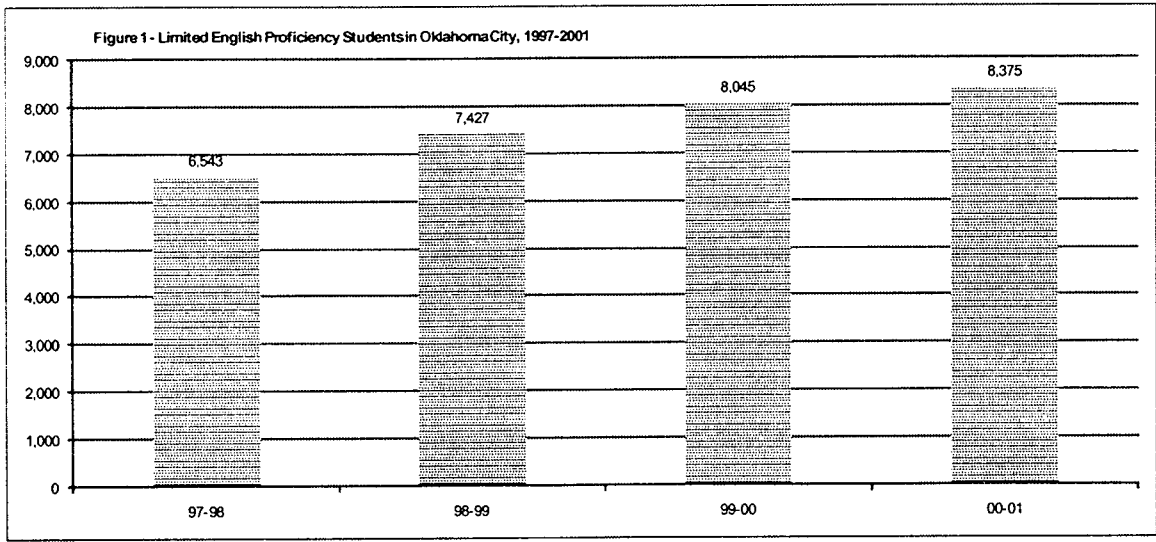
Once a city with only a few persons of Latino origin, and given its geographic position in the Southwest U.S., Oklahoma City has become the home for the fastest growing Latino population in the state. According to the 1990 census there were 25,000 Latinos residing in the greater Oklahoma City area. Today, the population has increased to nearly 60,000 (see Table 1). The Latino population in Oklahoma City is predominantly Mexican American (76%) with over 80 percent of these residents having ties to Mexico (U.S. Census 1990). It was anticipated that the Latino population in Oklahoma would increase to well over 200,000 by 2003 (U.S. Census 2000). Nevertheless, there are many that will argue that there is a large undercount.

SOCIAL ISSUES AFFECTING LATINO COMMUNITIES, FAMILIES, AND YOUTH

While the majority of immigrants in the Oklahoma City area are of Mexican descent, Latino immigrants from countries other than Mexico such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, Spain, and those of Central America are also increasing in the Oklahoma City area. Studies have shown that immigrants from some countries seem to acculturate better than others. For example, Cuban immigrants seem to have greater success at adapting to American culture, resulting in greater success in terms of socio-economic status. Unlike their Cuban counterparts, many Mexican immigrant families tend to be entrenched in low paying, low skilled jobs soon after their arrival into the United States and thereafter (Santisteban & Szapocznik 1982). Studies show that the youth in many Mexican fami-

lies tend to adapt to mainstream values and acculturate sooner than their parents, but many continue to live in the same impoverished conditions that their parents experienced (Santisteban & Szapocznik 1982). The development of mediating institutions is regarded as important to assisting many new Latino arrivals.

As migration of Mexican Americans from low income border communities, as well as Latinos from Mexico, Central America, and South America, continues, the low educational attainment levels of these people will continue to have communities needing to address their LEP and low occupational skills status. Many Latino families, particularly those who have recently arrived to this country, have been noted to experience a number of stressors and problems associated with adaptation to a new culture. Families experience difficulties relating to different and sometimes opposing cultural values, attitudes, and beliefs. For example, while Latino parents value and encourage strong family ties and relationships, Anglo American culture advocates that adolescents be independent and have a life outside the family structure. Moreover, as Spanish may be spoken at home, bilingualism is not valued or nurtured. For a small number of immigrants, language difficulties and language barriers add to an already stressful environment. When children adapt more rapidly than their parents, and quickly learn English as a second language, the ability to speak and understand both Spanish and English enables them to become their parent's translators. This results in a shift in the power balance in their respective families. The power shift often creates tension and conflict within the family, and for some sets the stage for alcohol abuse and substance abuse in youth.



Family conflict can also result in gang involvement, alcohol and drug abuse, and school dropout among Latino youth (see Table 2). In short, Latino youth are a rapidly emerging segment in the population of Oklahoma City; they present a number of academic, behavioral, and health problems as well.

EDUCATION STATUS

According to the 1990 Census, 25.4 percent of the adults in Oklahoma over the age of 25 do not have a high school diploma or its equivalent. In addition, 15.6 percent of these adults have between a ninth and twelfth grade education, and 9.7 percent have completed less than nine years of school (Oklahoma State Department of Education 2002). School failure and school dropout rates have been consistently found to correlate with substance abuse among youth. Given the high rate of school dropouts among Latino youth compared to other ethnic groups, the Latino community's youth in Oklahoma City are at risk. As of October 2001, there were 676,502 children enrolled in public schools (pre-school-12th) in Oklahoma. The Latino student population total was estimated at 48,022 with 2,630 enrolled in private schools (OKC Public Schools 2001). In all, the graduate rate in Oklahoma high schools in May 2002 was at 31.5 percent.

The racial composition of students in Oklahoma City has risen from 13.9 percent in 1996 to 22 percent in 2001 (OKC Public Schools 2001). The student dropout rate for Latino students is not currently recorded separately in Oklahoma City Public Schools, but

records do show that in 2000-01, 22 percent of the entire student population was Latino, and a total of 1,260 students were dropouts (grades 7-12).

A lack of education can impact a child's health and well being, and research suggests that dropouts have higher rates of substance abuse (OK Institute for Child Advocacy 1999). Youth not completing high school have a greater chance of suffering severe economic consequences including poverty, limited employment opportunity, and poor earning ability, which could lead to a lifetime of financial dependence. Unemployment rates for workers over age 19 are twice as high for dropouts than for graduates (OK Institute for Child Advocacy 1999).

Language barriers pose a threat for many Latino youth now entering the Oklahoma City Public School Systems. Given their family's low-income status, low educational attainment, and their own parent's Limited English Proficiency (LEP), Latino youth's LEP is expected to impact the quality of education that they receive. The quality and the negative educational experience that these youth undergo are expected to increase the risks of these youth dropping out. LEP is seen as a major obstacle affecting Latino students and their families. Improving this problem assures the likelihood of them being contributing members to their families and to the larger community.

Of the top one hundred (four-year) colleges and universities graduating the most Latino students, Florida International University ranked number one with a total of 2,131

Table 3 - Oklahoma Children and Family - State Statistics 2000

	Hispanic	White	Other
Number of children under the age of 5	22,915	146,581	66,857
Number of children under the age of 5 in poverty	7,516	24,347	21,338
Number of children ages 10-14	17,096	116,956	67,977
Number of children ages 10-14 in poverty	6,990	26,612	25,208
Number of children ages 15-17	10,690	107,001	41,762
Number of children ages 15-17 in poverty	5,376	25,379	19,313
Median family income for Oklahoma families	\$28,748	\$43,451	n/a

Source: Population Reference Bureau, 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, Census Summary File 3, Tables P46, PCT70H, P77, P154H, P154I, I 36, PI47H-P147I. File 1, Tables P28, P28H-P28I, P12. KIDS COUNT Special Report: Trends in Child Poverty 1976-2000, Table 88.

Table 4 - Oklahoma Children and Family - State Statistics 2000

	Hispanic	White	Other
Children living with both parents in the home	44,766	414,173	128,195
Children living with one parent in the home	16,242	112,737	80,755
Children living with relatives other than parents	6,786	36,407	29,233
Children with both parents employed	20,888	258,993	77,380
Children with one parent employed	16,600	138,089	37,372
Children with neither parent employed	5,701	12,302	7,117
Children under the age of 18 with Health Insurance	5,174	34,742	n/a
Children age 3 and above enrolled in public school	48,022	428,284	133,576

Source: Population Reference Bureau, 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, Census Summary File 3, Tables P46, P77, P154H, P154I, I 36, PI47H-P147I. File 1, Tables P28, P28H-P28I, P12. KIDS COUNT Special Report: Trends in Child Poverty 1976-2000, Table 88.

Latinos graduating with Bachelors degrees and 552 with Masters degrees. Unfortunately, Oklahoma colleges did not make the list for Latinos receiving Bachelors or Masters degrees, but did rank at number 100.

The number of LEP students in Oklahoma City schools has nearly doubled from 4,494 in 1997 to 8,375 in 2001. LEP students are defined as those whose native or dominant language is other than English and those who have difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language as to deny them the opportunity to learn successfully in an English-speaking-only classroom. Figure 1 shows increase in the number of Oklahoma City LEP students from 1997 to 2001. While there are a few Asian and "other" LEP students attending Oklahoma City schools, the majority of the LEP students are of Latino descent, whose primary language is Spanish.

In Oklahoma City schools, LEP students are offered English as a Second Language. There are other programs available to meet this need in most of the schools, but bilingual services are limited, as bilingual instruction requires sufficient numbers of teachers who are bilingual and trained to teach subject matters in languages other than English.

Currently there are very few teachers who meet the bilingual education training criteria in the Oklahoma City Public School System (Oklahoma City Public Schools 2002).

The schools with the largest Latino population in the Oklahoma City Public School System (District 7) are Capitol Hill High School (the education population center for this emerging community) and Shields Heights Elementary. Both have close to 80 percent Latino student populations. The lowest population in District 7 is at Oakridge Elementary with a Latino population of 8 percent. Of the nine public schools in this Oklahoma City district, every school has a significant number of LEP students, a small percentage of minority staff, and significant dropout rates. For example, in 2000-01 the percentage of LEP students at Capitol Hill High School was at 48.8; minority staff was less than 35 percent, and the dropout rate was at 11 percent. The other schools were: Bodine Elementary had 11 percent LEP, with 25 percent minority staff; Hayes had 12.9 percent LEP, with 10.3 percent minority staff; Lafayette had 10.1 percent LEP, with 4.3 percent minority staff, and a 33 percent Latino population; Oakridge had a 6.0 percent LEP, with a 5 percent Latino population, and 0.0 percent

Table 5 - Programs Available to Youth in Oklahoma City Public Schools

Dual Language Program	A Spanish/English immersion program in grades K-2. Foreign language study along with English Language development are the main features of this program.
Peer Mediation	A conflict resolution program by peers for peers. Selected students are trained in conflict resolution.
Weed and Seed	A U.S. Department of Justice Community Discretionary Grant initiative. The program aims to prevent, control, and reduce violent crime, drug abuse and gang activity in high-crime neighborhoods. A partnership between residents, law enforcement, and community-based organizations and businesses.
Whiz Kids	An after school tutoring program using church facilities and volunteers to assist elementary students to improve academic skills.
DIVA	Drug Intervention Violence Awareness is a program that coordinates community and other resources to support services addressing substance abuse and violence to promote academic excellence.

Source: *The Greater Oklahoma City Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, Hispanic Services, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, November 2002.*

minority staff. Webster Middle School had 19.9 percent LEP students and a Latino student population of 25 percent, the number of minority staff at 35 percent, and the dropout rate was close to 4 percent. (All the figures are based on the 2000-01 school year.)

ADOLESCENT BEHAVIORAL RISK FACTORS AMONG LATINOS

In Oklahoma, the total child population (all ages) is estimated at 3,450,654. In Oklahoma County, out of 662,153 people, an estimated 8.7 percent (76,109,54) are Latino (U.S. Census Bureau 2000b). Children under 18 comprise 25.9 percent (892,360) of this total (U.S. Census 2000) (see Table 3).

According to the 2000 KIDS COUNT census data, 70,078 of the total population under 18 in Oklahoma are Latino, with 30.9 percent of this total living below poverty levels. Fifteen and eight-tenths percent of Latino youth under the age of 18 in Oklahoma City are living under poverty levels. In short, it is estimated there are currently over 21,000 Latino children under the age of 18 (in Oklahoma County) living below poverty levels.

Although Tables 3 & 4 provide Oklahoma City Latino data in comparison to white population, these statistics bear on what is going on in Oklahoma City. But they may be suggestive of what may also be occurring in Tulsa and Lawton. When one compares Oklahoma children and family state census figures, one finds Latinos to be over represented as living in families with children 5 years and under, in families with children 10 years to 14 years of age, and families with children

15 years to 17 years of age. More troubling is the fact that these data report that Oklahoma Latino families are over represented in families living in poverty, for families with children: *under the age of 5 years, with children aged 10 years to 14 years, and with children aged 15 years to 17 years.* Median income is substantially lower than that for Anglo and other ethnic counterparts. Although Latino youth are likely to have both parents employed, family income substantially lags behind Anglo and African American counterparts. These data also suggest Latino families and children in Oklahoma are more likely to be under and uninsured with respect to health insurance. In short, Oklahoma Latino families are low income and more likely to have limited income resources going to more family members.

The technology gap that exists among the Latino youth and other minority populations limit what Latino children could achieve using computers. According to the Oklahoma Department of Education, some of the poorer schools with large minority populations have other priorities. With continuing budget cuts, information processing technology is not presently one of those priorities. Schools in general have a critical need for more minority and Spanish-speaking computer instructors to help Latino students feel more comfortable using technology. Studies have shown that minority students tend to get less "hands-on" computer training at school, and many do not have computers or Internet access at home. Additional student services available to Latino students within Oklahoma

Table 6 - Need for Treatment Among Juveniles in Oklahoma Juvenile Affairs Custody by Race

Race	Population	In Need of Treatment for Alcohol	In Need of Treatment for Illicit Drugs	In Need of Treatment for Illicit Drugs & Alcohol
White	371	162	260	290
African American	206	99	161	180
American Indian	129	64	86	88
Latino	49	27	39	39
Other	4	0	2	2

Source: Oklahoma Juvenile Justice Department 2000. Juvenile Populations. Online at <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org/>. November 2002.

City and the surrounding area are available through the following agencies:

- Newcomers Center
- Capitol Hill High School
- Parent Educational Center
- Bilingual Assistants Bachelor's Degree Program
- University of Central Oklahoma
- Southeast High School
- University of Oklahoma
- Alternative School (6-8)
- Latino Community Development Agency

There are additional programs offered to youth in the Oklahoma City Public School system. While these programs are not specifically for Latino students, the programs benefit all the students who choose to participate (see Table 5).

LATINO YOUTH AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE

For young people in general, the use of alcohol or other drugs during the teen years can be the beginning of lifelong dependencies or addictions. According to statistics from the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, an estimated 1.1 million persons (ages 12-17) needed treatment for an illicit drug abuse problem in 2000. Of this group, only 0.1 million people aged 12-17 years received treatment, leaving an estimated treatment gap for youths of 1.0 million (SAMHSA 2000). The percentage of Latinos needing treatment (for ages 12 and up) was estimated at 574,000 (SAMHSA 2000). Only 51,000 or 9.0 percent of all Latinos (all ages) needing treatment received it (SAMHSA 2000).

Substance abuse is the number one public health problem in Oklahoma and nationally. The economic cost is staggering, estimated at nearly \$7 billion annually in Oklaho-

ma and \$414 billion nationwide (ODMHSAS 2002). Annual costs of substance abuse in Oklahoma are nearly \$2 billion for expenses related to health care, public safety, social services, costs to business, and property loss. Another \$5 billion in costs is related to lost productivity (ODMHSAS 2002).

In Oklahoma, drug and alcohol addiction contributes to 85 percent of all homicides, 80 percent of all prison incarcerations, 75 percent of all divorces, 65 percent of all child abuse cases, 55 percent of all domestic assaults, 50 percent of all traffic fatalities, 35 percent of all rapes, and 33 percent of all suicides (ODMHSAS 2002).

The ODMHSAS 2002 estimates nearly 6 percent of the state's 323,000 adolescents, approximately 20,000 teenagers need treatment for alcohol and drug addiction. Statewide, alcohol addiction surpasses drug addiction by an average of 7.5 to one, meaning that for every person needing drug treatment, more than seven people need alcohol treatment (ODMHSAS 2002). But more direct indicators of youth at high risk come from data of juveniles in Oklahoma Juvenile Affairs custody. These data, while not representative of all Latino youth, do reflect all adolescents who have come to the attention of Oklahoma Juvenile Affairs departments (see Tables 6, 7, & 8). For a variety of reasons, the Oklahoma City Public School District has chosen not to participate in national studies of school-based Alcohol Tobacco or Drug Abuse (ATOD) among the Latino youth in the community, but they do participate in The Center for Disease Youth Risk Behavior Survey. The state's version does not collect data on Latino students. They categorize Latinos as "other" combined with Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and Asian Americans.

Alcohol abuse among Latinos was at 36 percent in 1999, and opiates abuse was at

Table 7 - Prevalence of Alcohol Use Among Juveniles in Custody of OJA by Race 2001

	Population	Lifetime	Last Year	Last Month
White	371	349	316	218
African American	206	189	167	124
American Indian	129	119	102	64
Latino	49	49	41	30
Other	4	4	2	0

Source: Oklahoma Juvenile Justice Department, 2000. *Juvenile Populations*. Online: <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org> . November 2002.

Table 8 - Prevalence of Illicit Drug Use Among Juveniles in Custody of OJA by Race 2001

Race	Population	Lifetime Illicit Drug Use	Last Year Illicit Drug Use	Last Month Illicit Drug Use
White	371	371	308	250
African American	206	206	179	124
American Indian	129	129	100	74
Latino	49	49	41	33
Other	4	4	3	2

Source: Oklahoma Juvenile Justice Department 2000. *Juvenile Populations*. Online at <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org>. November 2002.

32 percent. Both had a larger percentage than non-Latinos (SAMHSA 1999).

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, CRIME AND ADOLESCENCE

Because there have been few studies of substance abuse among Latino youth in Oklahoma, there are no current statistics representing Latino youth in general. However, there were some studies conducted that targeted Latino populations within Oklahoma's criminal system.

The state was recently added to the Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring Survey (ADAM) studies. Since then, the Oklahoma Juvenile Affairs (OJA) collaborated with the ADAM to include juveniles. In 2001, Oklahoma City juveniles in the custody of OJA were added to the ADAM juvenile study. Results of the study indicated that Oklahoma City had the highest rate of treatment need for both alcohol (55.8%) and illicit drugs (79.3%) (Dampousse 2001). The prevalence of alcohol use among Latino youth who participated in the study was estimated at 100 percent lifetime use; 84.35 percent had used in the past year, and 60.88 percent had used in the past month. Moreover, the same youth reported a 100 percent illicit drug abuse lifetime use, 84.35 percent had used an illicit drug in the past year, and 66.33 percent had used in the past month, as shown in Table 8 (Dampousse 2001). Most of the arrests and convictions in Oklahoma City have involved youth less than 18 years of age (Dampousse

2001). This is the same group that has experienced an estimated 113 percent population increase within the Latino community in Oklahoma and across the United States. It appears that Latino youth initiate drug and alcohol use earlier than other ethnic groups. Over the last decade, the percentage of drug abuse arrests among youth in Oklahoma has more than doubled (5.8% vs. 13.3%).

It is not clear if these represent all Latino youth in Oklahoma City or if it just represents court supervised youth. Table 9 reflects the increase in Latino juvenile populations in Oklahoma, and Oklahoma, Tulsa, and Comanche counties from 1990 to 1999. It also shows Oklahoma juvenile populations in comparison to total USA populations.

The relationship between substance abuse and criminal behavior is evident. The Bureau of Justice Statistics reports that drug users have a greater involvement in crime and are more likely than non-users to have criminal records, and that crimes rise in number as drug use increases (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1993) (see Tables 10a and 10b).

With Oklahoma City having the largest population of Latino youth in the state, and the fact that Oklahoma is among the top three states for incarceration rates since 1993 (Bureau of Justice Statistics 1993), these facts indicate that substance abuse among the Latino youth in Oklahoma City is a serious concern.

Table 9 - Juvenile Population (Ages 0-17) Comparison by Race 1990-1999

	Total Juveniles	White Juveniles	Latino Juveniles	Black Juveniles	American Indian	Asian
USA 1990	64,177,103	51,391,825	7,898,058	9,849,931	741,870	2,193,477
USA 1999	70,199,158	55,479,445	11,098,453	10,825,074	813,481	3,081,158
Oklahoma 1990	841,324	653,114	34,759	82,171	95,668	10,371
Oklahoma 1999	3,358,044	2,788,026	136,634	262,136	262,581	45,301
Oklahoma County 1990	157,457	112,815	10,282	32,127	8,818	3,697
Oklahoma County 1999	636,539	496,167	40,753	98,817	25,298	16,257
Tulsa County 1990	132,644	104,175	4,451	17,737	8,755	1,977
Tulsa County 1999	548,296	455,698	20,188	57,841	36,532	8,225
Comanche County 1990	31,618	21,655	2,519	7,044	1,991	928
Comanche County 1999	30,816	21,083	3,733	6,839	1,702	1,192

Source: Oklahoma Juvenile Justice Department, 2000. Juvenile Populations. Online at <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org/>. November 2002.

Table 10a - Percent of Arrestees in Oklahoma City Tested Positive for Drugs by Age 1998

Age	Any Drug	Cocaine	Marijuana	Opiates	Methamp.	PCP	Multiple Drugs
15-20	87.3%	18.2%	87.3%	0.0%	7.3%	7.3%	32.7%
21-25	70.3%	17.6%	67.6%	1.4%	4.1%	8.1%	32.4%
26-30	68.4%	33.3%	52.6%	3.5%	14.0%	0.0%	33.3%
31-35	68.6%	25.5%	52.9%	0.0%	9.8%	0.0%	25.5%
36+	61.4%	34.3%	32.1%	2.9%	7.1%	0.0%	19.3%

Source: Oklahoma Juvenile Justice Department, 2000. Juvenile Populations. Online at <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org/>. November 2002.

Table 10b - Percent of Arrestees in Oklahoma City Tested Positive for Drugs by Race 1998

Race	Any Drug	Cocaine	Marijuana	Opiates	Methamp.	PCP	Multiple Drugs
African American	76.7%	37.0%	57.5%	0.7%	0.7%	6.8%	26.0%
White	63.2%	18.1%	50.8%	3.1%	15.0%	0.0%	29.0%
Latino	45.0%	40.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%
Other	94.4%	33.3%	77.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%
TOTAL	69.0%	27.3%	53.1%	1.9%	8.0%	2.7%	26.8%

Source: Oklahoma Juvenile Justice Department, 2000. Juvenile Populations. Online at <http://www.ojjdp.ncjrs.org/>. November 2002.

LATINO YOUTH AND HIGH RISK BEHAVIORS: TEEN PREGNANCY, HIV/AIDS AND STDs

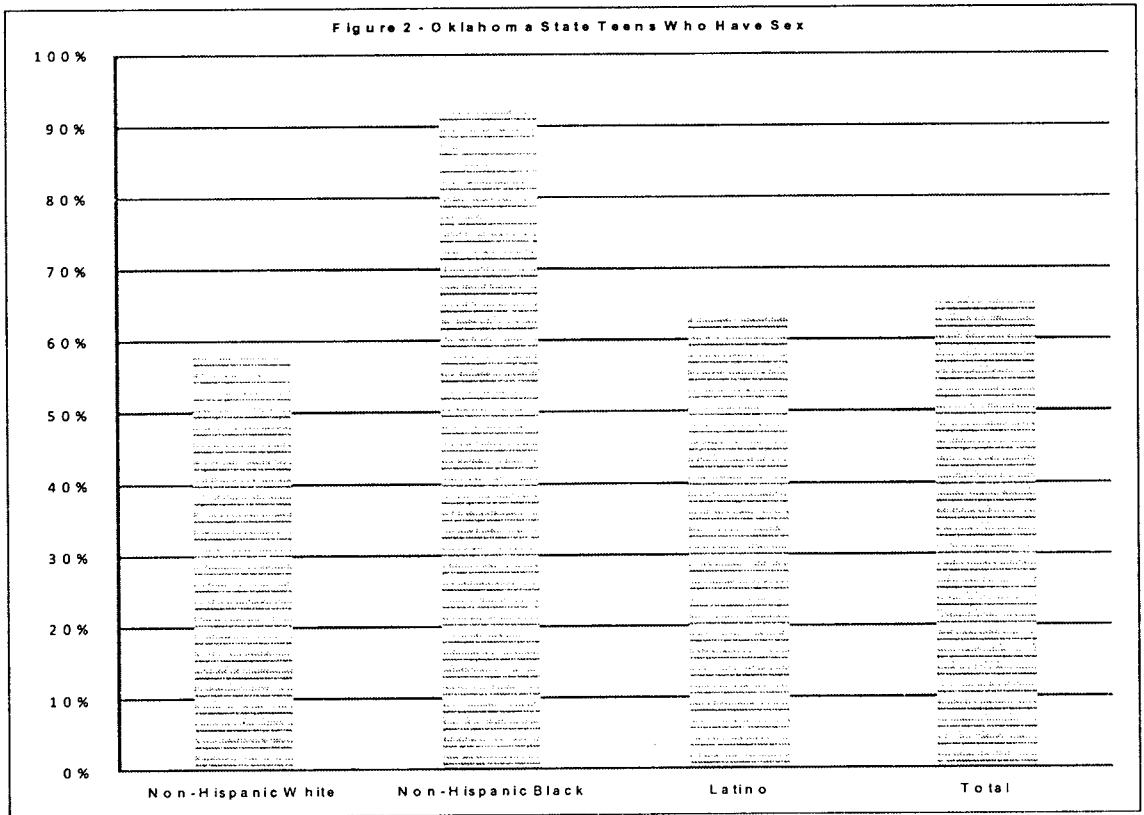
As the Latino youth population in Oklahoma City continues to increase, and given the risk factors involved with many of these youth, health problems will likely increase. The stressors driving substance abuse and crime among Latino youth are the same stressors that increase the risk for unsafe sex practices resulting in teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS. For example, poor literacy skills, poor progress in school, drug use, and lack of self-esteem are good predictors of early childbearing (OK Institute for Child Advocacy 1999). Figure 2 indicates an increased risk of teen pregnancy and HIV/AIDS among teens in Oklahoma by showing the percent of teens who have sex.

Low-income families and neighborhoods

heighten adolescent stress, and strain their abilities to be resilient. Increasing family's abilities to cope and buffer these risk factors would help to promote negative high-risk behaviors.

Latino Teen Parents

Teen mothers often face bleak futures. Each young mother is more likely to be poor, to drop out of school, to have unsteady employment, and will likely be on public assistance at least once in her lifetime. According to the Kids Count profile of Oklahoma 2001, the number of births to Latinos nearly doubled from 3,616 in 1991 to 6,098 in 1998. The total number of births to teens in Oklahoma in 1998 (16.3%) exceeded the national average of 12.5 percent (Kids Count 2001). Of the 6,098 Latino babies born in Oklahoma, 23 percent (1,403) were born to mothers with



less than 12 years of education and 5.1 percent (120) had no prenatal care (Kids Count 2001). In 2000, the total number of babies born in Oklahoma totaled 48,082; only 5,174 Latino babies born were covered by health insurance (U.S. Census Bureau 2000b).

Teen childbearing is costly to Oklahoma taxpayers (see Table 11). In 1997 Oklahoma taxpayers spent \$647,633,777 on public assistance (TANF, food stamps, WIC, Medicaid) to support families begun by teens. Of this total, close to 10,000 teen mothers were Latino residents of Oklahoma County (Garrett 2002). The Oklahoma State Department of Health reports that in 2000, there were an estimated 598 babies born to teens aged 17 and under in Oklahoma County alone. For every dollar spent on the consequences of teen childbearing, less than one-half of one cent is spent on prevention of teen pregnancy (Oklahoma Department of Human Services 2002). The children born to teen mothers are the real victims; these babies are more likely to repeat the cycle of teen childbearing, to have lifelong developmental and health problems, to do poorly in school and to exhibit behavior problems (OK Institute for Child Advocacy 1999). President Bush's faith-based

programming in this area is one that all high-risk youth might benefit from, yet little has been implemented in Southwest Oklahoma City communities and families.

Sexually transmitted diseases are another public health threat as the numbers of cases continue to increase (see Table 12). Data relevant to the general population reveal that adolescents are engaging in sexual activity earlier and are initiating unprotected sexual intercourse more frequently, resulting in higher rates of sexually transmitted diseases among adolescents (Latina Girls 2002).

In Oklahoma County, the 2000 Census reported 42 cases of Syphilis, 2,010 cases of Gonorrhea, and 3,134 cases of Chlamydia among youth aged 13 to 19, a significant increase from 1998 Census statistics. For many young Latino/Latina women, cultural influences and traditions hinder their ability to protect themselves. Many childbearing women receive little or no prenatal care, and may not be aware of the impact a sexually transmitted disease could have on the health of their unborn children.

Other problems contributing to high-risk behavior among youth are held to also result

Table 11 - Teen Births and State Health Care Recipients by Race in Oklahoma 2000

	White	African American	Latino	American Indian	Asian/Pacific Islander/Other
Teen births (1999 data)	35,059	4,688	3,616	n/a	6,098
Number of children covered by health insurance	39,667	5,956	5,174	n/a	n/a
Child recipients of SoonerCare	185,235	57,679	27,351	44,978	2,496
Adult recipients of SoonerCare	110,020	23,740	4,375	13,665	1,571
Child recipients of TANF/AFDC	306,770	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Adult recipients of TANF/AFDC	43,081	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: Oklahoma Institute for Child Advocacy, 1999. *State Benchmarks Fact Book*. Online, Sept. 1, 2002 - <http://odl.state.ok.us/kids/factbook/kidscount99/state.htm>.

Table 12 - HIV/AIDS and Other Sexually Transmitted Diseases for Oklahoma, Tulsa, and Comanche Counties 2000

	All of Oklahoma	Oklahoma County	Tulsa County	Comanche County
HIV Cases (June 2002)	2,568	964	726	141
AIDS cases (June 2002)	4,021	1,555	1,105	127
Syphilis	61	42	6	1
Gonorrhea	4,840	2,010	1,096	476
Chlamydia	10,622	3,134	1,998	900

Source: Information Technology Service for Health Care Information Division, Oklahoma State Department of Health. Online at <http://www.health.state.ok.us/board/>. November 2002.

in sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS. The composition of Oklahoma City's population is changing, and as a result, the cultural circumstances of HIV/AIDS should be considered and included in research and prevention programs. HIV/AIDS is the sixth most common cause of death among 15 to 24 years old (Anderson, Kochanek & Murphy 1997). As of May 2000, 4,073 persons in Oklahoma were reported to have been HIV infected and 1,639 people were reported to have full blown AIDS. In Oklahoma County alone there were 965 cases of HIV and 1555 AIDS. Little to no research has been conducted on Latino populations and HIV/AIDS in Oklahoma, except for a study in 1999 that indicated of all the AIDS cases in Oklahoma City, 76 percent were white and 32 percent were people of color.

There were no specific data for Latinos reported except for the 8 reported under "other" in 1997, who could have been Latino. This report also indicated that the data was not accurate, as the diagnosis year data were not complete (Epidemiological Profile 2000).

Although race and ethnicity are not risk factors for HIV transmission, they are cofactors for underlying social, economic, and cultural factors that shape personal behavior and health. Low socioeconomic status in particular is associated with morbidity of

STDs. Unemployment and poverty are correlated with decreased access to health education, prevention, and medical care, resulting in an increased risk for disease.

THE OKLAHOMA COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE AND THE OKC LATINO COMMUNITY

Given the number of high-risk Latino youth in Oklahoma City, compared to the number of services available, there is a need for additional programs and services for this targeted population. One should keep in mind that many Latinos are from rural to small communities. Although the programs and services made possible through the Little Flower Church, OKCPS, and Latino Service Associations are extremely helpful and rewarding, there was recognition that Oklahoma City's Latino community needed a major Community Based Organization (CBO) advocating on its behalf. What follows is a brief outline and discussion of the services that lead to this recognition of need for an OKC CBO and the current situation of the Latino community vis a vis predecessors and Latino Community Development Agency (LCDA).

Throughout the state of Oklahoma is the Oklahoma Cooperative Extension Service (OCES). With county offices statewide, the Oklahoma Cooperative Extension Service

provides education and information to Oklahomans in the areas of agriculture and marketing; nutrition, family life, and human development; 4-H youth programs; and rural and community development. The Cooperative Extension Service is the result of the Morrill Act of 1862 and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. The Morrill Act gave all the states in the United States the authorization to sell public lands to create land-grant universities and the Smith-Lever Act took the findings of the researchers from the universities to the general public through the Cooperative Extension Service.

The OCES programs reach every area of the state as each county has an Extension Office that serves as a "hub" office for information distribution. Each office is also equipped with computer/Internet access to help the general public get online information as well. The major limitation is that the OCES has limited if any, Latino or bilingual staff.

The OCES could include information on their website in Spanish, and could also provide publications and other informational materials produced by OCES in both English and Spanish. Many of the materials produced through the OCES are distributed to the public through the county health departments, public libraries, and on local Oklahoma Educational Television (OETA). One television program currently available is a gardening program (Oklahoma Gardening); broadcast in English only. With a few resources, the OCES could better serve the Latino population (and its youth) of Oklahomans in Oklahoma City and throughout the state. But more important many Latino students who graduate from high school could benefit from OCES's working relationships with state vocational technical institutes and community colleges.

The mission of the 4-H Youth Development Program is to provide Oklahoma youth, families, and communities with educational programs that will create environments for diverse audiences of youth and adults to reach their fullest potential. The programs are promoted through the public schools and organizations such as the Future Farmers of America (FFA) and through the OCES. The youth programs help youth to practice effective problem-solving and decision making skills; be environmental stewards, and demonstrate positive character and ethical be-

havior; appreciate human differences; have a strong sense of community and social responsibility; contribute to positive relationships with families, peers, and community; demonstrate communication and leadership skills; value lifelong learning; and feel the personal pride that comes from achievement. Again, the only drawback is that in Oklahoma, there are few, if any, 4-H programs available for non-English speaking or limited English speaking Latino children in Oklahoma. Four-H agents are just beginning to organize 4-H programs to better serve Latino children in the state of Oklahoma.

LATINO COMMUNITY SERVICES

Although there are a few community-based programs and services available to the Latino community in Oklahoma City, the Latino Community Development Agency offers the greatest selection of services. Religion plays an important role in the lives of many Latino people, and the Archdiocese of Oklahoma City Latino Affairs and the Little Flower Church both offer religious services and fellowship in Spanish and English to better serve the Latino Community. The Archdiocese also set up the first Latino cultural center and Latino "free" clinic.

As was noted earlier, the early OKC Mexican community developed close and lasting ties to the Little Flower Church and to the state Catholic churches. The first services were largely voluntary and ad hoc mutual aid services. After WWII and the Korean War, the OKC Latino community witnessed new but small growth. (This community is what some termed the Mexican-American generation.) This group would be more bilingual and bicultural than their parents' generation. They participated in more social and economic associations and began to develop their own. In OKC one saw the development of an American GI Forum Manual Perez chapter and soon thereafter a LULAC chapter. Since the 1960's these chapters have served as principal service organizations, but were generally limited to these second-generation participants. While LULAC, The Perez GI Forum, and Little Flower would draw different elements of OKC, none seemed to be able to address the needs and calls for services from the next wave of Mexicanos, Cuban Americans and Latin Americans.

One organization that many Mexican seasonal workers would turn to was the Oklaho-

ma Rural Organization (ORO). ORO emerged in late 1970 in western Oklahoma and then operated from SW OKC. ORO first serviced largely Spanish speaking migrant farm workers needing social services or who were leaving the migrant stream for more stable work opportunities. ORO now operates a county office in SW OKC and serves Oklahoma county's families and nearby communities.

In the late 1980's one saw the development of two major professional organizations, Oklahoma Hispanic Professional Association (OHPA), and Tinker Air Force Base Hispanic Association (TABHA). The first was the Tinker Air Force Base's Hispanic Association and the second was OHPA. Like the GI Forum and LULAC, they tended to largely respond to their membership, but began to provide association support to community events and to fund school scholarships to help further the education of Latino children. Each sought to promote Stay in School programs and tutoring. Yet they would be best known for sponsoring riverside community cleanup — a joint effort linking OU's Hispanic American Student Association (HASA), TABHA and OHPA. All three organizations still exist today and remain viable voices for Latino issues.

The needs of a growing population soon overcame the early service organizations and professional groups. It was clear that the OKC Latino community would need a full-time dedicated Latino community-based organization (CBO) to advocate for the city's Latino population and provide these services. Within the Latino community one heard the need for an integrated and community based Latino CBO. In 1988 Pat Fennel and Larry Medina would acquire facilities through the OKCPS, old Riverside School, and small state & county social service contracts. The growth and needs for social service by newest arrivals would also be met by a second yet smaller CBO, the Hispanic Services Organization (HSO). We now turn to LADC.

Responding to the pent-up unmet needs, the Latino Community Development Agency emerged and filled a very important void. There are a number of youth programs currently available to the Latino community and its youth in Oklahoma City through the Latino Development Community Agency (LDCA). Located in downtown Oklahoma City, the mission of the LDCA is to strengthen the capabilities and knowledge of Latino youth by im-

plementing prevention strategies that equip, educate, and prepare youth for tomorrow. The LDCA has several programs available to the Latino community in Oklahoma City. The Oklahoma Youth Empowerment System, The Adolescent Substance Abuse Treatment Program, The Latino Leadership club, and a Traffic Safety Program are all successful programs initiated through LDCA to service Latino youth.

The Oklahoma Youth Empowerment System is a program designed to reduce gang and delinquent activity in ten targeted high-risk areas of Oklahoma City. The program creates proactive empowered youth and families, and strives to encourage youth to be involved in the community, to be drug free, and to stay away from gangs and delinquent behavior. The targeted population is Latino youth between the ages of 15-18 who meet specific criteria, which includes gang involved youth, siblings of gang involved youth, parents involved in gangs or in the correctional system, delinquent youth, and siblings of delinquent youth. The services provided include a delinquency prevention program serving at-risk youth and their families by providing intensive case-management services, advocacy, referral, counseling and additional educational and recreational activities. The goal is to reduce the number of Latino youth becoming members of the juvenile justice system, and to help them become productive citizens. Some of the accomplishments of the Oklahoma Youth Empowerment Program developed by the LCDA are art classes provided to Latino youth, and these youth artists assisted in the completion of two murals at a local Oklahoma City community center; a tutoring program initiated on Tuesday and Thursday evenings; the establishment of a Latino club at Rockwood Elementary School; the Cesar Chavez Alternative School for Latino adolescents; the Gateway Academy; and the program also sponsors a yearly violence awareness activity for Latino youth.

The Latino Leadership Club was founded in 1991 by the LCDA as a response to an awareness of the over representation of Latino youth in gang involvement and substance abuse, as well as in the criminal justice system in Oklahoma City. The Latino Leadership Club targets pre-adolescent and adolescent Latino youth in high risk and high-needs neighborhoods. The program is currently working with six high schools, five

middle schools, and four elementary schools in the greater Oklahoma City area. There are approximately 300 active members in the Latino Leadership Club. The members meet on a regular basis and discuss a range of topics including teen pregnancy, AIDS/HIV/STDs, drugs and alcohol, and culture and values.

The Adolescent Substance Abuse Treatment Program is another service available in Oklahoma City through the LCDA, funded by the Oklahoma State Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services. The goal of this program is to provide effective drug/alcohol treatment services to participants, including complete abstinence from alcohol or drugs during the treatment period and for at least six months after treatment. Participants must stay enrolled in school or vocational training while in treatment and for at least a period of six months afterwards. Successful attempts are made to place the participant in a positive, nurturing environment when exiting from treatment (if his/her family system does not meet the criteria) for at least six months after treatment. The targeted population for this program are adolescents, ages 12-21, that have abused chemicals to the extent that they have become socially dysfunctional. Family members or significant others of the participant are also part of the population to be served. Other services provided include the assessment of the substance use/abuse, counseling in individual, group and/or family sessions, and referrals to alcohol/drug facilities and other outside agencies.

The Traffic Safety Program is a program developed to educate Latino children and their mothers through Oklahoma City's public school system. The program helps increase knowledge and promotes the use of seat belts, child restraints, bicycle safety, and communication about the problems of drinking and driving. Child passenger safety workshops are given with trained technicians to ensure proper installation of child restraints. Other projects include a T-shirt designing contest conducted through various Latino clubs at high schools, and a calendar-coloring contest for 3rd and 4th grade students involved in Latino clubs. Two bicycle rodeos are given for children from kindergarten to 6th grade, with bicycle helmets provided to all participants. The program coordinates with Latino clubs in the Oklahoma City Public

Schools to create interactive learning concerning traffic safety for children, and each school receives two visits per year.

The Latino Community Development Agency also sponsors health programs available to Latino youth in Oklahoma City. These services include a Tobacco Education Network, an STD Prevention Initiative, and HIV Education and Risk Reduction programs. The Tobacco Education Network engages Latino leaders and the community in prevention and elimination of tobacco use among Latinos in Oklahoma. The program educates about the health risks associated with the use of tobacco through public service announcements using Latino radio and television stations and newspapers in Oklahoma City, Tulsa, and Lawton. Some of the other services provided include a tobacco education outreach service to schools and throughout the Latino community, and technical assistance is provided to county and local Latino community-based programs regarding tobacco education needs, education, and outreach.

The Sexually Transmitted Disease Prevention Initiative Project has only been available this year. This new program's goals are to assess sexual health risk behaviors among the local Latino population, particularly high school youth, and to identify ways of educating and changing risky sexual behaviors. The project's goal is also aimed at promoting prevention strategies to reduce the incidence and impact of STDs among the Latinos in the Oklahoma City area.

The LCDA has a program available to Latinos in the Oklahoma City area that provides counseling, the ability for participants to learn their HIV/AIDS infection status, and to help develop behaviors that can lower the risk of HIV/AIDS. The program, called "Breaking the Silence" also has a referral service for individuals practicing high-risk sexual activities, and for those already infected with HIV/AIDS. The program helps clients to get psychological or medical help in order to meet treatment and prevention needs. There is also routine testing and post-test counseling available when informing an individual of positive test results.

Some other programs available through the LCDA include a healthy family program called "Nuestras Familias" aimed at helping Latino families enhance family relationships, and provides pregnant and first time moth-

ers with prenatal care, parenting skills, behavioral management skills, and other child development education. There is also a family violence program available that focuses on coping skills and prevention/intervention services for children living with family violence.

LATINO PROGRAMS THROUGH COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATION'S DISCRETIONARY PROGRAMMING AND OTHER SERVICES

Discretionary Program Grants help fund many of the programs currently available to Oklahoma's youth, including the Latino population. Many organizations including universities, faith-based, and others keep the programs alive by their continuous efforts of writing and submitting grant proposals. An example includes the recent proposal submitted by the Southeast Area Health Center: a proposal based on underserved Latinos in Oklahoma City's Southeast Area. The currently funded program provides health services to migrant farm workers and their families through the State Department of Health, Family Health Services.

The Amigo Foundation in Oklahoma City serves Logan, Canadian, Oklahoma, and Cleveland counties. The youth services they currently provide include tutoring, alternative secondary school services, summer employment opportunities, work experience, occupational skill training, leadership development opportunities, supportive services, adult mentoring, artistic and cultural programs, follow-up services, and comprehensive guidance and counseling. Most of the staff in the Amigo Foundation are bilingual Latinos.

Wells Fargo Bank has recently created a partnership with the National Council of La Raza that will offer home ownership opportunities to Latinos in 19 cities across the U.S. Oklahoma City is one of the cities chosen to participate due to the emerging Latino population (*San Francisco Business Times* 2002).

Another new effort in Oklahoma City designed to benefit Latino youth involves a recent partnership between the Oklahoma Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services and the Latino Community Development Agency, who together have expanded substance abuse services for Oklahoma City's Latino youth. The new services will help Latino youth in need of treatment to overcome "motivational deterrents" and will include

case management, crisis intervention, and individual and family counseling and group therapy. Ruth Mazaheri, the Director of Programs for the LCDA said,

they are finally acknowledging the critical need for culturally and linguistically competent treatment services for Latino youth in central Oklahoma. (personal interview)

Out of all the schools in Oklahoma City District 7, the number of Latino personnel as of May 2002, is at 313, with only 4 listed as Administrators. The majority of Latino personnel in this district are Teacher's Assistants (126) and Nutritionists (28). There are no Latino Principals, Nurses, or Special Ed Teachers, and only 4 Counselors (OKC Public Schools 2001). These figures reflect District 7 in Oklahoma City, which has the largest population of Latino and minority residents in the area. They do not include the other six districts in the Oklahoma City area.

IN SUMMARY

As the Oklahoma City Latino community's population increases, many of these families will be residing in low income, socially drained and "changing" neighborhoods. Many in this community will continue to feel socially, marginally, and politically invisible. Many Latinos, especially those working poor, are rarely acknowledged as being a contributing segment of the greater Oklahoma City community. Some of the challenges Oklahoma City's Latino population must face include:

- Languages and cultural barriers have made accessing public services difficult for new immigrants.
- There is not sufficient bilingual or English as a Second Language (ESL) education to meet demand.
- Immigrants have trouble obtaining drivers licenses because they lack required identity documents, and therefore many are driving without licenses or insurance.
- New immigrants have experienced the economic difficulties that are common among low-wage workers in the region including difficulty finding affordable housing, and the lack of access to health insurance.
- Racist attitudes have increased throughout the region – particularly in the previously all white areas – which are

caused primarily by fear, lack of understanding of the culture, and the language of the new immigrant communities.

Further, for adolescents in this group one must acknowledge that this is a period of tremendous change for the Latino child. Transition is not only from being a child to adolescent, and then adolescent to early adulthood, but one that is always between two social worlds and distinct demands and stressors. For these youth there are always reminders that they are non-white in a predominantly white society, which can only serve to increase individual, social, and familial stress levels.

Attempts to record, outline, and otherwise understand the making of the Latino Oklahoma City community is far from being an easy endeavor. Although there are data on Latinos reported by most other sister states, it is difficult to get accurate statistics of various Latino populations in Oklahoma. Most of the research collected for this paper did not come directly from the state or county. In fact, most came from outside and federal agencies. Finding general population statistics easily and readily accessible for Latinos remains difficult. While most Latinos are still considered white, because of their low numbers in the 1960's and 1970's, they have usually been combined with Native Americans, Pacific Islanders and Asian populations. While the Latino population's biggest concentration remains in three counties, the Latino population throughout the state is dispersed, small and invisible in many county reports.

A number of academic, behavioral, and health problems are emerging along with this growing population. Many of these problems are similar to those confronted by other urban Latino groups. These similarities have lead researchers to call for data necessary to address risk factors threatening the Latino community, family, and its' youth. Many researchers argue that when these data are coupled with innovative CBO programming, they will lessen the widening gap between Latinos being at high risk to better health and social functioning. These data and programs may also serve to make Latino families more resilient. Enhancing the Latino community, its family and youth resiliency, and by improving their coping skills, will allow them to meet many of their own personal

familial and social needs. Studies show that resilient youth cope and adapt better when faced with emerging communities. There is the need to get state policymakers to acknowledge their presence, address their needs and include them in current and future programming. So long as their numbers remain small throughout the state, meaningful innovative programs will not come from the state agencies and legislature. In fact most of this programming will come from local and discretionary grant programming efforts. While some youth manage to grow and prosper in spite of the difficult circumstances in their lives, others are overcome by difficult life events and are easily led to substance abuse or other negative behaviors. Programs and services that enhance and expand Latino's community social capital will prove to be beneficial to their children and their parents.

Nine-Eleven and its aftermath has severely cut into the nation, the state, and the city's psyche, priorities, and budget plans. Nevertheless, local agencies need to plan ahead for budget cuts and many expect no growth budgets to serve program budgets for the next two to four years. Expenditures for basic education, health, and mental health are facing major cuts. An example is the recent announcement that the Oklahoma Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services and Medicaid will be curtailing programs currently serving thousands of women, children, and disabled (*Stillwater News Press* 2002). Many of those families are being cut from programs within the Oklahoma Latino community. Language barriers not only limit educational opportunities, they limit Latinos accessing much needed state, county, and municipal services. Many state, county, and municipal services do not have staff that are bilingual and bicultural. For example, police and the emergency communication-service (911) are experiencing conflicts of police-citizen interactions, delays in service, and in some cases severe consequences (Simone 2002). The emerging Latino population in Oklahoma City will continue to grow. As a result, programs and services for the Latino community of Oklahoma City will need to be expanded and enhanced.

The eventual securing of the Latino community's visibility, social, economic, and political status will come from past decades of Latino families setting roots and becoming

socially, politically, and economically active in Oklahoma City and the state. But no less important ones will be the Latino community's leadership through its services, civic associations and CBOs pushing, calling, and making reform and social change. The larger community's hesitancy will lessen as they come to see the Latino communities and families as contributors to the city's and state's social fabric. As an emerging Latino community, they will have to develop not only a voice and leadership, but also a voice with other emerging Latino communities in various states, and regional and national forums.

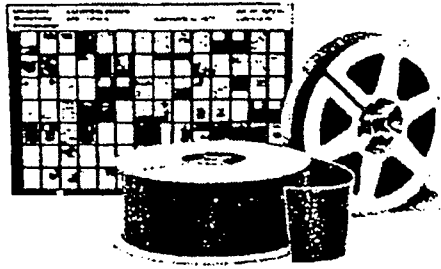
The Oklahoma City bombing, the great 1999 tornado, and related threats to the city's public health and safety have allowed the Oklahoma City community to reconsider what working relationships will be mutually beneficial between the larger community and the local Latino community. These are actions that are best reflected in the Latino community's past and current community developing efforts that have been briefly described and presented in this essay. The coming decade will spell out the directions and consequences that Oklahoma City's Latino community makes for itself and its neighbors.

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