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HOLDING SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS RESPONSIBLE: IMPLICATIONS FROM DIFFERENTIAL OPPRESSION THEORY

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Abstract

A current controversy in criminology is whether juvenile offenders should be treated in a similar manner as adult offenders. This paper examines this issue within the context of the theory of differential oppression. Differential oppression theory argues that delinquents and their delinquencies are a consequence of adult perceptions and treatment of children as inferior persons. The remedy for delinquency is to change existing social arrangements to give children the opportunity to be viewed as equally valuable as adults and as autonomous persons. Implicit within the recommendation is that children be held responsible for their wrongful actions. To do otherwise would deny them their humanity and their right to be treated as persons. Treating children as adults for the decisions they make (both good and bad) is being respectful of them as autonomous, moral agents.

INTRODUCTION

Research reports the presence of a relationship between the maltreatment of children and subsequent problem behaviors, and more specifically, juvenile delinquency (e.g., Brezina, 1998; Fleisher, 1995; Widom and Maxfield, 2001; Heck and Walsh, 2000; Kaufman and Widom, 2000; Smith and Thornberry, 1995; Straus, 1994; Zingraff, et al., 1993; Widom, 1989). These studies collectively point out that the physical, sexual, emotional, and educational maltreatment of children frequently directly or indirectly "pushes" adolescents into engaging in maladaptive responses to their mistreatment.

These findings are consistent with Regoli and Hewitt's *theory of differential oppression* (1991). They argue that delinquents and their misdeeds are a consequence of adult's perceptions of children as inferior and the translation of these perceptions into an oppressive regulation and control of children. But does the claim that a child's delinquency is a consequence of adult maltreatment and oppression exempt them from being held responsible for their criminal actions? Or, does differential oppression theory's argument for an adolescent's right of personhood justify holding serious and violent juvenile delinquents responsible for their crimes?

THE THEORY OF DIFFERENTIAL OPPRESSION

Because of their social and legal status, children have little power to affect their social world. Compared to adults, children have limited resources available to manipulate others. From a resource standpoint, adults, having superior power in relationship to children, are at a considerable advantage in determining and enforcing rules that control the basic lives of children. Compared to parents, teachers, and other adult authority figures, children are relatively powerless and expected to—often required to—submit to the power and authority of these adults. When this power is exercised to prevent children from attaining access to valued resources or to prevent them from developing a sense of self as a subject rather than an object, it becomes oppression.

Oppression restrains, restricts, and prevents people from living life they way they would in the absence of oppressive force. One consequence of oppression and control is that people are often made into *objects*. Paulo Freire (1990:51) has noted that the greater the exercise of control by oppressors over the oppressed, the more they change them into apparently inanimate things or objects, rather than subjects. One group objectifying another allows the dominant group to control the dialogue about the relationship between the two groups, to establish the rules governing the relationship, and even to create the rules for changing the rules. When members of a group experience themselves as objects rather than subjects they operate according to a self-defeating consciousness because, as objects, they assume they are powerless and eventually accept the disvalued vision of themselves projected on them by the more powerful group.

Children usually accept their status as oppressed beings because it is a social reality that pervades our society: The perception of children as oppressed is constantly reinforced by their submersion in the reality of oppression. Freire describes how oppressors can create images of oppressed groups as dependent and threatening to the social order:

> For the oppressors it is always the oppressed (whom they obviously never call "the oppressed" but—depending on whether they are fellow countrymen or not—"those people" or the "blind and envious masses" or "savages" or "natives" or "subversives") who are disaffected, who are "violent," "barbaric," "wicked," or "ferocious" when they react to the violence of the oppressors (1990:41).

It is quite easy to substitute the following images of children (as the oppressed) into the preceding quote: "teenage hoodlums," "problem children," "pre-delinquents," or "delinquents" who are "disrespectful," "barbaric," "violent," or simply "alienated" when they react to their oppressors. As children internalize the image of the oppressor and adopt the oppressor's guidelines and rules of behavior, they naturally become fearful of exploring the nature of their own freedom and autonomy. Indeed, they often fully accept the socially constructed notion that they are inferior, incompetent, and irresponsible.

FOUR PRINCIPLES OF DIFFERENTIAL OPPRESSION

The theory of differential oppression is organized around four principles:

1. Adults emphasize order in the home and school.

   Every day, children are forced to obey rules designed to reinforce adult notions of "right and wrong" behavior. Such rules evolve out of adult beliefs about how children should behave. The rules, and the enforcement of the rules, are believed to be in the child's own good, and violations of the rules are perceived by adults as threats to their own conceptions of good order.

2. Adults perceive children as inferior, subordinate beings and as troublemakers.

   To the extent adults view children as posing a threat to the established order, they must be controlled. A child who shows deference to adults and their rules is considered to be a "good child." The child who challenges his or her inferior status or who questions the rules that define the social order is seen as threatening adult control.

3. The imposition of adult conceptions of order on children may become extreme to the point of oppression. Adult attempts to establish order in the home and school frequently lead to arbitrary rule enforcement, censure, and punishment. Sometimes the coercion and use of force take the form of abuse and neglect, diminishing the parent-child relationship and weakening the child's respect for authority.

4. Oppression leads to adaptive reactions by children. The oppression of children produces at least four major adaptations: passive acceptance, exercise of illegitimate coercive power, manipulation of one's peers, or retaliation.

   Passive acceptance is an obedience built upon fear. It is similar to the passive acceptance of the slave role or adaptations of battered women. The child outwardly accepts their inferior position, but develops a repressed hatred for the oppressor, possibly leading to low self-esteem, drug abuse, or alcoholism.

   Exercise of illegitimate coercive power is the attempt to "make something happen." Delinquency provides the youth with an opportunity to establish a sense of autonomy and control.

   Manipulation of one's peers is an attempt to gain social power. Through manipulation of others within the peer group, a child who has experienced oppression by adults may acquire a sense of strength and control or a degree of empowerment not otherwise felt.

   Retaliation involves striking back at both the people and the institutions the child blames for causing their oppression. School vandalism often occurs because a student is angry at a teacher or principal, and children who assault or kill their parents are gener-

ally responding to past experiences of severe maltreatment at the hands of their parents.

However, it is not the mere existence of oppressive relations with children that lead children to delinquency. Children in fact are differentially oppressed, some more frequently and more severely than others. The oppression of children falls on a continuum. Children who experience more frequent and severe forms of oppression are more likely to respond to their oppression in ways defined as delinquent (Regoli and Hewitt, 2000: 158-160).

While there are few tests of differential oppression theory to date, initial studies appear to be supportive of the theory. For example, Dennis Chan interviewed a group of high school students defined as "unruly pupils" by school administrators and teachers (1994). He noted that these students reported high levels of oppression both at home and at school, that school officials were quick to impose punishments for rule violations, and that the students tended to respond by engaging in delinquent activities. Matt DeLisi and his associates surveyed 178 university undergraduate students to assess their perceptions of the autonomous nature of children. Approximately three-fourths of the respondents indicated a belief that children are inferior in status relative to adults and nearly half expressed support for the use of physical punishment when children misbehave. In general, respondents felt that children must be controlled because they are not otherwise equipped to lead their own lives.

What, then, are the implications of differential oppression theory in terms of the State's response to the adolescent who engages in a serious or violent criminal act? Does differential oppression theory fall on the side of some sort of "abuse excuse" whereby the juvenile offender who has been seriously maltreated is "excused" because of the oppressive maltreatment? Or, does differential oppression theory provide a theoretical justification for holding the youth criminally responsible and deserving of punishment? We contend the theory logically supports the latter point. In the following discussion we will examine how children came to be defined as inferior to adults, how the early juvenile court reinforced images of children as incompetent and dependent, and how the nature of childhood in the new millennium radically departs from social constructions of a hundred years ago.

SOCIALLY RECONSTRUCTING ADOLESCENTS AS INCOMPETENT AND DEPENDENT

The emergence of the juvenile court in Cook County (Chicago), Illinois, in 1899, was a natural consequence of more than two centuries of constructing and reconstructing the nature of childhood and children. In the end, however, it needed to be decided just what population the new juvenile court would serve. What would be appropriate upper and lower end ages for court jurisdiction? And what would objectively distinguish juveniles from adults?

Infancy had long been a conceptually distinct age-marking category defining the essential difference between adults and children and the term was often used interchangeably with "childhood" (e.g.., Schultz, 1985; McLaughlin, 1974). In the eighteenth century, those persons who were not considered infants were beginning to be redefined as something qualitatively different from adults. Childhood, as a newly invented social and intellectual category emerged. Social historians attribute this "new" social construction of childhood to a variety of factors, including the rise of the middle class, the emergence of the modern family, and the extension of formal schooling (Postman, 1994). Childhood (adolescence) was soon believed to designate significant developmental differences between youths and adults. However, the exact nature of these differences was debated between two perspectives. On the one hand, those who held to the Lockean or Protestant image of childhood viewed the child at birth as a blank slate to be written on or developed by responsible adults. Children must be raised and trained into civilized adults. On the other hand were those who held to the Rousseauian, or Romantic image. They viewed childhood as reflecting the pure, spontaneous, and uncorrupted qualities of the young. Children must be allowed to grow and develop with as little intrusion as possible by already corrupted adults.

Regardless of the ultimate merits of either perspective, they both agreed that children were inherently different from adults. By the end of the nineteenth century, a Progressive vision spearheaded by psychologists, philosophers, and the new education experts was beginning to emerge. It defined childhood as a stage in the development from infancy to adulthood (Dewey, 1899; Freud, 1924, 1925; Hall, 1905).

THE JUVENILE COURT: INCOMPETENCE AND DEPENDENCE VERSUS AUTONOMY AND RESPONSIBILITY

The Progressive vision of the new juvenile court was based on socially constructed definitions of childhood and children designed to justify separate and differential treatment focused on rehabilitation. This new social construction reflected a dramatic change in perceptions about adolescent culpability.

Prior to the Progressive reforms, infancy marked the lower limit of court jurisdiction. Infants were thought to be unable to distinguish right from wrong sufficient to hold them criminally responsible, and thus were exempt from punishment. But the reconstructions of childhood informing the new juvenile court assumed that adolescence was a developmentally distinct stage: Children who had not yet fully achieved puberty, who had not yet finished their formal schooling, and who had not been adequately prepared to enter the adult world were incapable of forming true criminal intent. It was now assumed that children below age 18 were incompetent, unable to be socially or morally responsible, and yet somehow malleable and likely to be receptive to the rehabilitative efforts of juvenile court workers.

Because the juvenile court rejected the idea that children were autonomous, responsible beings, concern over criminal offenses alone was also rejected. To have a separate juvenile court to handle only youth who violated the criminal law would have raised the question of criminal culpability. Thus the court broadened its jurisdiction to allow it to deal with children who not only violated the criminal law, but who behaved in ways that were objectionable to adults—moral and social transgressions—which were essentially tied to the relatively normal misbehaviors of young persons newly categorized into a special age status: adolescence

Understandably, youths who were made subject to the juvenile court in the early years of the twentieth century were rarely serious offenders. Instead of dealing with violent, predatory, and habitual criminal youth who might force the question of criminal responsibility, the courts largely busied themselves with the control and regulation of dependent and morally wayward children, and often the control and regulation was limited to informal handling. The majority of cases (some 5,100) brought to the District of Columbia Juvenile Court between 1917 and 1922, for example, were handled informally. Disorderly conduct, petty theft and damage (often nothing more than "noise making, apple swiping, and window breaking") along with "sleigh riding, throwing papers in sewers, and riding bicycles on the sidewalk" were representative of the majority of juvenile offenders in the court during those years (Rothman, 1980:250). Many of these non-serious delinquencies were explained as the products of other juvenile misbehaviors, such as cigarette smoking and truancy (Sutton, 1988:149).

A reasonable characterization of those youth believed to be the at-risk, targeted subjects of the early juvenile court would suggest that they were young and wayward, socially and morally irresponsible, and legally dependent. Therefore, they were fit subjects for an individualized, nurturing, rehabilitating, and paternalistic court. The few children who did engage in serious delinquencies could always be institutionalized in training schools or possibly, in the more extreme circumstances, waived to criminal court. But the overriding perspective was that treatment, not punishment, was appropriate for non-culpable offending youth. In other words, the juvenile court viewed the basic right of children to be protected from their own bad judgments and from the larger ills of society, but essentially denied adolescents personhood rights—the recognition of the child as an autonomous and capable individual.

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

How might the adolescent population be characterized in the year 2002? Are youths noticeably different from their peers of a hundred years ago? Does the image of children between the ages of 8 and 17 as incompetent, irresponsible, dependent, and non-culpable continue to work? Or, are youth today significantly different from the Progressive's socially constructed and limiting image of childhood?

Neil Postman (1994) suggests that there has been a measurable disappearance of the Progressive's notion of childhood and adolescence over the latter half of the twentieth century. As evidence, he points to the virtual disappearance of children, as children, from the media, including radio, movies, and especially television. Today, as in the Middle Ages, young

persons are being portrayed as miniature adults: "Children . . . do not differ significantly in their interests, language, dress, or sexuality from adults. . ." (Postman, 1994:122-123).

Children also enter puberty at a much earlier age today than they did when the Progressives established the juvenile court. The average age of menarche at the middle of the nineteenth century was 17; by the 1960's it had dropped to 12.8; and by 1999 some studies suggested it was closer to 12.2. In addition, recent studies report that nearly 15 percent of white girls showed evidence of the onset of secondary sex characteristics by age eight. About 15 percent of African American girls evidenced the development of breasts or pubic hair by age seven and nearly half by age eight. (Lemonick, 2000:68).

Children in the new millennium are exposed to much more formal education than their peers of a century earlier. Over 95 percent of children age 14 to 17 were enrolled in high school in 1997, compared to only seven percent in 1890 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000: Table 259; Postman, 1994:xii). The school year was also much shorter in the late 1800s than it was a hundred years later. For instance, in the 1890s, the average length of the school term was only 136 days while in the 1990s it was 178 days (Snyder, 1993:46-47). The percentage of high school graduates has grown from two percent of the seventeen-year-old population in 1870, to 49 percent in 1940, and to nearly 83 percent in 1998 (Feld, 1999:41; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000: Table 263). Youths are not only more book literate today, they are the first generation to develop computer literacy as early as the elementary grades. The technological sophistication of many adolescents ranges from the development of computer software to digital filmmaking and highly creative animation.

The census for 1880 recorded more than one million children between the ages of 10 and 15, or approximately 18 percent of children that age, as being employed. Many were working in factories, mines, and mills or as street vendors or apprentices (Clement, 1985:248-249). The enactment of child-labor laws prohibiting children from working entirely or by delaying their economic entry functioned to remove lower-paid children from the competitive labor market and move them into greater financial dependency on their parents. The impact of the child-labor laws was swift. "Between 1910 and 1930, the number of children between ten and fifteen years of age gainfully employed declined nearly 75 percent, from 18 percent to about 5 percent" (Feld, 1999:43).

Adolescents in the new millennium are significant players in the modern consumer-driven economy. More than 5 million children between the ages of 14 and 17 (or about 31 percent of children that age) work in regular jobs. Their jobs range from providing child care, delivering newspapers, and sacking groceries to working in the fast food industry, as summer recreation counselors, and in retail sales at local malls. Approximately 60 percent of working teenagers under age 18 are employed in the retail industry (Sunoo, 2000; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Table 16). The total purchasing power of adolescents is estimated to be in excess of $100 million. Children between the ages of 6 and 11 wield $17 million in spending money, while youths from 5 to 18 are expected to spend nearly $2 million this year making purchases online (Cardona and Cuneo, 2000; Crockett, 1999). This is a dramatic shift from a century ago when Progressive reformers were enacting child labor laws to protect children from exploitation and abuse.

Adolescents in the new millennium also differ from their counterparts of a hundred years ago on another dimension: their delinquencies involve much more serious criminal behavior, are more frequent, and occur at younger ages. In Chicago, during the decade immediately prior to the establishment of the juvenile court, most of the offenses that juveniles were arrested for involved petty crimes. If the offense was deemed serious, the case might be referred to the grand jury. But there were only about 15 such cases a month and most of these cases involved "burglary, petty depredations upon freight cars, candy or bake shops, or stealing pigeons or rabbits from barns, hoodlum acts that, in the country, would be considered boyish pranks rather than a crime" (Hawes, 1971:162). During the first six months of 1899, the Chicago jail received 332 boys under age 16 who had been arrested on such charges of burglary, "flipping trains," and playing ball on the streets (Platt, 1969: 127). Once the juvenile court was in operation, the typical charges involving children did not appear to be any more serious. Platt notes that "during the earliest years of the Cook County juvenile court,

over 50 percent of the delinquency cases arose from charges of 'disorderly behavior,' 'immorality,' 'vagrancy,' 'truancy, and 'incorrigibility'" (1969:140).

Two-thirds of a century later the pattern of juvenile delinquency began a three-decade long rise in both seriousness and frequency. From the mid-1960s until the mid-1990s, juveniles increasingly accounted for a larger portion of all persons arrested and for a larger portion of both Crime Index Offenses and violent crimes. In 2000, over 1.5 million juveniles were arrested, accounting for 17 percent of total arrests. In addition, juveniles comprised 28 percent of all Crime Index arrests, 25 percent of robbery arrests, and 16 percent of all Index Violent crime arrests. More importantly, about 498,000 of juveniles arrested were under the age of 15. These younger adolescents accounted for more than 155,000 Crime Index arrests. Just over 1,100 were arrested for forcible rape, more than 4,800 for robbery, nearly 16,000 for aggravated assault, and slightly over 24,000 for burglary (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2001:226).

What is to be made of these changes? We argue that on nearly every measure, today's adolescents enter puberty at an earlier age, are better educated, are as much or more involved in the work force, participate more extensively in the consumer-driven economy, and are more involved in serious, violent delinquency than their peers of a century ago. Adolescents today are significantly different from those children targeted by the early juvenile court. Furthermore, developmental psychologists now recognize that there is little to distinguish adolescents from adults on the grounds of competence, comprehension, and reasoning in making important decisions (Melton, 1983; Scott, 1992; Scott and Grisso, 1998).

DIFFERENTIAL OPPRESSION THEORY AND SERIOUS JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Differential oppression theory claims that much delinquency is the product of who children are in relation to adults. By defining children as objects, less socially and morally valuable than adults, and ultimately incapable of sufficiently mature reasoning and responsible action, it becomes easy to deny them criminal responsibility and thus to relegate them to enforced treatment, rehabilitation, and nurturing in the juvenile justice system. The refusal to

hold serious juvenile offenders criminally responsible is nothing more than the state's affirmation of adolescent inferiority and its stamp of approval for denying them their humanity.

Forcing the child to undergo treatment for a criminal act because the child is deemed incapable of responsibility for the act rather than allowing the child to be punished or to face his or her just deserts because the child *is* responsible is a denial of the child's right to be treated as a person. According to Herbert Morris (1995:87), "The right to be treated as a person is a fundamental human right belonging to *all human beings* by virtue of their being human. It is also a natural, inalienable, and absolute right" (italics added). It is consistent with differential oppression theory to argue that our institutions of justice need to respect the choices (albeit bad choices) of juvenile offenders and then hold them responsible for their conduct, not treat or cure them of a condition they are not responsible for as we would an illness.

Differential oppression theory, holding that juveniles make choices within the context of the opportunities they are presented with, is supportive of, and supported by, arguments from just-deserts theory that the individual, even an adolescent, is a sovereign person deserving of punishment for blameworthy decisions (Wilson, 1983; Fogel, 1975; van den Haag, 1975). According to Feld (1999:305): "Blaming a culpable actor for her voluntary choice to do 'wrong' and giving her the consequences that her choice deserves respect her integrity as a morally responsible individual." The juvenile court's traditional emphasis on treatment and rehabilitation not only denies a youth's personal responsibility, but it "reduces offenders' duty to exercise self-control, erodes their obligation to change, and sustains a self-fulfilling prophecy that delinquency occurs inevitably for youths from certain backgrounds" (Feld, 1999:323).

The juvenile court's emphasis on treatment and rehabilitation, denial of the competence of adolescents, and failure to recognize the personhood of children justified differential treatment of juvenile offenders. If differential oppression theory is correct, then serious, violent juvenile offenders must be held responsible and punished appropriately. Punishment is not foreign to the juvenile justice system. The Supreme Court even noted in *Kent v.*

United States (1966) that in the juvenile court, "the child receives the worst of both worlds: he gets neither the protections accorded to adults nor the solicitous care and regenerative treatment postulated for children." Deserved incarcerative punishment not only provides for limited rehabilitative needs of juvenile offenders and protects society from further possible crimes while the youth is incarcerated, it affirms the humanity and personhood of the child.

In the final analysis, differential oppression theory, to be consistent with its underlying premise that children are competent, responsible, autonomous subjects who should be allowed the authorship of their own lives, must be respected and held criminally responsible for their serious delinquencies. The social construction of definitions of children as innocent, immature, incompetent, and not capable of being responsible for choices provides a broad justification for the creation of a separate juvenile justice system. This set of institutions ranging from juvenile courts to miniature prisons, in turn, reinforces images of children as dependent and in need of different and special treatment. The beginning of this new millennium may be the right time to start to recognize the full humanity of children, to grant them their moral value, and to hold them equally responsible for their choices, be they good or bad.

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DEMOGRAPHIC AND CRIMINAL DETERMINANTS OF MORTALITY IN PRISON: THE ODDS OF SURVIVING CONFINEMENT

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Abstract

Several studies have demonstrated the importance of sociodemographic factors on prison mortality. This study advances our understanding of mortality by expanding demographic models to include habitual offenders, primary offenses and sentence length. Using data from the Florida Department of Corrections, this article explores the relationship between demographic and criminal characteristics of inmates and the odds of surviving confinement. Results indicate that criminal characteristics of inmates and medical status more strongly affect the probability of surviving confinement than race and sex. Finally, there was no indication of confounding and interaction effects with the exceptions of a two-way interaction of good health and race, good health and prison offense, and prison offense and sentence length.

INTRODUCTION

The population and deaths in United States prisons have become notably more striking over the past two decades. Official statistics show that the actual number of deaths increased considerably over the years (Maguire and Pastore, 1997; Beck, 2000). Rising population combined with changes in the sentencing laws and the high risk of HIV/AIDS has resulted in an increase in mortality. Florida prisons' mortality increase has been rather striking. In Florida for example, actual observed deaths increased from 60 in 1984 to 174 in 1993. The proportion of deaths grew by about 190% for the 9-year period. Crude death rates increased from 2.2 per 1,000 in 1984 to 3.3 per 1,000 in 1993 (Florida Department of Corrections Annual Reports, 1984 to 1999). Other studies show that not only is mortality on the increase in U.S. prisons but also most of the deaths are AIDS-related (Hammett, Harmon, Maruschak, 1999; Amankwaa, 1995; Harlow, 1993). Yet, little is known about the precise nature of the determinants of mortality in prison. Studies of the determinants of mortality in the general population often seek to measure the impact of socioeconomic and demographic factors on mortality. Substantial insights can be gained if, in addition to the socioeconomic and demographic factors, offense type of inmates are examined.

This article explores a neglected topic in criminal justice and demographic literature: the link between mortality and inmate characteristics. Specifically, we examine the odds of an inmate dying in prison given demographic, criminal characteristics and medical status of inmates at the time of incarceration. The question is do offense type influences inmates mortality risks in prison? To answer this question, we evaluate the probability of surviving confinement using bivariate and multivariate analyses. The data for the study are drawn from detailed records of inmates in the Florida Department of Corrections, and include all releases in 1997-98 fiscal year.

Given the unavailability of medical variables, such as diagnosis and cause of death in the data set, which are very important in analyzing determinants of mortality, this article does not address causes of death. Whether or not an inmate died from AIDS, cancer or cardiovascular disease is beyond the scope of this article and thus will not be examined.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: FACTORS LINKING OFFENSE TYPE AND MORTALITY

Based on previous findings, we expect that crime record is associated with mortality risks. In this section we outline some of the mechanisms that might produce this relationship.

Criminologist have investigated the relationship between offense type and sentencing policies (Cullen, Bynum, Garrett and Greene, 1985; McGarreell and Flanagan, 1987), including the effects of three strikes and you're out laws on the age structure of the prison population (Schmertmann, Amankwaa and Long, 1998). Much research suggests that the prison populations constitute different types of felony offenses which include, but are not limited to, murder, forcible rape, burglary, larceny, theft and arson. Moreover, and perhaps very important for health reasons, inmates are particularly

prone to different health risks because of over-crowding (Koehler, 1994; Woods, Harris and Solomon, 1997). For example, inmates who sever longer in prison are more likely to have higher mortality associated with degenerative diseases. However, those who are incarcerated for shorter durations are also at risk of communicable and other infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis (TB) (Koehler, 1994; Woods, Harris and Solomon, 1997).

Furthermore, given the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other infectious and degenerative diseases in the U.S. prison system (Amankwaa, 1995; Hammett, Harmon and Maruschak, 1999), inmates tend to be more at risk than the general population because of institutionalization. Fortunately, our data allows control not only of time served but also primary and habitual offenses. Consequently, we can estimate the impact of time served on mortality. Thus, there are multiple reasons to expect offense type to be associated with higher mortality.

MEDICAL STATUS AND MORTALITY

Previous studies have suggested that the risk of surviving confinement varies by medical status. It has been argued that the structure of mortality in a population is determined not by the differences in fatality rates but by the incidence and prevalence of various diseases (United Nations, 1982). In fact, the association between medical status and mortality may be influenced by the environment in which the population lives. Nevertheless, medical status may be related to several factors, which we cannot measure, that may work to increase the risk of mortality. Some of these include how disease is perceived within the prison system. Within the prison setting, diseases that are regarded as a gradual deterioration in health status or are infectious in nature (HIV/AIDS and TB), which must be prevented, is given immediate attention (Hammett, Harmon and Maruschak, 1999). Furthermore, inmates whose diseases are perceived to be less threatening often face health hassles that have the potential to result in the loss of health benefits due to lack of or improper medical attention (Engle, 1999). Other factors involve problems of discouraging high risk sexual activity in prisons (Amankwaa, Amankwaa and Ochie, 1999).

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS AND MORTALITY

People who commit crimes may differ de-mographically from the general population. Much research suggests that people who commit crimes, on average, are young, black or Hispanic persons, not white (Hussey and Elo, 1997; Rogers, 1995; Kallan, 1997). Much research suggests that age, ethnicity, and sex are associated with mortality. Because these demographic characteristics are also related to the risks of mortality we controlled for them in our models.

Another important factor associated with mortality is socioeconomic status. For example, inmates who are more educated may be more likely to engage in healthy behaviors and have lower mortality rates. Thus, an observed association between an inmates healthier life styles and mortality may, in fact be due to socioeconomic characteristics. Indeed, our data set allows control for the education of inmates. As a result we can directly assess the impact of education on mortality.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH FINDINGS

Socioeconomic and demographic variables are unquestionably important in predicting mortality. It is well documented that socioeconomic status is an important predictor of a person's health and mortality (Kallan, 1997; Feinstein, 1993; Preston and Taubman, 1994; Williams and Collins, 1995; Hummer, Rogers and Eberstein 1998; Rogers, 1995). Previous studies suggest that individuals with high income and education enjoy the benefits of longer and healthier life (Feinstein, 1993; Preston and Taubman, 1994; Williams and Collins, 1995; Hummer, Rogers and Eberstein 1998). The healthier an individual, the lower their mortality risk. Furthermore, some research indicates that race, age, and marital status influence a person's risk of dying (Hussey and Elo, 1997; Rogers, 1995; Kallan, 1997).

A number of variables have been identified in the research literature as important correlates of mortality. For example, income and education have been found to have a remarkable moderating effect on the risk of dying (Smith, Shipley and Rose, 1990; Potter, 1991; McCord and Freeman, 1990; Elo and Preston, 1996, 1997; Hummer, Rogers and Eberstein, 1998; Johnson et al, 1999) with various explanations for the differences. Furthermore, Johnson and colleagues (1999), using U.S. longitudinal data of persons aged 25-64, concluded that mortality differences exist for se-

lected specific occupations beyond those explained by social status, income and education. Overall Doornbus and Kromhout (1991) found that there is a more persistent pattern of mortality differentials by education.

A larger literature investigates the effects of educational inequalities, sex, and race on adult mortality (Christenson and Johnson, 1995). Using Michigan's 1989-1991 death certificates, in conjunction with the 1990 Census data, Christenson and Johnson demonstrated that variations in education status differ by sex and race across the adult life cycle. In addition, the research shows that the relative differences in mortality rates between educational levels decline with age across sex and race categories.

Age has been one of the long-standing variables of interest in analyzing adult mortality. Following the initial work by Gompertz, Olshanskey and Carnes (1997), mathematical models show that the very young and the old have the highest death rates. Although these mathematical models are interesting, they do not adequately capture the actual variability in the human experience with death. Recently, researchers have developed genetic models of human frailty that attempt to combine demographic analysis with quantitative genetics and epidemiology (Weiss, 1990; Yashin and Iachine, 1997).

Other studies, however, have focused on the general linkage between marriage and the risk of mortality. One very important finding in demography is that married individuals' mortality rates are lower than those who are unmarried. In both developed and developing countries there is evidence to indicate the beneficial effects of marriage on mortality (Hu and Goldman, 1990; Rahman, 1993).

Most of the past work has focused on gaining an understanding of the determinants of mortality in the general population. Thus (understandably) there is little or no literature on the association between criminal characteristics and mortality. Although offense type may be relevant in understanding criminal behavior, it is possible that offense types vary significantly within the prison population. In the context of mortality research, inmates incarcerated with violent offences are more likely to serve longer sentences. Intraprison disparities of offense types therefore might lead to differences in mortality risks between violent and nonviolent offenses unless the length of sentence is held constant.

Hammett, Harmon and Maruschak (1999) use data on prisoners from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Prisoner Statistics and Bureau of Justice Statistics to examine AIDS- related mortality. Hammett, Harmon and Maruschak (1999) find AIDS a significant cause of death in prison. Their analysis, however, gives no attention to the determinants of mortality in prison. Amankwaa (1995) used data from the Florida Department of Corrections to examine causes of death. His research shows that AIDS is the major cause of death in the Florida prison system. Similar results were found among male prisoners in Maryland (Salive, Smith and Brewer, 1990). None of these studies sought to examine the effect of offense type on mortality. In short how the combined effect of demographic, offense type and medical status of inmates affect the chances (log odds) of surviving incarceration remains an issue to be explored.

DATA AND MEASURES

The data for the analysis came from the Florida Department of Corrections. In our analysis we used the data set containing all releases for the fiscal year 1997-98. Using the release data file for this analysis is deemed appropriate since death, a demographic outcome, is considered an exit from prison. For this very reason any inmate who died in prison is regarded as unable to survive confinement, while any offender who served his or her time successfully survives confinement. The present analysis is based on a total population of 24,490 inmates released, of which there were 225 deaths excluding all executions.

Information on the exact causes of death is not available on the inmate release data files. Consequently, this analysis uses information on the medical status[1] of the inmate as proxy for physical conditions. The measure of medical grade[1] is an indication of the severity or otherwise of the inmate's health conditions.

In this analysis we created a variable, survive confinement, from the release data set. The variable survive confinement is in a binary form categorized into whether the inmate died (i.e., unable to survive confinement) or survives confinement (i.e., inmate was released for other reasons). Such a measure is more feasible to interpret. For the logistic regression model, a

dependent variable is expressed in a binary form. Once incarcerated one can only exit after completion of sentence (including control release) or death.

The independent variables used in our model, as shown in Table 1, are sex, race, educational level tested[2], age at release, sentence length, primary offense[3], habitual offenders and medical status. Race/ethnicity have been hypothesized to be an important predictor of mortality (Elo & Preston,1996). Race is treated as categorical variable with blacks, Hispanics, and other, coded as 0 and white coded as 1. Sex in this analysis is a dichotomous dummy variable: coded 0 equals female and 1 equals male. Our demographic controls are age and years of education. The average age of an inmate at the time of release is 33 years with a standard deviation of 9.53 indicating some dispersion. Education is measured in single years with the average years of education 7.16.

Our criminal measures include habitual offenders, primary offense[3] (categorized into violent and nonviolent offenders) and sentence length. Inmates who commit violent crimes, in general, are given longer sentences. The average time served is 452 months with a standard deviation of 67.64 indicating that there is a greater variability in the time served. These criminal characteristics of inmates may affect their likelihood of dying in prison. For example, the policy of mandatory sentences may affect survival chances directly, simply by preventing the offender from getting out earlier.

The data also include detailed information about the medical status of inmates. We classified medical status of the inmate in four ways: 1) no organic diseases, 2) minimum organic diseases, 3) moderate organic diseases and 4) severe organic diseases may affect whether or not an inmate will die in prison. Consequently, this analysis uses information on the medical status of the inmate as a proxy for physical conditions at time of release. The measure of medical grade is an indication of the severity or otherwise of the inmate's health conditions.

FICS Book Review

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**Table 1. Definitions and Mean Distributions of Variables Released, Florida
Prisons: 1997-98**

Variable	Definition	Mean	Standard Deviation
Dependent			
S	Inmate Survived Confinement 1 = Survived 0 = Died		
Independent			
Female	Sex of inmate 0 = female 1 = male		
White	Race of inmate 0 = Other 1 = Black 2 = White		
Education	Average Grade Tested (measured in years)	7.16	3.59
Age	Age Released (Months)	32.85	9.53
Primary Offense	Offense type[6] 0 = nonviolent 1 = violent		
Habitual Offender	Habitual offenders 0 = No 1 = Yes		
Sentence length	Sentence length in Months 0 = > 60 months 1 = < 59 months	451.99	67.64
NPS†	Medical status at admission 1 = Unrestricted (healthy) 2 = Minimum Organic Diseases 3 = Moderate Organic Diseases 0 = Severe Organic Diseases		

† NPS implies Normal Physical Stamina

Table 2. Composition and Distribution of Inmates Releases in 1997-98 and Bivariate Analyses of Surviving Confinement in Florida Prison system

Variable	Number Survive Confinement	Number Dead	Odds Ratio
Race:			
White	10,555	103	0.896
Black, Hispanic and other	13,935	122	
Sex:			
Male	22,516	212	0.699
Female	1,974	13	
Education Tested:			1.150***
No Education/Primary	8,722	101	
Middle/High	11,474	65	
College	2,792	13	
Age Released:			0.909***
Under 29	9,943	29	
30-39	9,062	56	
40-49	4,196	60	
50-59	993	40	
60-69	229	25	
70+	65	15	
Offense Type:			
Violent	12,432	129	0.766**
Nonviolent	12,056	96	
Habitual Offense:			
No	22,130	191	
Yes	2,358	34	1.679***
Length of sentence (months):			0.201
Less than 48	13,435	38	
49-360	10,588	120	
361-601	179	15	
Medical status:			
Unrestricted	13,745	15	514.183***
Minimum Organic Diseases	8,481	28	169.774***
Moderate Organic Diseases	1,729	32	29.818***
Severe Organic Diseases	414	149	

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.05$

In Table 2, we show the number of inmates surviving confinement and the number that died. The results indicate that more Blacks, Hispanics and other racial groups died than Whites. In the 1997-98 fiscal year, the number of inmates who died in prison is higher among violent offenders than nonviolent offenders. Inmates with a severe medical status are more likely to die in prison than those with less severe health conditions. Table 2 also shows that inmates with longer sentences are more likely to die in prison. Further, as age increases, the disparity becomes even more pronounced.

ANALYTICAL APPROACH

In this study, mortality is treated as a binary outcome variable, which is associated with explanatory variables. Let S be survival through confinement of the ith released inmate, which takes the value of 1 if the inmate survives confinement and 0 if the inmate dies in confinement. Logistic regression models are employed in this analysis since the dependent variable is dichotomous (Hanushek and Jackson 1977). From the general model presented below the odds of an inmate surviving confinement (with x = 1) is defined as p(1)/[1 - p(1)]. Similarly, the odds of dying (with x = 0) is defined as p(0)/[1 - p(0)]. However, the logit difference as denoted by z, which is defined as the log of the odds ratio (or log-odds), is algebraically represented as

$$z = \ln \frac{p(1)/[1 - p(1)]}{\{p(0)/[1 - p(0)]\}} \quad (1)$$

or

$$\ln(z) = \ln(e^{\beta_1}) = \beta_1 \quad (2)$$

Data analysis focuses primarily on the question: Do socio-demographic and criminal characteristics of inmates affect their likelihood of surviving confinement? Data analysis addressing the question is carried out in two major stages. First, we estimate the bivariate relationship among the key variables.

Second, we estimate a multivariate logistic model of surviving confinement. Four equations were estimated in this analysis. We first estimate three equations that describe the likelihood of inmates surviving confinement, controlling for age, education, sentence length and primary offense. Then we add a variety of control variables (medical status, sentence length, habitual offense and primary offense) that might account for observed variation. The following equation illustrates the approach employed:

$$S_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + ... \sum_{u=1}^{k-1} \beta_{ru} D_{ru} + \beta_p x_p \quad (3)$$

In summary, the findings from using the logistic model as shown in equation 1 will be used to draw some practical inferences from the estimated coefficients. The estimated parameter (ß) will be interpreted as the effect of each predictor on the logged odds of an inmate surviving (released) confinement.

FINDINGS

BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

The analysis begins with a discussion of the bivariate relationships shown in Table 3. The results show a remarkable number of significant relationships that seem to indicate the importance of demographic and criminal characteristics on the inmate's ability to survive confinement. Looking at Table 3 we see that inmates with no education are more likely to die in confinement than those with some education. Since we used the entire population in this analysis as a measure of the degree of statistical association between education and surviving confinement, we calculated the difference between the proportions. The difference in proportions in our case is 0.007. Although the proportion is small, it shows that the probability of dying in prison is different depending on whether the inmate has no education or some education.

Table 3. Bivariate Distribution: Survival and Educational Level.

Survival Status	Educational Level (Score)				
	No Education	Middle/High School/some College	No Education	Middle/High School/Some College	Differences
	Frequency	Frequency	Proportion	Proportion	Proportion
Dead	101	78	0.012	0.005	0.007
Survive Confinement	8621	14188	0.988	0.995	-0.007
Total	8722	14266	1.00	1.00	0.00

X^2=26.470; df (2) 2-sided p=.000

Table 4 also indicates that inmates who are classified as normal and physically capable for work (i.e., unrestricted medically) are less likely to die in prison compared to those with moderate or severe organic diseases. For example, inmates with moderate or severe organic diseases are about 7 times more likely to die in confinement than those with minimum organic diseases. The difference in proportion is 0.072. There is a strong association between health status and surviving confinement as indicated by the chi-square and p-values (chi-square = 5738.960; p=.000).

We were also interested in determining whether an inmate's criminal status (primary offense) makes any difference in the chances of surviving confinement. In Table 5 we cross-tabulated offense type by survival status. For example, the probability is higher among those who committed violent offenses, such as murder or manslaughter, than nonviolent offenders, 0.01 and 0.008 respectively. Overall, the differences in proportion show that a higher proportion of inmates who commit violent crimes die during the period of incarceration compared to those who committed less violent crimes. There is clearly a statistically significant relationship between primary offense and death, since z^2 = 3.917 at a = .048.

Table 4. Bivariate Distribution: Survival and Medical Status at Release.

Survival Status	Medical Status at Release				
	Minimum/ unrestricted	Moderate/ severe	Minimum/ unrestricted	Moderate/ severe	Differences
	Frequency	Frequency	Proportion	Proportion	Proportion
Dead	43	181	0.012	0.084	-0.072
Survive Confinement	22183	1962	0.988	0.915	0.083
Total	22226	2143	1.00	1.00	0.00

X^2=5738.960; df (3); 2-sided p=.000

Table 5. Bivariate Distribution: Survival and Criminal Status (Primary Offense)

Survival Status	Primary Offense				
	Violent	Nonviolent	Violent	Nonviolent	Differences
	Frequency	Frequency	Proportion	Proportion	Proportion
Dead	129	96	0.01	0.008	0.002
Survive Confinement	12303	11960	0.99	0.992	0.002
Total	12432	12056	1.00	1.00	0.00

$X^2=3.917$; df (1); 2-sided p=.048

Further, Table 6 demonstrates the probability of surviving confinement when criminal status is held constant. Among inmates who have minimal organic diseases, those with violent behaviors are twice as likely to die in prison (0.002 and 0.001). Similarly, among inmates with moderate or severe health conditions, those who are nonviolent are more likely to survive confinement (0.07 to 0.10). However, an inmate's primary offense type does not eliminate all the differences in surviving confinement between those with minimum health conditions and those with severe health problems. In fact, inmates with minimum health conditions are still more likely to survive confinement compared to violent and nonviolent offenders, but the differences have been diminished somewhat from that found in Table 3, where primary offense was not held constant. The significance of the relationship ($z^2 = 3292.101$ at a = .000) leads to the conclusion that there is a nonzero co-variation.

Table 4. Bivariate Distribution: Survival and Medical Status at Release.

Survival Status	Primary Offense					
	Violent			Nonviolent		
	Medical Status at Release			Medical Status at Release		
	Minimum/ unrestricted	Moderate severe	Total	Minimum/ unrestricted	Moderate/ severe	Total
	Proportion (f)	Proportion (f)	Proportion (f)	Proportion(f)	Proportion (f)	Proportion (f)
Died in Confinement	0.002 (26)	0.10 (102)	0.01 (128)	0.001 (17)	0.07 (79)	0.008 (96)
Survive Confinement	0.998 (11341)	0.90 (913)	0.99 (12254)	0.88 (10841)	0.93 (1049)	0.99 (11890)
Total	0.92 (11367)	0.08 (1015)	1.00 (12382)	0.91 (10858)	0.094 (1128)	1.00 (11986)

$X^2=3292.101$, df (3) 2-tail p=.000

Bivariate analysis of the log odds of surviving confinement are presented in Table 2. There was a strong positive association between education, medical status, and habitual offender, all of which are statistically significant. There appears to be little or no impact of race, and sex on the odds of surviving confinement. For example, whites are .896 times less likely to survive confinement relative to other racial groups. However, the odds of surviving confinement among the racial groups are not statistically significant.

MULTIVARIATE RESULTS

Before interpreting the results, it is important to mention that the logistic regression was estimated using maximum likelihood. We introduced variables from demographic, primary offense, habitual offense, and medical status sequentially to observe changes in individual coefficients, their standard errors and in the overall fit ("-2 log-likelihood ratio"). For each independent variable the estimated coefficient is presented with the standard error of the estimates in parenthesis and the expected (ß) given just below. In addition to the estimated coefficients, the estimated log likelihood and chi-square are listed for every model. The outcome variable is coded 1 for inmates who survive confinement and 0 for those who died prior to being released. Thus, a positive coefficient implies an increased probability of surviving confinement. The multivariate effects of the covariates on the conditional probabilities of surviving confinement are reported in Table 7.

Table 7 presents the estimated odds ratios and standard errors for logistic regressions in which the dependent variable is a dichotomous indicator of whether inmates survived confinement at the time they were released in the 1997-98 fiscal year. To understand more fully the effects of criminal and demographic characteristics on surviving confinement, we regressed demographic and criminal predictors: sex, ethnic/race, educational level, age of inmate, medical status, prison offence, habitual offense, and sentence length on surviving confinement. Four separate models are estimated with varying sample sizes.

The results in Table 7 indicate that the log odds of surviving confinement vary by sex, even after holding education, race/ethnicity, and medical status constant. There is a statistically significant lower probability of males

surviving confinement compared to females. In model 1 the probability of surviving confinement is lower for males. For instance, the log odds 0.578 attached to the variable "male" means, holding age, education, race and medical status constant, the probability of surviving confinement is smaller by 58% for males compared to females. In other words, males are more at risk of dying during the period of incarceration than females.

The odds ratio of the race variable indicates that Whites are less likely to survive confinement than Blacks, Hispanics and other minority groups. For example if primary and habitual offense are controlled, the odds of Whites surviving confinement is 0.62 times less than Blacks, Hispanics and other racial groups. The odds are barely significant at the 0.10 level. However, there is no evidence in Model 1 to suggest that racial differences influence the probability of surviving confinement. Even though the estimated coefficient for Whites compared to Blacks and other racial groups(the reference category) is statistically not significant, the adjusted odds ratio is $z = e^{-.027} = .974$ suggesting that the log-odds (expected $ß = .974$) of Whites surviving confinement is lower than any other racial category. The results indicate that there is no significant racial difference on the odds of surviving confinement when the remaining independent variables are held constant. The insignificant effect of race may be due to the absence of preferential treatment among prison inmates.

Under the assumption that the logit is linear in the covariate "age at release", the estimated odds ratio for an increase in 10 years in age at release is $z(10) = \exp(10 \times -0.210) = .122$. This indicates that for every increase of 10 years in age at release, the risk of surviving confinement decreases by 0.122 times controlling for education, age, race, sex, medical status, habitual offense, sentence length and interaction terms.

The results presented in Table 7 (i.e., models 1 and 2) suggest that the average grade tested of inmates influences the odds of surviving confinement. Specifically, we hypothesize that individual inmates may increase their survival chances if their average grade tested is higher. As an illustration, the estimated odds ratio for an increase of 10 years in the average

Table 7. Logistic Regression Results for Analysis of Demographic, Sentence Length and Offense Type

Independent Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Odds Ratio (SE)	Odds Ratio (SE)	Odds Ratio (SE)	Odds Ratio (SE)
Sex Female Male	1.000 0.578 (0.330)	......	1.000 2.686 (0.340)***	1.000 2.628 (0.342)***
Race Black other (ref) White	1.000 0.974 (0.185)	......	1.000 0.716 (0.292)	1.000 0.665 (0.293)
Education	1.030 (0.024)	......	1.071 (0.27)***	1.073 (0.027) ***
Age at release	0.975 (0.007) ***	......	0.982 (0.008)***	0.983 (0.008)**
Medical Status Severe Organic Diseases (ref) Unrestricted Minimum Organic Diseases Moderate Organic Diseases	1.000 364.009 (0.313)*** 157.440 (0.253)*** 27.874 (0.226)***	....	1.000 81.778 (0.924) 30.958 (0.896)*** 6.926 (0.896)***	1.000 87.196 (0.925)*** 33.653(0.899)*** 7.397(0.899)**
Primary Offense Non-violent (ref) Violent		1.000 1.117 (0.155)	1.000 0.519 (0.296)***	1.000 0.738 (0.355)
Habitual Offender Yes (ref) No		1.000 1.496 (0.199) **	......	1.000 1.619 (0.258)*
Sentence Length(months)		0.205 (0.163)***	......	0.996 (0.002)*
Interactions Race * Medical status			0.453 (0.390) ***	0.454 (0.391)**
Prison Offense *Medical status			0.879(0.387)	0.929 (0.388)
Prison Offense *sentence length			0.995 (0.001)***	0.998 (0.002)
-2 Log-Likelihood	1199.259	1937.734	989.643	983.615
Number of Cases	22,966	24,200	22,786	22,786
df	7	3	11	13

*** < 0.001; ** p £ 0.05; p £ .10

grade tested is $z(10) = \exp(10 * .106) = 2.89$. This indicates that for every 10 years increase in the average grade tested, the probability of surviving confinement increases 2.89 times. Thus, we find evidence for the average grade tested and the likelihood of surviving confinement net of the effects of the remaining independent variables.

There is evidence to suggest that, both substantively and methodologically, medical status influences the probability of surviving confinement. The medical status factors produced mixed evidence. In models 1 and 3 (Table 7), the dummy variable "unrestricted" (i.e., normal physical stamina) shows positive and statistically significant coefficients. The odds of surviving confinement for an inmate with an "unrestricted" initial medical diagnosis is 110.374 times compared to those diagnosed with severe organic diseases.

Furthermore, those diagnosed with moderate or minimum physical conditions are more likely to survive confinement compared to inmates with severe organic diseases (the base category). This finding is consistent with the argument that health status is a function of life expectancy (Weiss, 1990). Thus, on the basis of this analysis it would appear that an inmate's primary and habitual offense, age at release, sex, educational level tested, and medical status are the best predictors of surviving confinement rather than race and sex.

In contrast, striking differentials are evident with respect to the measures of an inmate's offense type. As in bivariate analysis in Table 2, inmates who are not habitual offenders are more likely to survive confinement than habitual offenders (omitted category). We also find significant the effects of habitual offenses on surviving confinement without controlling for sex, race, educational level, and medical status. Model 2 shows that the odds of surviving confinement for non-habitual offenders is 1.496 times greater than for habitual offenders, and the advantage is statistically significant at the 0.04 level.

Another difference in the results in Table 7 compared to Table 2 is that inmates with violent offenses have a higher risk of dying in confinement compared to those who committed nonviolent offenses. In general, the probability of surviving confinement for inmates who committed nonviolent crimes is higher as compared with the base category (inmates who committed violent offenses). Although the odds are significant at the bivariate level, it is statistically insignificant in model 2. Because the odds ratio is statistically not significant, we conclude that there is no significant difference in the probability of surviving confinement for violent and nonviolent offenders.

INTERACTIONS OF RACE WITH MEDICAL STATUS

Now let us consider the two-way interaction terms involving race and medical grade, and primary offense and medical status (model 8). It is important to mention that the effects of any variable involved in interaction cannot be adequately interpreted without considering the other variables with which it interacts.

Examining the results in Table 7, we see that the estimated coefficient for the independent variable "unrestricted" changed from 364.009 in model 1 to 81.778 in model 3, when interaction terms were added to the model. The odds of surviving confinement are higher for inmates who were diagnosed with no organic diseases than if the inmates were diagnosed with severe organic systemic diseases. For example, the odds of surviving confinement are more than 364 times greater among those diagnosed as unrestricted (compared to those with severe organic systemic diseases) and smaller by about 81.778 times for Whites in relation to base category (i.e., Black, Hispanics and other racial groups). However, the effect of medical status on surviving confinement also depends on race. For example, white inmates with unrestricted conditions reduce their odds of surviving confinement by only .453 compared with the base category (model 3). The statistically significant coefficient of the interaction terms of race and medical status in both models 3 and 4 suggest that the odds of surviving confinement is lower among Whites than Blacks and other racial groups.

INTERACTIONS OF PRIMARY OFFENSE WITH MEDICAL STATUS AND SENTENCE LENGTH

Interactions of the primary offense, medical status, and length of sentence were not statistically significant; this finding suggests that nonviolent and violent criminal behavior affect the odds of surviving confinement in the same order of magnitude among inmates with restricted and severe organic diseases (model 4). For example, the result of the two-way interaction suggests that inmates who are vio-

lent and were diagnosed as moderate/severe are 0.879 times less likely to survive confinement as those with unrestricted/minimum health conditions.

However, the differences in surviving confinement by type of offense depends on the length of sentence. The odds of surviving confinement among violent offenders diminished by 0.5% (e^{-005} = 0.995; Model 4) for each month incarcerated. In other words, nonviolent offenders show survival advantages compared to violent inmates. On the other hand, the odds of the non-violent surviving confinement versus violent offenders diminished by 12.1% ($e^{-0.129}$ = 0.879) although it is statistically not significant. Furthermore, the multiplicative two-way interaction between White and moderate or severe organic diseases did produce statistically significant results.

DISCUSSION

Our analysis draws attention to the importance of demographic characteristics, criminal characteristics and medical status. In fact the results of the analysis regarding the log-odds of surviving confinement are interesting in themselves, but they also clarify some important issues about criminal characteristics. These findings underscore the need to include offense type of inmates in our attempt to estimate the odds of surviving confinement. Our analysis demonstrates that measures of offense type are not only predictors of prison mortality, but they also vary across levels of medical status. Theoretically, this is consistent with the argument that the more severe the offense, the longer the time served, since the length of one's sentence enhances an individual's age and consequently increases the ability to resist degenerative disease and accidental deaths.

These findings pose questions about the applicability of theoretical and empirical findings in demography to subpopulations such as prison: (1) how relevant is offense type (criminal characteristics) on the probability of surviving confinement, and (2) what is the appropriate sentence length?

Previous studies on mortality in prison are based on descriptive statistics. There is evidence to suggest that mortality is on the rise in prison. Data such as these does not allow policymakers to fully understand the effects of offense type, sentence length and health status on survival. In contrast, our analysis, focuses

on the relevance of criminal characteristics on the probability of surviving confinement. We thus highlight the importance of criminal characteristics, which affect the odds of surviving confinement, a factor that has been underemphasized in earlier studies of prison mortality. There is considerable evidence, in demographic literature (Gompertz, Olshanskey and Cranes, 1997; Christenson and Johnson, 1995; Elo and Preston, 1997) that age tends to increase the risk of death. Because of the changes in sentencing laws in Florida and elsewhere, keeping criminals in the prison system longer rather increases this probability.

Another striking observation in this study is that education tends to influence inmates' chances of surviving confinement. Evidence from this study tends to support the argument that mortality differentials exist based on levels of education (Doornbus and Kromhout, 1991; Duleep, 1989). Educational advantages tend not to diminish even when one is incarcerated. Although incarceration tends to limit one's personal freedoms as it relates to medical care, education appears to improve the chances of an inmate surviving confinement, if primary offense is held constant.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

These results have implications about how the likelihood of aging in prison and the corresponding frailty and complications associated with aging influence the risk of mortality. Increases in age may lead to increased frailty as a consequence of worsening of degenerative diseases that not only affect the cost of geriatric care but also increased mortality. Even though prison age structure may vary, there is evidence to suggest a strong relationship between aging, degenerative diseases and health care cost.

Reduction in the number of the aging prison population through controlled release programs, will help to reduce the hidden cost of health care for the chronically ill. Although it is possible that some older inmates are capable of committing various crimes when released (Schmertmann, Amankwaa & Long, 1998), it is also possible that keeping the aged incarcerated who pose no threat to society will add to the overall cost of prisons, specifically health care. It is difficult to predict *a priori* how the negative and positive influences will balance out and what their net effects will be. How-

ever, there is evidence to suggest that the odds of surviving confinement decrease with increasing age across levels of medical status.

NOTES
1. The variable medical status is classified into five categories. These categories indicate that the inmate has (1) normal physical stamina, ie unrestricted, (2) minimum organic systemic diseases (3) moderate organic systemic diseases and thus requires reasonable available care, and (4) severe organic systemic diseases, requires continuous monitoring and (5) pregnant inmate. The term organic involves the following diseases: cardiovascular, respiratory, gastrointestinal, neurological, endocrine, metabolic, lack of nutrition, physique and age. For purposes of this research categories 1, 2, 3 were coded as 1 respectively with 4 as 0 while pregnant inmates were excluded.

2. The Florida Department of Corrections re-evaluates inmates by reclassifying them into grade levels. Several variables are employed in estimating the grade level of an inmate. First, the Bureau of Education in the Department of Corrections administers a preliminary examination to determine the type of examination to give each inmate. A second appropriate test is given in comprehension, mechanical and spelling, including vocation. Using a testing procedure developed by the department all convicted criminals are examined to assess their current educational level. An estimated mean of the tests indicate the functional grade level of the inmate. It is believed that the score obtained by each inmate truly reflects the individual inmate's educational level.

3. Type of offense (nonviolent and violent) is based on a broad classification of more than 50 primary offenses. These 50 offense groups were regrouped first into 29 and later 10 categories based on the new sentencing guidelines. The new structure arranges offenses by level of seriousness from least severe (Level 1) to most severe (Level 10). Within each category there are a variety of different types of offenses. In this analysis we re-categorized Levels 6 through 10 as violent (including murder, manslaughter etc) and Levels 1 through 6 as nonviolent.

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DRUG RELATED VIOLENCE AMONG MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH IN LAREDO, TEXAS: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

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Abstract
While the problem of drug related gang violence may no longer command national media and a high level of policymakers' attention and concern, in border communities, drug related barrio gang violence remains a major concern on both sides of the border, and for their communities' respective leaders and policymakers. The project's larger study examines the epidemiology of drug related violence among Mexican American youth in two communities and three major neighborhoods in Laredo, Texas. With regard to gang members' lifetime use of drugs like heroin, cocaine, crack/cocaine, amphetamines, other opiates, inhalants, acid/psychedelics and marijuana, Laredo gang members reported wide ranges of substances and levels of use. Unlike earlier community gang studies, the sampling approach and method allows us to speak to a wider range of gangs, gang members, and activities that other earlier studies were not able to address. The data suggests that It is unlikely that gangs, drugs, and violence will abate in border gateway cities.

INTRODUCTION

The persistence and spread of gangs in Mexican American (M/A) communities are not new concerns (Moore, 1986; Gonzalez, Moore & Mata, 1980; Zatz, 1980), yet the growth and spread of drug related barrio youth gang violence remains a major dominating issue-- particularly in borderland communities (Sanders, 1996; Moore & Virgil, 1993; Moore, 1991; Spergel, 1993). While the problem of drug related gang violence appears to no longer command national media attention or to be of interest to high-level federal and state policymakers, drug related barrio gang violence remains a compelling concern on both sides of the border, as well as for their communities' respective leaders and policymakers.

With the exception of Sander and Fagan's (Fagan, 1989, 1992, 1992, 1993, 1996) work, there is a dearth of research on drug related violence in border communities, especially those with longstanding gang problems. Actually, the problems and issues associated with drugs, gangs, and violence in border communities remain largely unaddressed in both social science research (Jankowski, 1991; Klein & Maxson, 1989; Moore, 1991; Vigil, 1988) and government monitoring/reporting systems, such as DAWN, ADAM, and PULSE (Harrison & Kennedy, 1994).

Valdez and Mata found two predominantly Mexican American cities in Texas (San Antonio and Laredo) to have experienced an unprecedented increase in illicit drug use and violence among its youth and youth adults. Their interest was in particular stimulated by (1) the growth and spread of gangs along the U.S./Mexico border, (2) the longstanding relationship between gangs and drugs, (3) the escalating nature of youth and gang violence, and (4) the growing involvement of gangs in narco-trafficking. Valdez and Mata designed a large study to examine the epidemiology of drug related violence among Mexican American youth in two communities and three major neighborhoods in Laredo and San Antonio. The purpose of the overall study was to identify and distinguish the relationship between gang violence and illicit drug use among youth and young adults ages 14 to 25 years, who would be derived from street active M/A youth using a community field study methodology.

This article focuses on the City of Laredo and presents preliminary findings from this three-and-one-half year project. The paper will also suggest the growing importance and need for primary basic studies, such as this Center for Drug and Social Policy Research (CDSPRC) effort, as well as social indica-

tor-based reports like those of Border Epidemiology Workgroup (BEWG), PULSE and Texas Commission on Drugs and Alcoholism (TCADA). The essay largely explores Laredo's border community youth gangs -- type and range;and second explores the role that gang membership status plays in gang activities, drug use, illegal and other criminal activities and experiences with family and selected acts of street violence.

WEBB COUNTY- CENSUS DATA:

The metropolitan area of Laredo has a population of over 133,239 (U.S. Census, 1990). However, the estimate for the population of Webb County in 1998 was 188,166, and in 1997 it was 181,302, a change of 6,864 individuals. The comparison of urban and rural population percentages for this county have never fluctuated significantly. The urban population is 123,682, while the rural is 9,557. For the past decade, Laredo has largely been an urban community and one of the cities that has quickly increased commercially. The gender breakdown in 1990 was 63,959 male, and 69,280 female. Persons of Mexican origin comprised 94 percent of the total population in Webb County, Texas.

The educational attainment for persons above the age of 25 was not distributed adequately. There were 35,573 individuals who had less than a 12th grade education, which represented 27% of Webb County's 133,239 inhabitants. There were 25,355 individuals with less than a 9th grade education, and the 10,218 individuals that were between 9th and 12th grade that had not received a high school diploma. However, high school graduates registered at 11,221, and those that had received some college or earned some college degree totaled 21,373.

Median household income in 1989 was $18,074, while per capita income in 1989 was $6,771. Thirty-eight percent (50,114) of Webb County was living below census poverty guidelines in 1990. The 1996 Census estimates depicted a much more dismal outlook. During 1996, the median household income was $24,288, with a 90% confidence interval between $21,323 and $27,236. However, state estimates between 1995-96 indicated that 17 percent of the population was living in poverty. 29,527 people under the age of 18 were in poverty. However, there were 10,430 children between the ages of 5 and 17 belonging to families below the pov-

erty line. While one of the last growing SMSAs, pockets of poverty still mark growth and changes Laredo has experienced the past three decades.

METHODOLOGY

The data for this analysis were drawn from a National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) study focusing on drug related violence among Mexican American males in gangs in South Texas (Yin et al., 1996). The project was conceived as a comparative multimethod, multi-level study that sampled from a range of gangs and gang members in Laredo's working class and poor neighborhoods. The communities selected included almost all poor and nearly all working class neighborhoods situated in Laredo's central, west, and south side areas.

The project utilized a community field study approach in an effort to identify and determine the size and extent of gangs and other high-risk groups. Considerable time and effort were expended the first year to: determine the characteristics of gangs, explore and describe their primary activities and membership, determine the leadership structure of gangs, and examine the relationship to their respective neighborhoods and other communities. An extensive life history interview document was developed heavily influenced from prior work completed by George Beschner, Paul Goldstein, Alberto Mata, Joan Moore, and Diego Vigil. Rosters of gangs of non-institutional and street active members were compiled, as well as developing a sampling strategy to ensure a more representative sample of gangs and gang membership.

The interview data allowed the researchers to identify and explore illicit drug use and violent experiences. It also allowed for the study of the relationship between illicit drug use and violence as a function of individual, gang, or other group membership. Further, the interview data allowed for the exploration of gang members' involvement and relationships with their respective families, social service agencies, faith community, and neighborhood-based networks. Simultaneously, CJS, social services, and census data were gathered as a means of examining idiosyncratic individual, neighborhood, and community differences.

The broader project's data collection relied on social indicator data, CJS and social mapping techniques, fieldwork observations, fo-

cus groups, and a life history survey. Gangs and gang members were identified and served as the basis for gang rosters, the random sampling of gangs and gang members. Although this particular paper reports on only one community of the field study, it remains mindful of the significant role and value of the different data collection methods heretofore mentioned in border and non-border findings.

The sample was drawn from the central, west, and south sides of Laredo that were divided into the following neighborhoods: Cantaranas, El Catorce, El Chacon, El Cuatro, El Siete Viejo, El Tonto, El Trece, La Azteca, La Colonia Guadalupe, La Guadalupe, La Ladrillera, Los Amores, Los Monies, Siete Luces, and Santo Nino. Each gang varied in size, organization, leadership, and claimed [turf] area. See table 1.

The sample was stratified by gang and gang membership as described below:

a) Leaders
b) Original Gangsters or Veteranos
c) Core members
d) Periphery and other members

A random sample was drawn from the final membership rosters that yielded 117 male gang members ranging in age from 14 to 25 years. Study Sample Subjects (Ss) were largley Mexican-American males.

The life history instrument consisted of nine sections that included: (1) family history, (2) neighborhood and community/institutional relations, (3) gang structure, (4) violence, (5) drug use, (6) illegal activities, (7) friendship patterns, (8) school experience, and (9) sexual behavior. The life history interview document comprised open and close-ended questions and gathered both quantitative and qualitative data. Interviews were voluntary and lasted from two to three hours. The use of scenario questions allowed for "thick descriptions" of incidents. Each subject was liked to black level census data as well. we Now will turn to the paper's two major research questions.

Table 1
Characteristics of Laredo Gang Members
(N-117)

Characteristics	Percents and Averages				
	Leaders (n=12)	O.G.'s (n=37)	Cores (n=47)	Others (n=21)	Total (n=117)
Age (Average	17.9	17.7	18.5	18.4	18.2
(in years)					
Male					
	100	100	100	100	100
Ethnicity					
Mexican Origin	92	92	94	95	93
Other *	8	8	6	5	7
Born					
In the U.S.	92	95	96	90	95
In Mexico	8	5	4	10	5
Marital Status					
Single	75	87	92	95	89
Married	--	5	4	--	3
Common Law	25	8	2	5	7
Separated/Divorced	--	--	2	--	1
Other					
Have A Job	25	22	11	24	18
Currently in School	33	41	36	48	39
Ever Lived in					
Public Housing	33	5	11	19	13

Source: "UHCDSPR: Drug Related Gang Violence in South Texas" RO1 - DA08604
* Identified as Latino and Others

FINDINGS

The data will be explored in terms of gang membership: *Leaders, OGs, Cores* and *Other* gang member status. Table 1&2 illustrates a variety of demographic characteristics pertaining to the Laredo gang study sample (N=117). In terms of gang status, *Leaders, OGs, Cores,* and *Others,* one finds a mean age of 18, ranging from 14 to 25 years of age. Nearly all were born in the U.S. and reported being of Mexican origin.

A little less than four in ten of Laredo gang members were currently enrolled and attending school, with *Others* and *OGs* more likely to be enrolled than *Leaders* and *Cores*. Less than one in five report being employed. *Cores* reported the lowest employment status with small differences between the *Others* statuses. Nine out of ten gang members were single. *Leaders* and *OGs* were more likely to be married or in common-law relationships than were reported living with their children. *Leaders* and *OGs* were more likely than *Cores* or *Others* to have their children living with them.

In terms of current living arrangements, nearly eight in ten reported living with both parents, or in mother-only households. *Leaders* and *OGs* were more likely than *Cores* or *Others* to report living in other arrangements: father, grandparents, girlfriend, or friends. In fact, Leaders were three times more likely than the other gang statuses to be living on their own.

Drug onset for gang members for alcohol and marijuana average age is generally 13 years old. With a list of 12 different drugs, and controlling for gang membership status, the responses indicated that all *Leaders', OGs',* and *Others'* onset differs slightly for each substance. Also, while Leaders had tried alcohol and marijuana by age 12, onset occurs generally during the early to mid-adolescent years for all other substances. At 14 to 15 years of age, gang members reported their first use of a wide range of substances to include: cocaine, crack, acid, downers, and

Table 2
Characteristics of Laredo Gang Members' Families
(N-117)

Characteristics	Percents and Averages				
	Leaders (n=12)	O.G.'s (n=37)	Cores (n=47)	Others (n=21)	Total (n=117)
Current Head of "R's" Household:					
Both Parents	33	32	38	48	38
Mother	25	43	45	38	41
Father	0	11	4	0	5
Grandparents	17	6	7	0	6
Self	25	3	0	5	4
Other Relatives	0	0	4	9	3
Friends 17.9	0	5	2	0	3
"R's" Currently Living with:					
Both Parents	33	32	38	48	38
Mother	25	43	45	38	41
Father	0	11	4	0	5
Grandparents	17	8	11	0	6
Alone	25	3	0	0	9
Girlfriend/Wife CommonLaw	16	3	4	5	4
Other Relatives	8	11	9	10	9
Friends 17.9	0	5	2	0	3
"R's" with Children	33	30	19	10	22

Table 3
Average Age at First Use (for Ever Used)

Substance	Leaders (n=12)	O.G.'s (n=37)	Cores (n=47)	Others (n=21)	Total (n=117)
Alcohol	13.6	13.3	13.2	12.6	13.2
Marijuana	13.1	13.2	12.7	12.6	12.9
Crack	16.6	15.4	15	16.1	15.5
Cocaine by Itself	14.4	14.9	14.8	15.2	14.8
Heroin by Itself	17	15.4	15.8	17.3	16
Heroin & Cocaine (mixed together)	-	16	16.8	-	16.3
Acid/Psychedelics/ Ecstacy	15	15.9	15.3	15.3	15.5
Inhalents	15.2	14.3	14.2	15.1	14.5
Benzodiazepines (downers, rohypnol)	14.6	15	14.3	15.1	14.7
Other Opiates	-	18	16.0	17.0	17
Amphetamines	16	15.4	15.4	15.5	15.5
Other Drugs	15.5	14.4	15.6	14.7	15.5

Source: "UH-CDSPR: Drug Related Gang Violence in South Texas" RO1 - DA08604

inhalants, yet for gang members, the first use of amphetamines and opiates age ranges from 15.5 to 17.

With regard to gang members' lifetime use of drugs like heroin, cocaine, crack/cocaine, amphetamines, other opiates, inhalants, acid/ psychedelics and marijuana, Laredo gang members reported wide ranges of substances and levels of use. There are three levels of use: high, moderate, and low. In terms of high lifetime use, one finds study subjects' lowest levels of drug use are opiates, amphetamines and "other drugs".

With regard to drug use during the past 30 days, we find that Ss drug use is characterized by three modes. The use of alcohol, marijuana and cocaine are at the highest levels. Again, the use of benzodiazepines and crack/cocaine can be characterized as moderate and represent the next mode. The re-

Figure 2.1 Lifetime Drug Use
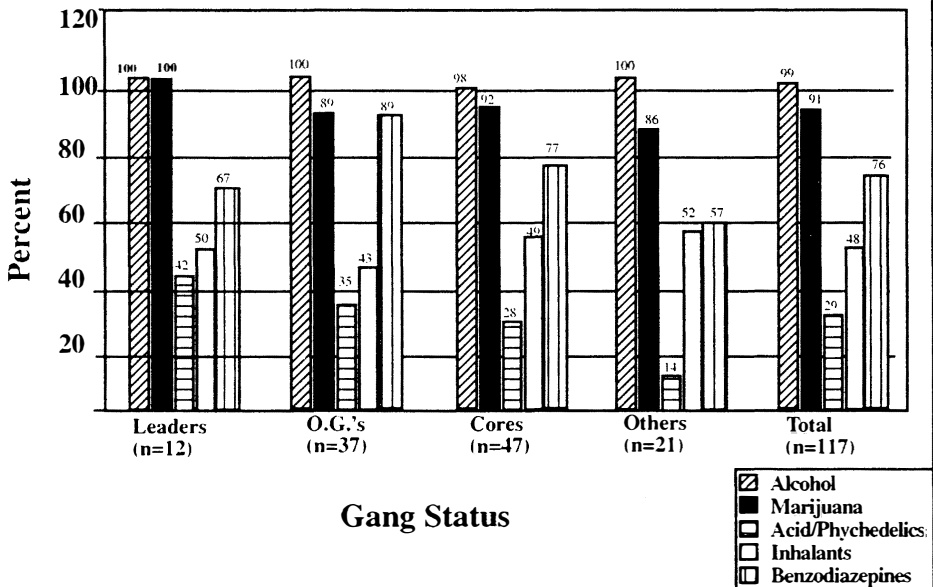
maining substances had the lowest levels of reported use. Interestingly, *Leaders'* use of cocaine in the last 30 days is higher than that of *OGs, Cores,* and *Others.* None of the *Leaders* group reported any heroin use, but almost 20 percent of the *Cores,* 11 percent of *OGs* and 10% of *Others* reported using heroin in the past month.

While eleven percent of the *OGs* indicated they had injected heroin, only 2% of *Core* members had injected heroin. None of the *Leaders* or *Others* reported any injection of heroin during the 30 days prior to the interview. Again, *Leaders* and *Others* had not recently injected any drug.

ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE

We will now turn to how Ss characterize family members' use of alcohol, drugs and their involvement in illegal activities with a drinking problem, nearly six in ten *Others* and half *Leaders, Cores* and *OGs* respectively, responded affirmatively. When asked a similar question "whether or not the Ss had a family member who used drugs" Ss reported a wider range: 38 percent *(Others)* to 83 percent *(Leaders)*. When asked if they ever had a family member involved in illegal activities, over seven in ten responded affirmatively. Their involvement decreases from 83% for *Leaders* and 78% for *OGs,* to 64% for *Cores* and 62% for *Others.*

Table 6 illustrates the percentages of each of the gang sub-groups who have witnessed, and/or who know about selected acts of violence. When asked if they had witnessed (or knew about) their father hitting their mother, 32% of the *OGs* responded affirmatively, and 17% of the *Leaders* answered likewise. When asked if they had witnessed their mother hitting their father, 29% of the *Others,* and 17% of *Leaders* and *Cores* had witnessed this type of violence.

Next, the Ss were asked if they had witnessed a family member being shot because of gangs, drugs, or some other reason. Twenty-four percent of the *OGs* reported witnessing a family member being shot because of gangs. Seventeen percent of the Leaders reported witnessing a shooting related to drugs or other reasons.

SUBSTANCE ABUSE AND CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES

We now will turn to gang members' involvement in illegal and criminal activities. Gang members were asked if they owned a gun at the time of the interview, or had car-

ried a gun during the 30 days prior. *Leaders* reported the lowest ownership with *OGs* leading *Core's* and *Other's* ownership levels. Moreover, when asked if they had carried a gun in the last thirty days, a little less than one in three of all gang members reported that they had carried. Carrying a gun in the last 30 days described a little less than half of Ss that owned a gun. Yet, when Ss were asked, "if they had ever fired a gun in a gang related fight," a little over two in three gang members reported they had. Nearly four in five *OGs,* and nearly three in four *Leaders* responded that they had. Surprisingly, 57 percent of *Others,* the lowest level of gun users, involved nearly 3 in five of this youth gang category.

Seeking not to minimize the fact that 67% of Laredo gang members (N=117) had fired a gun in a gang related fight, we also asked if the gang members had been arrested for nonviolent and violent crimes, and if they had sold drugs in the last 30 days. For all three items, *Core* gang members' levels exceeded those of *OGs, Others* and *Leaders* (except for arrests for nonviolent crime).

A little over four in ten of all gang members, reported being arrested for a violent crime. In terms of nonviolent crime, six in ten reported being arrested with declining numbers of *OGs, Cores,* and *Others,* respectively. In terms of dealing drugs in the last 30 days, one observes two distinct modes. Interestingly, 51 percent of *Core* members reported selling drugs during the last 30 days. Yet, only 17 percent of *Leaders* reported selling drugs in the last thirty days.

In terms of how the gang members perceived the relationships between their respective gangs and Nuevo Laredo gangs, seven in ten gang members reported being connected to Nuevo Laredo gangs through illegal activities or through drug dealing. A little less than one in eight reported having serious conflicts or fights with Nuevo Laredo gangs. While nearly three in four reported being involved in criminal activities in Laredo, Texas, only one in five activities were related to Nuevo Laredo. Those engaged in criminal activities that lasted less than a month reported levels that were half of those with criminal enterprises lasting a month or more. *Cores* and *OGs* reported significantly higher levels of involvement than *Leaders* and *Others.* For the most part, Laredo gangs' illegal activities were more likely to be related to the U.S. than to activi-

Figure 3.1 Past-Month Drug Use

Figure 3.1 Past-Month Drug Use

Figure 3.2 Past-Month Drug Use

Figure 3.2 Past-Month Drug Use
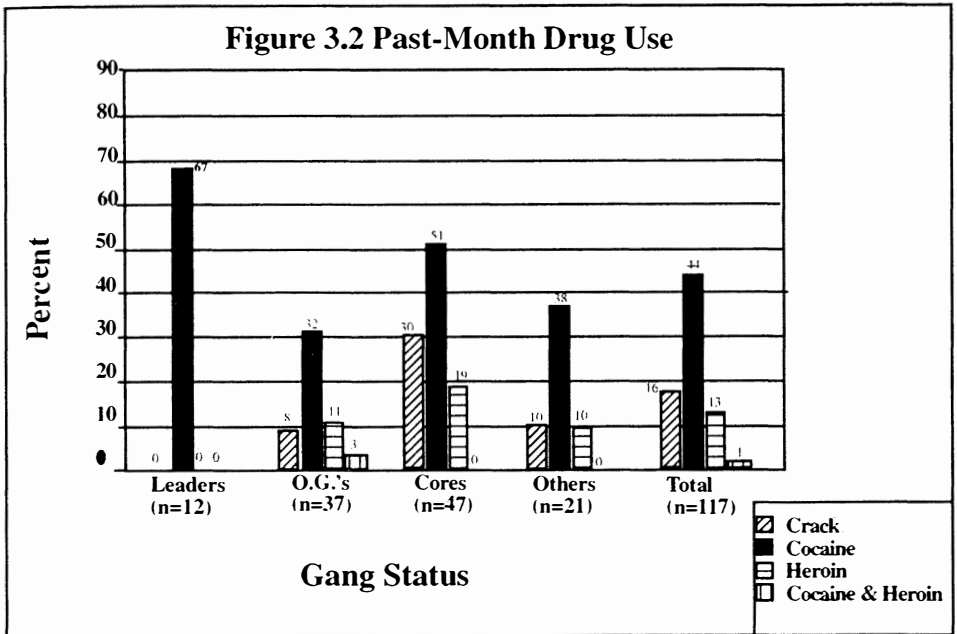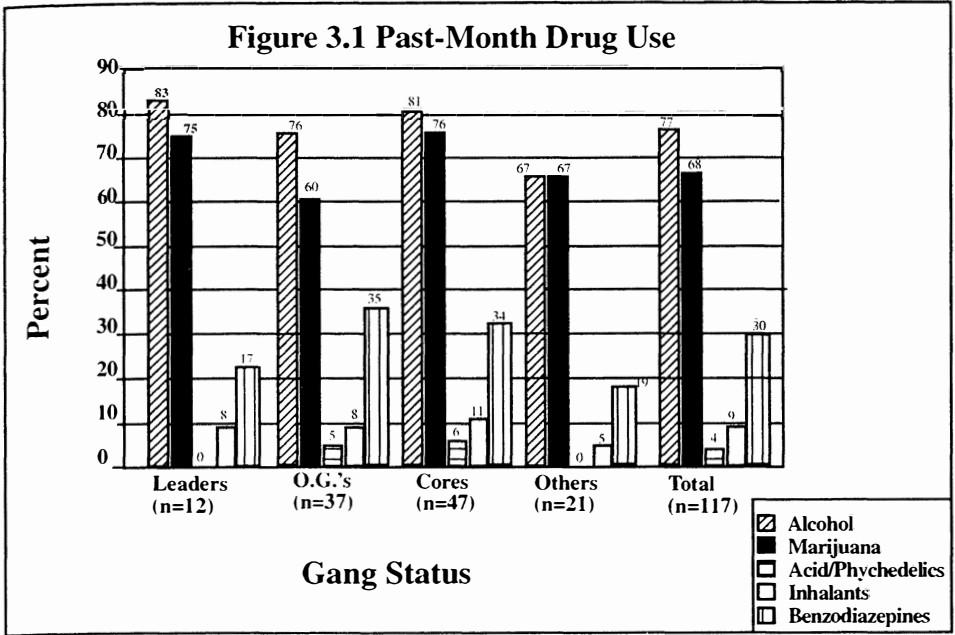
Figure 3.3 Past-Month Drug Use
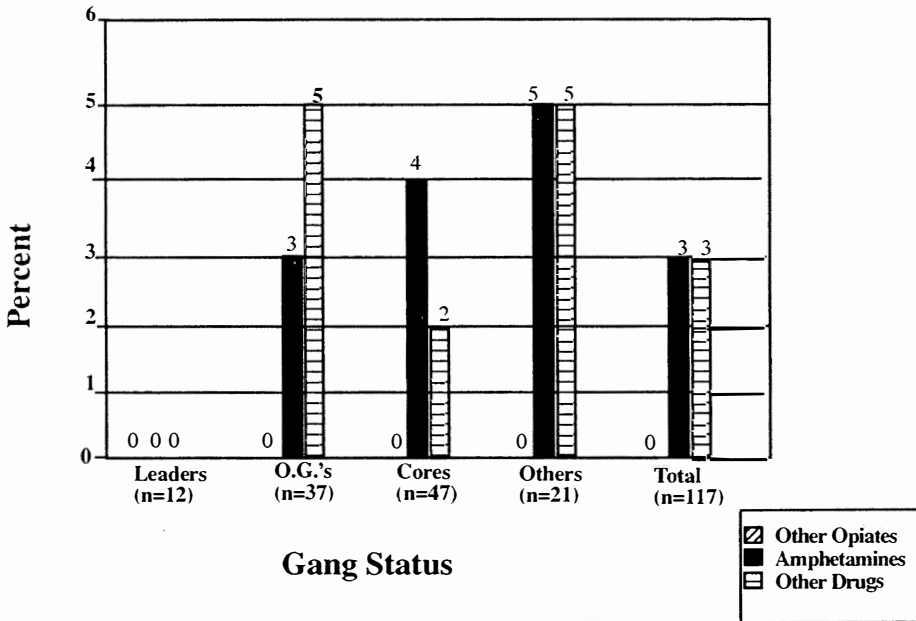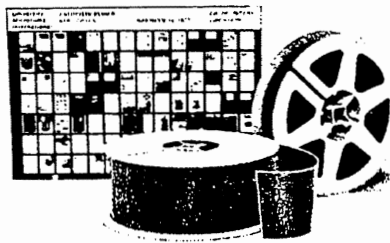
Table 5
Family Members Problems: Drinking, Drugs & Illegal Activities (Percentages)

Activity	Leaders (n=12)	O.G.'s (n=37)	Cores (n=47)	Others (n=21)	Total (n=117)
Family Member with Drinking Problem	50	51	49	62	52
Family Member Using Drugs	83	49	40	38	47
Family Member Engaged in Illegal Activities	83	78	64	62	70

Source: "UH-CDSPR: Drug Related Gang Violence in South Texas" RO1 - DA08604

Table 6
Selected Acts of Violence Rs Witnessed or Know About (Percentages)

Activity	Leaders (n=12)	O.G.'s (n=37)	Cores (n=47)	Others (n=21)	Total (n=117)
Witnessed Father Hit Mother	17	3_	_3		
Witnessed Mother Hit Father	17	22	17		21
Family Member Shot or Killed/Gangs	8	24	0	10	15
Family Member Shot or Killed/Drugs	17	8	0	10	
Family Member Shot or Killed/Other	17	11	11	10	11

Source: "UH-CDSPR: Drug Related Gang Violence in South Texas" RO1 - DA08604

ties on the other side of the U.S./Mexico border. In terms of short-term involvement in illegal activities, less than three in eight gang members reported such enterprises. *Cores* and *OGs* were more likely to be engaged in such activities than were *Leaders* or *Others*. One must keep in mind that less than one-third of these enterprises were connected to Nuevo Laredo.

DISCUSSION

Although preliminary, these findings provide important data concerning drug-related violence among Mexican American gangs in Laredo, Texas. These data suggest that gang members' role to their respective gangs are associated with different drugs and drug use experiences; in how they are related to past and current acts of violence; and finally, in how these are related to illegal activities (criminal versus drug dealing; short term and long term) in Laredo and Nuevo Laredo. The Ss range in age from 14 to 25. Most are 18 years of age, born in the U.S., single, and may be termed, youth out of the educational mainstream (i.e. low educational attainment and achievement, trouble and conflict with school administrators, teachers, and their peers). A small number reported ever living in public housing, but this was a more common experience for *Leaders* and *Cores* than for their counterparts. Six in ten are not living or residing with their biological parents and are living in single-parent households or other non-traditional household arrangements. A little over one in five has children — an experience that is more common for *Leaders* and *OGs* than for their counterparts.

Gang members reported earlier **drug use onset** for a wide of range of drugs — especially alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, benzodiazepines, and heroin. Gang members' drug onset is earlier than it is for non-gang and other at risk minority youth. Also, Ss drug use in the last thirty days suggests three modes. In the first mode, one finds a large number of gang members who used marijuana, alcohol and cocaine. A second mode involves a moderate number of gang members who have used amphetamines, benzodiazepines and cocaine. The third mode involves a smaller number of gang members who reported using heroin, crack, psychedelics, opiates, inhalants and cocaine/heroin. While Leaders were reluctant to use heroin, many use cocaine regularly. Also, *Cores* and *OGs* were more likely than their counterparts to have injected drugs in the last thirty days. In short, gang members may vary in number and frequency of drug use, their

Table 7
Selected Illegal and Criminal Activities (Percentages)

Activity	Leaders (n=12)	O.G.'s (n=37)	Cores (n=47)	Others (n=21)	Total (n=117)
Currently on Own	33	68	57	38	55
Carried a Gun in Last 30 Days	25	38	36	14	32
Fired Gun in Gang Related Fight	75	78	64	57	67
Arrested for Violent Crime	42	38	45	43	42
Arrested for Non-Violent Crime	58	46	47	43	46
Sold Drugs in Last Three Months	17	43	51	29	41

Source: "UH-CDSPR: Drug Related Gang Violence in South Texas" RO1 - DA08604

Figure 5.1
Relationships Between Laredo and Nuevo Laredo Gangs

Gang Status

Legend:
- ▨ Conflict / Fight
- ■ Involved in Illegal Activities
- ▤ Drug Connections

Figure 5.2
Are Illegal Activities Connected to Nuevo Laredo? (Over a month period)

Gang Status

Legend:
- ▨ Subjects Involved in Illegal Activities
- ■ Connected to N.L.
- ▤ Not Connected to N.L.

use and related risk behaviors portrend a population in the near future that will be-coming increasing involved with CJS. The data also suggest that moderate to low num-bers of gang members are willing to use a wide range of drugs. Nonetheless, most are not willing to inject them. Yet, a large number are engaging in criminal enterprises and drug dealing. It is unclear, if they will be like ear-lier generations of Mexican American drug users who have reported longer average lag times before they enter drug abuse treatment. Also, due to their experiences with family violence, crime, and drugs, it is unclear if ser-vice providers will be able to meet their needs and situations. Their current and future drug use can only serve to heighten the risk of dis-eases like STDs, HIV and hepatitis. Their need to cope and deal drugs, and their residing in stressed families and neighborhoods will only serve to heighten their involvement with ille-gal activities, crime, and violence.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY AND RESEARCH

Unlike earlier community gang studies, the sampling approach and method allows us to speak to a wider range of gangs, gang mem-bers, and activities that other earlier studies were not able to address. Yet, the lack of ba-sic and applied data for other border cities suggests that these findings remain tentative and subject to additional investigation and scrutiny. The lack of comparable data and the lack of substantive applied and basic studies bearing directly on high-risk youth, their drug use, and their experience with vio-lence underscores the need for more back-ground, contextual, and trend studies. More-over, these data serve to underscore the need for school-based and community-wide sur-veys about gangs, drugs and violence. No less important for borderland communities are monitoring and surveillance systems like PULSE, ADAM, DAWN, High school se-nior surveys, and trauma registries (TRs). It is unlikely that gangs, drugs, and violence will abate in border gateway cities; and they largley missed by these data systems..

As a cross-sectional random sample, this study attends to differences across gangs and gang membership, but not to changes over times in these communities. The phenom-ena of gangs getting younger and older needs to be pursued in these two communities and across the US/Mexico border. Moreover, it is unclear to what degree border gangs are

Figure 5.3
Are Illegal Activities Connected to Nuevo Laredo?
(For periods of less than a month)
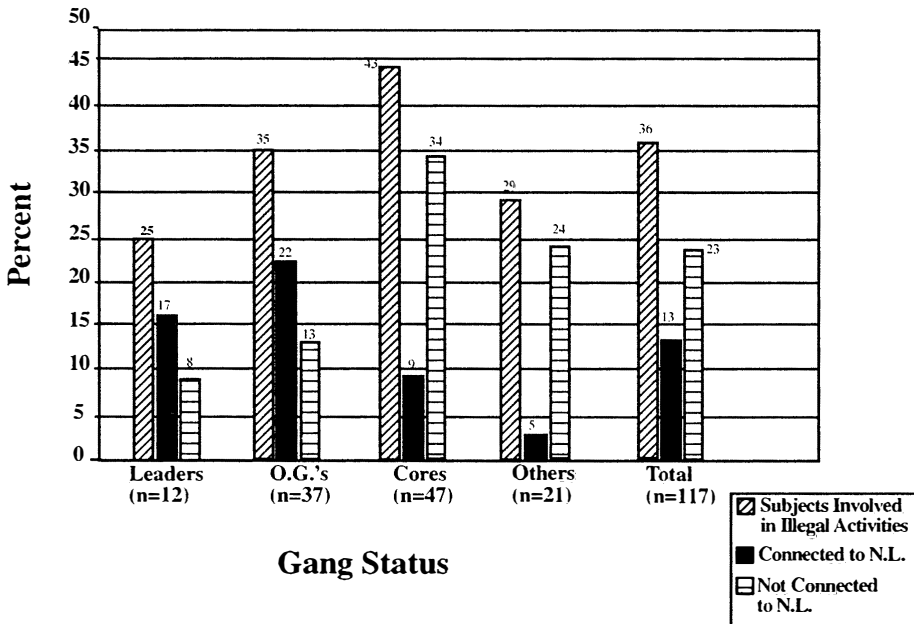
largely a Mexican-American youth experience rather than Mexican one. The Ss clearly delineated their knowledge and links to Mexican youth gangs on the Mexican border communities, but remains open to further and future investigations.

The large number of Ss coming from single parent household to alternative family arrangements remains high and troubling. The number of Ss with children portends a number of youth that drugs gangs and violence will be a common and expected experience. Low work and education attainment levels also suggest need for alternative education and youth training programs. To not address these two issues will only further these youth reliance on sub-economy and welfare economy. MST, FAST, BSFT, and other substance abuse & mental health services clinical bench and trails studies programs have yet to focus on these border youth populations. The low public housing experience reported by gang members may not be typical of other border communities or maybe due to role that border *colonias* communities play in these youths lives.

The media and some policymakers arguments that gangs were becoming supergangs, composed of super gangsta's, and networks of gang enterpeueralship is greatly over drawn. Works of Bourgoies, Padilla and Jankowski need to be more closely examined; in fact these should be contrasted to the more detailed measured works of Sullivan, Spergel, Maxson and Klien, Brotherton, Curry and Decker. The day of generalizing from convenience sample of a gang to all gangs in a community or even within large gang must be challenged. Gangs differ in history, community context, relationship to their local straight worlds, to their subeconomy, and criminal networks. They also differ in terms of their local public reaction to factors making for gang proliferation and gang control. This must be monitored and addressed in current and future studies. Specifically means:

• Public health models and community field studies . Ones building on state of art and science of Spergel, 1995; Sullivan, 1995; Maxson, 1995; Johnson et. al, 1994.

• Criminal Justice System (CJS) and public health model based studies of drug and violence along the U.S./Mexico border and between twin border communities (Moore, 1978; Fagan, 1989,1992; Moore, 1991).

• Development and evaluation of basic, applied and policy data and studies of drugs and violence along the U.S./Mexico border that allow BEWG, PULSE, ADAM and DAWN to attend drug related gang violence along US/Mexico Border.

• Bi-national studies of drugs and violence along the U.S./Mexico border and between twin border communities that go beyond social policy by Five o'clock news and political jingoism. Studies that seek to provide measured response and grounded in realities that these communities, their families and youth face.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

FOOTNOTES
1. The Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse has projected that the population of Webb County will have increased seven percent from 1997-99. In addition, between 1997-99, there was a projected six percent increase for youth between the ages of 0-17. However, adults comprised an increase of seven percent. The annual average unemployment rate for 1997 was 10.5%, and in 1998 it was 9.2%.

2. The Drug Enforcement Agency has confiscated many amounts of drugs in its last few years of existence. However, this past year there were noticeable changes.Ê Marijuana confiscation from 1995-98 increased 36 percent.Ê Cocaine confiscation increased 86 percent, and cases where dosage units were confiscated increased 163 percent.

3. The Texas Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse has projected that the population of Webb County will have increased seven percent from 1997-99.Ê In addition, between 1997-99, there was a projected six percent increase for youth between the ages of 0-17.Ê However, adults comprised an increase of seven percent.Ê The annual aver-

age unemployment rate for 1997 was 10.5%, and in 1998 it was 9.2%.

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CREATING A CRIME WAVE: THE 1990

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Abstract

This study examines the emergence of crime as the nation's "most important problem" for the first time in U.S. polling history in 1994. By comparing polling data, news coverage waves, and crime statistics, the analysis challenges the argument that shifting media coverage is driven by public sentiment. It does so by demonstrating that a dramatic change in public opinion polls was precipitated by an unprecedented news coverage wave at a time when crime levels were actually falling. The study thus underscores the leading role media can play in the emergence of social problems and casts doubt on the notion that escalating expenditures for the American criminal justice system are driven principally by public demand.

INTRODUCTION

In August 1993 U.S. news outlets began running stories about a national crime wave. By the end of 1993, coverage of the alleged crime wave occupied center stage across all major media outlets. Polls recorded an unprecedented proportion of Americans citing crime as the country's number one problem. However, the index crime rate during this period was actually falling. How this contradiction came about offers an important insight into the ways media can affect social opinion and influence social policy.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS IN MEDIA EFFECTS RESEARCH

Media effects — the exploration of media's effect upon public opinion — is an area of research within media studies. Three theoretical strains of media effects can be identified: media effects as persuading (changing attitudes); as framing (defining or interpreting conditions); and, most recently, priming (foregrounding certain events and associated issues)(Klapper 1960; Cohen 1963; McCombs and Shaw 1972; Funkhauser 1973; Kraus and Davis 1976; Tuchman 1978; Gans 1979; Cook, Tyler, Goetz et al 1983; Erbring, Goldenberg and Miller 1980; Surette 1998). After a period of dormancy, media effects research in recent years has been reinvigorated, with researchers focusing on identifying the frames employed by media and/or analyzing media priming. In a few instances, researchers have further attempted to link the frames and/or priming with the making of public policy (e.g., MacKuen and Coombs 1981; Beckett and Sasson 2000).

Showing that media have a "maximal" effect — that is, that media shape public opinion — has proven surprisingly difficult in prior research. Because of this, the debate over whether media exert a "maximal" effect over public opinion, or merely a "minimal" one (i.e., merely reflective of public sentiment) is an ongoing one (Klapper 1960; Chafee 1975; Gitlin 1978; Hall 1982; Cook, Tyler, Goetz, et al 1983; Beckett 1994a). This study is one of the few to demonstrate a "maximal" media effect. It does so using data from the 1993-1994 crime wave coverage in print and television media. To demonstrate this effect a review of the problem of demonstrating media effects will be undertaken, followed by a discussion of methodological weaknesses of prior research, a discussion of the methodology employed in this study, and finally, the results generated by the data.

METHODOLOGICAL WEAKNESSES IN MEDIA EFFECTS RESEARCH

Tracing the precise role of various protagonists (media, advocacy groups, mass sentiment, political officials and so on) in a media effects study has been done infrequently, in part because it presents difficult methodological problems (Price 1992). Except for experimental studies with pre- and post-test ele-

ments (Iyengar 1987), all other media effects studies have been hampered by using only a partial record of polling data. One cannot trace the inception of a social problem adequately without a complete polling record.

In addition, most media effects studies have employed either a crosssectional or panel approach. However, neither strategy adequately addresses the causality issue: cross-sectional approaches do not provide a heuristic model that allows for the determination of underlying relationships, thus making it impossible to establish with confidence whether a public agenda actually originated from a media agenda. Furthermore, cross-sectional studies are snapshots in time, and therefore cannot account for longitudinal media lageffects. Panel studies are a better tool for making a case for media effects, but problems remain in determining the possible duration of time-lag effects and in controlling for alternative casual factors outside of media effects (Cook, et al, 1983). The failure to satisfactorily resolve these methodological problems has severely limited the advance of media effects studies and their possible use in the analysis of social problems.

Excluding those studies that have adopted cross-sectional methods (and, therefore, simply assumed that the causal order runs from media to the public), the only studies that have shown fairly clear indications of media effects are Beckett (1994, 1994a, 1997), MacKuen and Coombs (1991), Iyengar (1987) and Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder (1982). In the Beckett and the MacKuen and Coombs studies, the demonstration of a media effect required regression analysis because the data compiled did not lend themselves to an obvious, and unequivocal, interpretation.[1] In the Iyengar and the Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder studies, an experimental approach was employed.

METHODOLOGY OF THE CURRENT STUDY

The present study corrects for some of the methodological limitations of prior studies by incorporating data drawn from several decades. Examining data over time compensates for the restrictions and potential errors inherent in crosssectional studies and panel studies. This study looks at three factors in determining media effects vis-à-vis the 1993-4 crime wave: 1) "Most Important Problem in the Nation" (MIP) data from national public opinion polls; 2) crime incidence and prevalence data; and 3) quantitative and qualitative measures of crime news coverage.

The MIP poll provides researchers with a powerful tool for examining longitudinal shifts in public opinion (or at least public attention) because it has been administered for several decades in precisely the same format. It thus serves as an appropriate instrument for measuring possible agendasetting effects. For researchers, one of the distinct virtues of the MIP polls is that the question: "What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today?" has been posed in precisely the same way since 1935. This obviates framing effects problems that would compromise the reliability of longitudinal data comparisons.

The MIP data used in this analysis was drawn from the entire polling record (unpublished and published polls) available through the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research and accessible via the Internet.[2] Using the entire polling record proved valuable for two reasons. First, it permitted the rigorous implementation of a controlled repeated cross-sectional methodology - indispensable in a media effects study. Second, it showed that the published record of poll results was not only incomplete, but at times, inaccurate. Without a database as complete as this, it simply cannot be determined with any reliability what came first, media attention or shifts in public attention/interest. (An important caveat is that because individual-level media consumption is not available - outside of the confines of an experimental study - researchers cannot truly distinguish media effects as media treatment from self-selection by individual consumers. Traditionally, nearly all media effects studies have employed aggregatelevel data. This study follows that tradition).

In addition to the polling data obtained, crime statistics were obtained and analyzed, using both the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) and the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS). Finally, media examined included four major newspapers (the *Los Angeles Times, New York Times, Washington Post,* and *Wall Street Journal*), the three

Figure 1.

Percent citing Crime & Juv Delinquency in the Most Important Problem in the Nation Poll 1963-1994

major newsmagazines (*Newsweek*, *Time* and *U.S. News and World Report*,[3] and the three major networks' nightly national news broadcasts — ABC, CBS and NBC).[4] I used the Information Access Company's index to the four newspapers, the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* for the newsmagazines, and the *Television News Index and Abstracts* (commonly known as the Vanderbilt Index) for the network broadcasts. I also utilized the Film and Television Archive at the University of California at Los Angeles to view the network broadcasts in person.

Major news media were treated herein as a differentiated whole. In so doing, it became possible to investigate the collective impact of the different major media, as well as potential interactive effects between the different media. By comparison, the customary technique of sampling an exemplary media source (e.g., the *New York Times* alone) cannot, except by chance, apprehend a news coverage wave's inception and course of development.[5]

1993-1994 CRIME WAVE: THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

In a January 28-30, 1994 Gallup poll 49 percent of respondents cited "crime" as their choice for the "most important problem" (MIP) in the nation. This 49 percent reading capped an unprecedented escalation in poll-measured crime concerns, rising 43 points over the span of only four months. This represented the first spike in crime concerns since 1977. See Figure 1.

This dramatic spike in crime concerns occurred at a time when index crime rates were declining (UCR; NCVS). One subcategory of index crimes, however, did rise between 1985 and 1993: juvenile homicide. Some observers explain the exceptional levels of crime concerns registered in the 1990s' polls on those grounds. Juvenile homicides fell from 1980 until the mid-1980s at which time they began a steep rise. In 1992, 2,428 minors were killed in index crimes. In 1993, 2,697 were killed. This represented an increase of eleven percent between 1992 and 1993 (or a total of 167
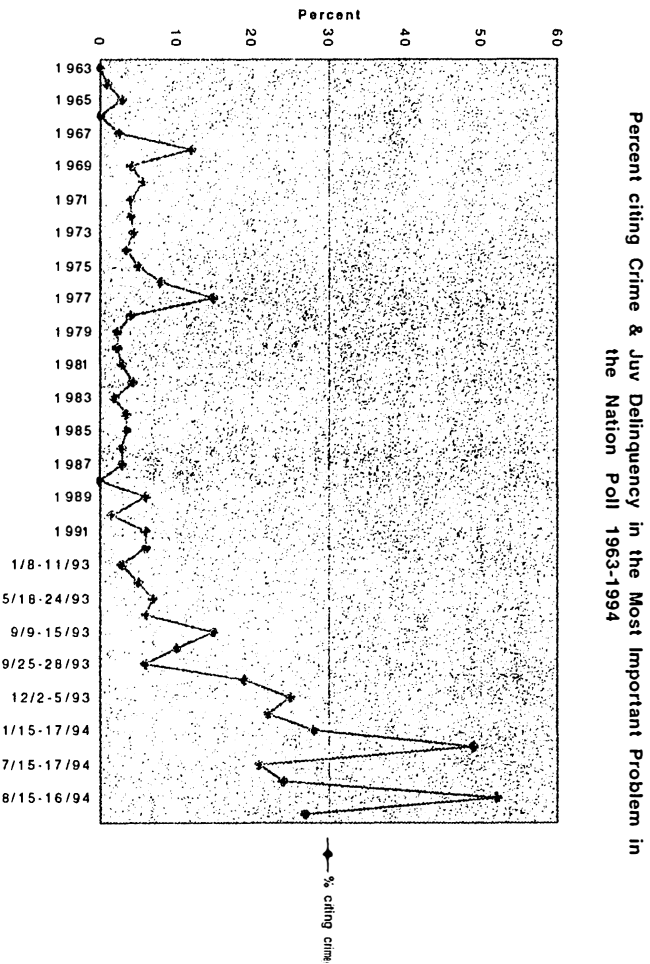
more victims). There does not seem to be any doubt that the growth of child murders and child murderers, or "kids killing kids," between 1985 and 1993 was a significant factor in 1990s crime worries.

As displayed in Figure 2, however, juvenile homicides had been rising at alarming rates for seven years before polls registered a change in public concern about crime. At the point where polls took off, juvenile homicides had actually stopped rising, and began to fall a bit. The fact that more and more juveniles were dying violently was evidently not by itself enough to spike the polls. If juvenile homicides do not account for the crime alarm, then what can?

The most spectacularly publicized incidents of 1993, the kidnapping and murder of Polly Klaas in California and the Long Island Commuter Railroad killings by Colin Ferguson were reported in December of 1993, prior to the peak recording of crime concerns in January 1994. But these occurred after the dramatic rise in poll-measured crime concerns was already underway beginning in September 1993 and continuing through the end of 1993 and into 1994. Thus, while it seems very probable that the Klaas and Ferguson cases played a role in the 49 percent reading in January 1994, they do not

help to explain the early stages of the crime scare in the fall of 1993.

Further, crime rates continued to fall throughout 1994. Subsequent to the Ferguson shootings in December of 1993, no criminal incidents of comparable magnitude, nature, or attention marked the months January 1994 through September 1994. (Nicole Brown Simpson and Ron Goldman were murdered on June 12, 1994, but this case was not treated, nor was it perceived by the public, in the same manner as a "random" killing).

Could it be that crime as a social problem rose so high in 1994 because of the end of the Cold War and the absence of an international conflict? Undoubtedly the MIP poll has been and will in the future be affected by international events. However, in the 1990s, the U.S.-Iraq war had been over for nearly two years before crime showed a sudden increase of concern in the MIP poll. Hence, contrary to conventional wisdom, the crime issue's emergence at the top of the polls in late 1993-94 cannot simply be attributed to the Cold War's end.

What, then, was happening in the period before and during the ratcheting up of crime concerns at the end of 1993-94? A review of news media in that time period reveals a

Figure 2.
Homicides under 18 y.o. v. Per cent naming crime in MIP poll
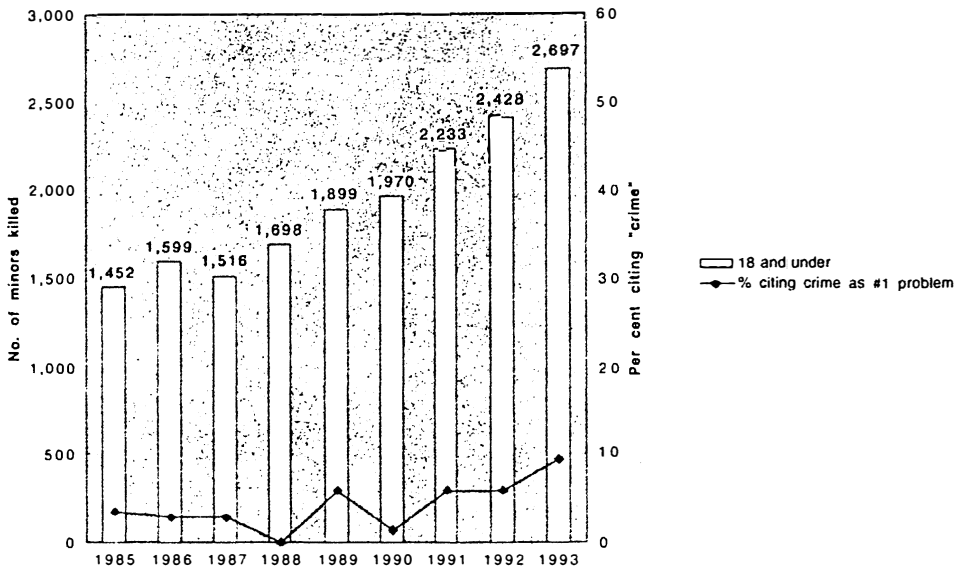
crime news coverage wave of exceptional proportions across major news outlets, initiated by the newsmagazines, and not by the activities and influence of any primary claimsmakers (such as middle-range advocacy groups).[6] Politicians and various public officials assumed significant secondary roles in this news coverage wave – as analyzed later on in this article, their pronouncements, particularly in August 1994, received substantial news media attention. Taken as a whole, this coverage wave preceded the changes in pollmeasured crime concerns.

TURNING POINT: AUGUST 1993

A turning point in media coverage of crime came in August of 1993 when the three major newsmagazines ran a total of four crime cover stories. All three newsmagazines opened the month simultaneously with crime covers. Newsweek's August 2, 1993 cover was entitled "Teen Violence: WILD IN THE STREETS." The sub-headline (kicker) read: "Murder and Mayhem, Guns and Gangs: a Teenage Generation Grows up Dangerous—and Scared." *Newsweek* cited law enforcement and public health officials who reportedly described "a virtual 'epidemic' of youth violence in the last five years, spreading from the inner cities to the suburbs."

On the same day, Time's cover also raised the youth and guns issue: "Big Shots: Guns. An Inside Look at the Deadly Love Affair between Kids and Their Guns." Finally, *U.S. News and World Report*'s August 2, 1993 cover was entitled: "Super Cops: Can They Solve America's Crime Problem? The FBI's Tough New Chief (with a picture of LAPD's new chief Willie Williams)."

Then, in its August 23, 1993 issue, Time followed up with a dramatic cover story: "AMERICA THE VIOLENT: Crime is Spreading and Patience is Running Out." The cover graphic featured a menacing figure done in collage style, wearing stereotypical gang attire. The cover story featured Clinton's crime bill and began "President Clinton could not have known, of course, that the week he picked to talk about crime would be the week crime was what everyone was talking about. On Tuesday, there was the man in fatigues who shot up a McDonald's in Kenosha, Wisconsin. The same day in

Kansas City, Missouri, a 15 year-old went to the movies with his mother—and shot her as they watched the film. 'I don't know why I did it,' he said. On Thursday in Burlingame, California, a man walked into a real estate office, shot one broker and wounded another before trying to kill himself. He had just been evicted from his home." The next paragraph in the story noted the murder of Michael Jordan's father, James Jordan.

Fishman (1980) discusses this thematic style of reporting — taking disparate incidents and pulling them together to create the appearance of a trend. In this case, none of these incidents involved a gang member, despite the fact that a gang member was portrayed on the cover. What the incidents did have in common, however, is that they were instances of incidents in places commonly considered safe and places frequented by the middle class: McDonald's, the mall, and a professional office. The story of the 15-year old that shot his mother at the movies pushed a number of powerful emotional buttons. These acts were depicted as random, senseless, rising and expanding in their targets. Certain central themes and narrative structures, rather than incidents themselves, played the key role in crime news during this crime coverage wave. As Joel Best put it, speaking more generally about contemporary crime coverage:

"Random violence is a central image in the construction of contemporary crime problems. This imagery ignores the patterns in criminal activity, implies collapse in the social order, and denies rational motives for criminals. These images are consequential; they promote intense public concern while fostering punitive social policies." (Best 1996)

These themes were very clear in the August 23, 1993 *Time* issue. One of the accompanying stories in the issue was headlined: "DANGER IN THE SAFETY ZONE: As Violence Spreads into Small Towns, Many Americans Barricade Themselves." The theme sounded here was that urban crimes were now invading the previously safe sanctum of the suburbs and small town America: "The broadening of targets to include suburban and rural preserves—and the savageness of the crimes that fill the news—has left far more Americans feeling

vulnerable." However, index crimes in the suburbs and rural areas did not increase in the 1990s (Donziger 1996; UCR). This story derived its punch from the perception that small towns and the suburbs were previously safe from crime and were only now being invaded by the type of crime seen in the inner city. In 1994, murders were actually down by two percent in the suburbs as compared to 1993, and down by ten percent in rural regions over the same time period (UCR).

CRIME COVER STORIES IN THE NEWS-MAGAZINES

This attention to crime by the newsmagazines on their covers in the 1990s, particularly in 1993 and 1994, is unprecedented. By way of comparison, throughout the whole of the 1960s (1960- 1969), there was only one cover story devoted to crime among all three newsmagazines. In the decade of the 1970s, there were a total of eight crime cover stories among the newsmagazines. In the 1980s there were also only eight crime cover stories. In 1990 there was one crime cover. In 1991 there was one. In 1992 there were four crime covers. In 1993 there were eleven crime cover stories, with nine of them concentrated between August 1993 and December 1993. And in 1994, there were sixteen crime cover stories (three of them in January 1994). Thus between the years 1960-69, a cumulative total of .0006 percent of the three newsmagazines' covers were devoted to crime compared to eleven percent of their covers in 1994 alone. Clearly, in the 1990s, and especially beginning in 1992, crime became a hot topic for newsmagazine cover stories.[7]

CHANGES IN NEWSPAPER CRIME COVERAGE

The dramatic August 1993 newsmagazine cover stories did not go unnoticed. Two major events followed. First, public opinion polls registered the *first spike in crime concerns since 1977*. The numbers citing crime more than doubled from the June 1993 figure of six percent to 15-16 percent in September 1993, the month immediately following the four newsmagazines' crime cover issues (MIP polls were not taken in August 1993). Second, following the newsmagazines' August coverage spike, both newspapers and TV followed in kind beginning in October

1993. Newspaper stories on the crime issue in the four papers examined leapt upward some 250 percent in one month, going from 21 stories in August 1993 and 22 stories in September 1993 to 55 stories in October 1993. Then, in November, newspaper coverage rose still further to 71 stories, and stayed high through the next year, peaking at 202 stories in August 1994, an increase of over 900 percent compared to September 1993's crime news. See Figure 3.

CRIME STORIES IN NEWS MAGAZINES POST OCTOBER 1993

On November 8, 1993, *U.S. News and World Report*'s cover story was entitled: "Guns in the Schools: WHEN KILLERS COME TO CLASS. Even Suburban Parents Now Fear the Rising Tide of Violence." In their next issue, November 15, 1993, *U.S. News & World Report* stated " The voters' cry for help: Clinton, governors and mayors try to respond to the wave of crime fear gripping Americans." The article asserted that "Fear of crime has become the most urgent issue in the country." *Newsweek*'s November 29, 1993 cover featured rapper Snoop Doggy Dog. The cover read: "When is Rap 2 Violent? His Album Hit the Top of the Charts This Week. Last Week, He Was Indicted for Murder."

Time's December 20, 1993 cover featured a handgun with Colin Ferguson's eye staring back through the trigger hole. The headline capsulate the thrust of media's crime news coverage with the big bold letters: "ENOUGH! The Massacre on a Suburban New York Train Escalates the War on Handguns. Colin Ferguson, who Shot 23 People, Killing Five, on the 5:33 Train from Penn Station to Hicksville, Long Island."

Newsweek's January 10, 1994 cover reiterated the children, guns and violence theme: "Growing Up Scared: How our Kids are Robbed of Their Childhood." The headline kicker read: "Guns for Toys: the New Anti-Crime Crusade." Then, on January 17, 1994, both *Newsweek* and *U.S. News and World Report* ran crime covers. Newsweek's had a close-up of the agonized face of Nancy Kerrigan: "First Monica Seles, Now Nancy Kerrigan: 'WHY ME?' The New Fear of Stalking." *U.S. News and World Report*'s cover marked a kind of high point in news-

magazines' crime covers: "The Truth About VIOLENT CRIME: (in red:) What You Really Have To Fear." The cover graphic was of a bullet-ridden windshield from the driver's perspective.

This article and the accompanying pieces totaling fifteen full pages was the archetype of this particular genre of reporting. It was rife with contradictions sitting side by side to each other and deliberately alarmist in tone. "The drumbeat of news coverage has made it seem that America is in the midst of the worst epidemic of violence ever. That sense is not supported by the numbers. The latest evidence is that crime levels actually fell last year. But that does not mean that last year wasn't the scariest in American history." It thus began with an acknowledgment of media's role, and followed by stating that the data does not support widespread crime fears. Then it proceeded immediately to contradict itself by asserting that last year was the "scariest in American history," because, "[o]verriding the statistics is the chilling realization that the big crime stories of recent months have invaded virtually every sanctu-

ary where Americans thought they were safe: their cars (James Jordan's murder); their public transit (the Long Island Rail Road murders); even their bedrooms (the kidnap and murder of young Polly Klaas in Petaluma, Calif.)."

The article went on to point out that random killings like the Long Island Rail Road massacre and post office shootings were not increasing sharply. Cases where four or more people were killed in a single incident varied from ten to thirty annually between 1976 and 1991. Criminologist James Fox was quoted as stating that "[m]ost mass murderers do not kill at random in public places." Further, the article noted that mass killings at workplaces were relatively rare and "'hardly at epidemic proportions.'" The authors noted that child-snatching incidents in 1993 would probably come in at the low end of the average. Finally, they stated: "Family strife. This is one problem that doesn't get the attention it deserves. There are 800,000 or more violent incidents within families each year, but the terror of living in many homes is largely overlooked..." After noting how overlooked

Figure 3.
Newspaper Crime Stories 1/92-9/94
(LA Times, NY Times, Wall SJ and Wash Post combined)

□ Total Articles
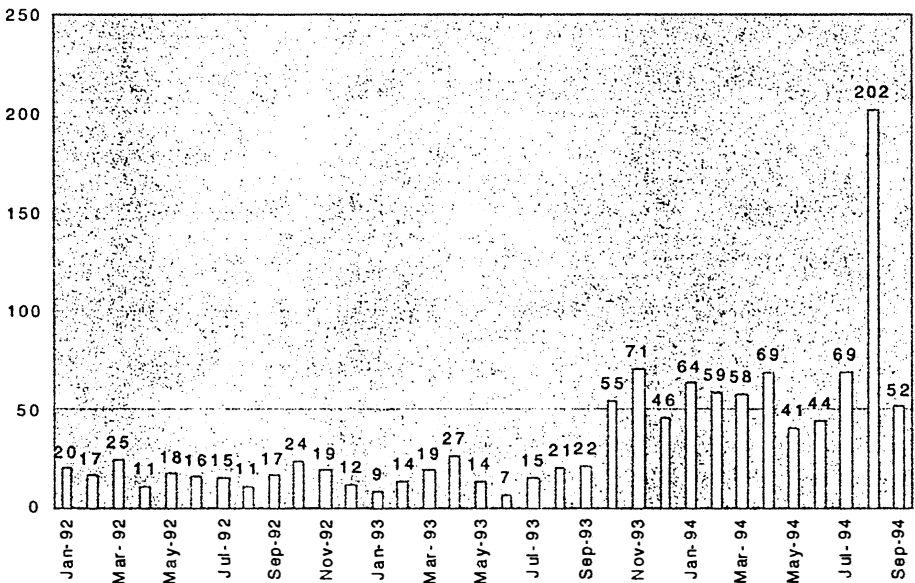
this domestic violence was, the report does not elaborate, essentially repeating the sin of omission they have just identified. None of the three graphs in the articles, for example, included these 800,000 or more violent incidents in the family.

CHANGES IN TELEVISION CRIME COVERAGE

A word of explanation will help to clarify the startling data that follow. Late 1993-94 witnessed a major shift in the number of stories by networks on the crime *issue*. That is, these were stories about crime-as-a-social problem as opposed to stories about a specific criminal incident. While criminal incidents were mentioned in these crime issue stories, the specific incidents were employed as illustrations of crime as a larger problem, rather than as the point of the story itself. What the reader will see displayed in Figure 4 will look, therefore, surprisingly low initially. (Since these network stories were about the crime issue, and not specific crimes per se, the numbers cited here do not include any O.J. Simpson stories).

Network crime issue news increased tremendously beginning in October 1993 as did crime news in the four surveyed newspapers. Network news coverage of the crime issue had been relatively low throughout 1992 and into 1993 (See Figure 5). These crime issue stories up until October 1993 were almost invariably a report about the latest national crime statistics — usually the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports.

Borrowing *Time*'s August 23, 1993 cover headline, NBC entitled its violent crime series in January 1994 "America the Violent." This was NBC's successor to its "Society Under Siege" series of October and November 1993. NBC's Tom Brokaw began the nightly national news broadcast of January 21, 1994, for instance, with the words: "Crime and violence. The focus of so much attention across the country these days. Next week, all of our NBC news broadcasts will focus on the problem and solutions, what can be done about it. Tonight, NBC Chief Financial Correspondent Mike Jensen sets the stage by adding up the staggering cost of violent crime."

The other two networks also featured their own versions of a crime focus that week. Connie Chung began CBS's January

28, 1994 broadcast this way: "In Washington, President Clinton today delivered his first speech since ... his State of the Union address this week, and it was no accident that Mr. Clinton decided to show up for this one. White House correspondent Rita Braver reports why. [Rita Braver:] In Miami this week, a drug agent and a police officer wounded by a drug dealer. In Cleveland, a stabbing at a high school, and in Washington today, over one hundred mayors met to talk about the subject that's uppermost in their mind: crime." Peter Jennings introduced ABC's January 28, 1994 broadcast with: "We're going to begin tonight with law and order and politics and perceptions. It is the perceptions driven by all the headlines about guns and sensational murder trials and conspiracy that are driving much of the political agenda. Today, the Menendez murder trial is over in California. The Tonya Harding saga in Oregon continues to fascinate. Most Americans tell us crime is out of control, and that's why politicians are having another meeting in Washington today." In that same week — between a poll sampling taken between January 20-23, 1994 and January 28-30, 1994 — public concern about crime rose by 18 points, from 31 percent to 49 percent.

Between January 1993 and September 1993, the three networks together averaged about three crime issue stories per month.[8] In October 1993, the three networks broadcast 25 crime issue stories, 58 stories in November 1993, 65 stories in December 1993, and 74 stories in January 1994. January 1994's coverage of the crime issue was up, therefore, by a factor of more than 24 over the level of crime coverage in the first nine months of 1993.[9]

In October 1993, when the networks and newspapers launched their part of the coverage wave, political actors' statements played a secondary role in the news stories about crime. Of the 25 stories concerning the crime issue that month on network nightly national news, only three specifically concerned the Crime Bill and one "Three Strikes, You're Out." The remaining 21 stories concerned crime as a general issue — with the youth angle being uppermost. These stories appeared primarily on NBC's *America Close Up* series, CBS's *Eye on America,* and

Figure 4.
8/93-9/94 Crime Issue Stories v. "Crime" in MIP polls
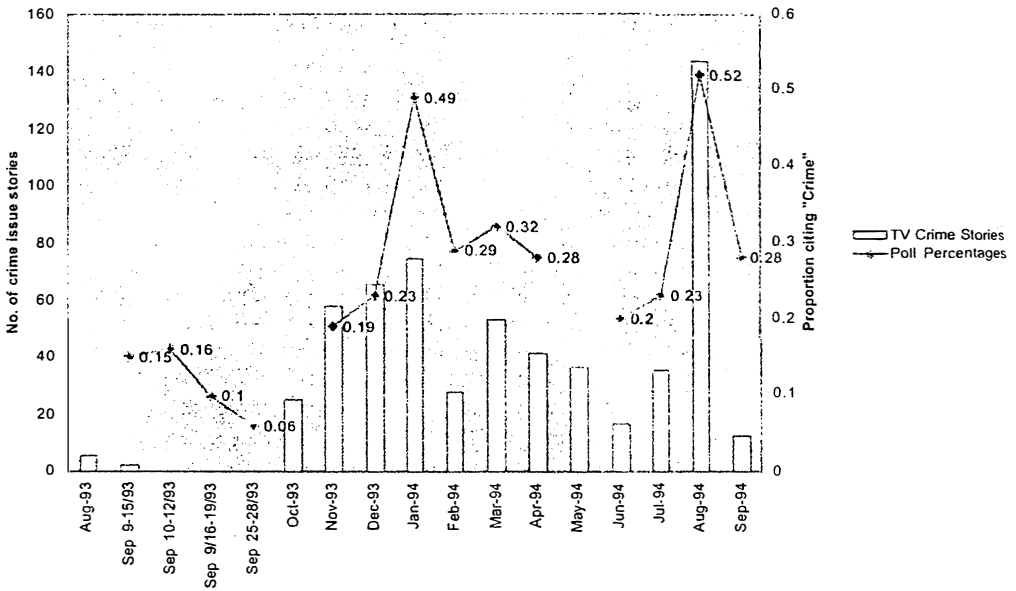
Figure 5.
1/92-7/93 TV Crime Issue Stories v. "Crime" in MIP polls
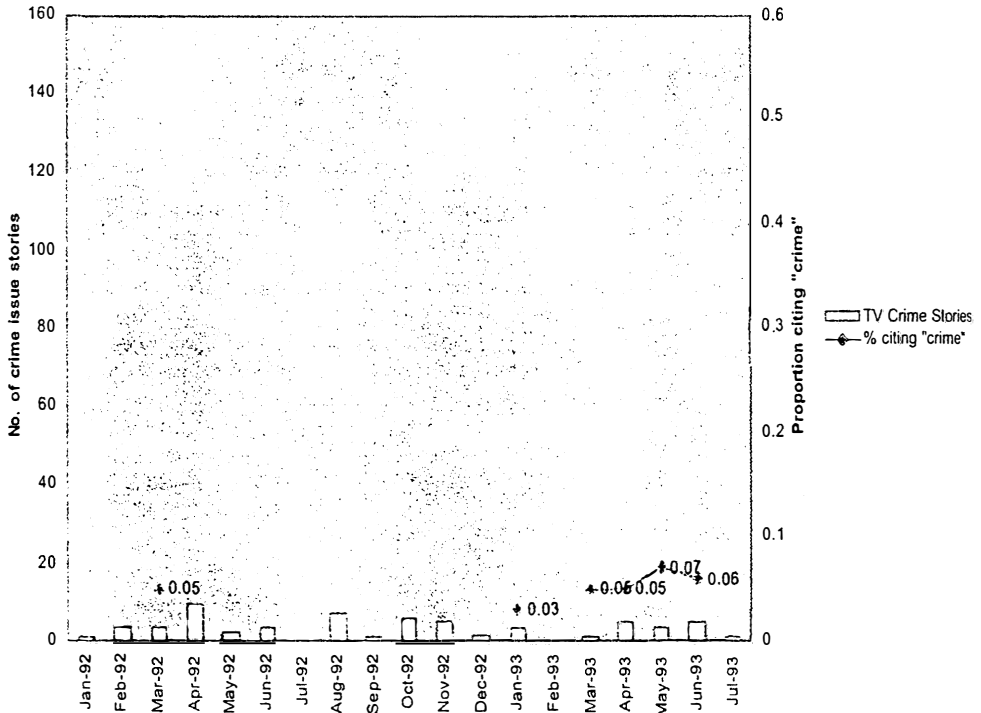
ABC's *American Agenda*. NBC's *America Close Up* series, for example, was entitled "Society Under Siege" and began in October 4, 1993. Originally scheduled for a five-day run, NBC ended up extending "Society Under Siege" into a two-month run.

The series focused on violence among young people, with reports of incidents in cities such as Salt Lake City, New York City, Sacramento, Topeka, Portland, San Francisco, Raleigh-Durham, Buffalo, etc. Each segment led with crime statistics, with the main body of the story about a specific city, and ended with references to violent incidents in other towns or cities. NBC's technique of stringing references to other places at the end of each report created the image of an epidemic of violence gripping the nation. Needless to say, the title for their series — *Society Under Siege* — employed warlike imagery as if crime was threatening to overrun society.

After January 1994, the number of television stories about the crime issue subsided somewhat, though the number of stories remained very high by pre-October 1993 standards. Poll levels also dropped down to lower levels when the media dropped their overall level of crime coverage. In August 1994, network crime issue news hit an all-time high of 143 stories. Out of those 143 stories, 54 were devoted to covering the Clinton Crime Bill. Thus, while the explosion of stories in August 1994 can certainly be attributed in part to the Crime Bill, the majority of stories were not about the Crime Bill.

In that same month of August 1994, poll-measured crime concerns also reached an all-time high of 52 percent.[10] Figure 3 also includes the MIP poll results contemporaneously. *Notably, this unparalleled leap in newspaper and television crime issue news was not associated with any specific preceding or contemporaneous crime events.*

INTRA-MEDIA INFLUENCE

Were the newspapers and television networks responding to the newsmagazines when they increased their crime coverage in October 1993? In the absence of significant criminal events and/ or changes in the crime rate in September and October 1993, the rea-

son for the extraordinary leap in newspaper and television news coverage begs for explanation. There are compelling reasons to suggest that the newsmagazines triggered the other major media's coverage wave.[11]

Intra-media influence is not solely, or even mainly, measured by size of audience share. The fact that the newsmagazines have in recent times suffered decreases in readership therefore does not undercut their intra-media influence. In fact, they have adjusted their strategies to accommodate their declining readership:

"*Time* and *Newsweek* send faxes to key executives every Sunday, boasting of the stories in the forthcoming issue of their magazines, 'increasingly trying to show that they're not just rehashing the news but that they're breaking it,' in the words of Evan Thomas, assistant managing editor of *Newsweek*....

"Equally important, newsmagazines want to beat the competition on trend and social issue stories, stories that first identify or put into perspective an emerging subject or problem." (*L.A. Times*, August 6, 1998, A-1, "New Media Playing Field Opens Way to More Errors.") Indeed, their August 1993 cover stories on crime were researched weeks ahead of publication in an effort to name a trend – random, violent crime, especially among youth.[12]

An alternative interpretation to the above is that the TV and newspaper outlets were responding to some factor other than the newsmagazines. Perhaps they noticed the mid-September 1993 polls and decided that the public was now more concerned about crime and therefore expanded their coverage in response. To answer this question, it is useful to look at the four polls taken that month. See Table 1.

The first two polls in September 1993 show a nearly identical 15 percent and 16 percent reading, which conforms to what one would expect since the polling dates were almost identical. The last two polls in September 1993 showed a decline in crime being mentioned, from 10 percent in the September 16-19, 1993 sample, and then in the September 25-28, 1993 sample, down to six percent, the same reading as in June 1993. This pattern is consistent with some factor

Table 1: Most Important Problem Polls - Sept. 1993

Date of Sample	Poll Sponsor	% citing crime as #1 prob.
9/9-15/93	L.A. Times	15%
9/10-12/93	Gallup	16%
9/16-19/93	CBS/NYT	10%
9/25-28/93	L.A. Times	6%

Source: Roper Center

causing a temporary bump up of crime concerns in the first two weeks of September 1993, with crime concerns then settling back to their previous level of six percent. Note further that this bump up to 15 percent and 16 percent, with the exception of a single poll in 1977,[13] was the first spike in crime concerns *since* 1968. This doubling of crime concerns in September 1993 should not, therefore, be treated as random "noise."

This pattern supports the hypothesis that the four August 1993 newsmagazines crime cover stories had a temporary effect on public crime concerns, inasmuch as there was no outstanding criminal event or government action in that time period which coincided with this jump in the polls. If the *L.A. Times* was following its own polls here, and made decisions based simply on popular sentiment, then it would likely have decreased its crime coverage based on the fall in public concern at the end of September 1993. Instead it increased its coverage. While the news media had ready access to the *L.A. Times*' polls, and to the CBS/*New York Times* poll, Gallup's September poll was not published until December 1993. So the only poll data readily available to the media indicated that public interest in crime was actually declining through September 1993.

If the September 1993 polls were compared to the June 1993 polls and prior levels of six percent or below, one would see a momentary jump in September 1993. But it is highly unlikely that all four major newspapers and the three major television networks noticed this shift in the polls. Even if they had noticed this, the available evidence indicates that journalists do not in general take their cues for what stories to cover, and how to cover them, from the public (see Tuchman

1978 and Schudson 1978). Rather, they generally make news judgments based on what they think will please their superiors, and look to other media to judge whether they are covering the right stories (Gans 1979; Winerip 1998).

Because audience feedback is difficult to obtain other than the occasional phone call and letters to the editor (which Gans found journalists universally dismiss), public feedback tends to consist of family members, friends and neighbors. *Time* Managing Editor James R. Gaines, for example, explains the magazine's conclusion in 1993 that Americans were fed up with crime as coming from "talk over the barbeque. It is a gut thing, a sense that, though maybe it's from a middleclass commuter's perspective, this craziness has even invaded the sacred precinct of a 5:33 p.m. commuter train." (Braun and Pasternak 1994: A16). (See, also, Cohen 1963, Sigal 1973, Epstein 1974, Tuchman 1978).

In fact, Gans (1979) points out that journalists generally reject feedback from the public, and are particularly suspicious of polls, generally judging the public unfit to make decisions about what stories should be covered and how those stories should be covered (cf. Tuchman 1978). The media simply do not decide what they will cover on the basis of polls. Even if they did, in the case of the September 1993 polls, a 15-16 percent reading is not very high, compared to the higher levels of concern being registered for other issues in the same polls at the time. Health Care was named by 28 percent of respondents, the Economy by 26 percent, Unemployment and Jobs by 20 percent and the Federal Budget by 15 percent.

OTHER CRIME COVERAGE WAVES?

Have there been other periods in U.S. history when news attention to crime was very high, but did not result in elevated concerns in the polls, thus casting doubt on the hypothesis that media acted as an extraneous variable to poll responses? As I have already indicated, as far as the newsmagazines, there is no precedent for the level of their attention to crime coverage in the 1990s. Figure 6 displays the level of television crime news stories between 1968 and 1994[14] and shows that the network nightly news broadcasts' attention to the crime issue in late 1993-94 has no precedent.

It is not possible to reproduce with the same methods a comparison of crime news in the four newspapers I selected for this study prior to 1982.[15] The television data, however, are probably the most indicative and persuasive by themselves since television is the most heavily consumed news form of the three media forms. Employing the Information Access Company's index of articles from January 1, 1982 through December 31, 1994 in the *Los Angeles Times* (home edition), *New York Times* (late and national editions), *Wall Street Journal* (eastern and western editions), and the *Washington Post* (final edition), one finds, with the partial exception of the *New York Times*, a

generally uniform and parallel pattern of rising crime coverage for the four papers between 1987 and 1994. As can be seen from Table 2, the number of crime stories increased dramatically in 1994 for all four surveyed newspapers, and for three of the papers from 1993.

CONCLUSION

The evidence adduced here for a media effect is very strong. It would, of course, be reductionistic to assert that simple shifts up or down in media attention to an issue automatically result in a corresponding shift in poll results. In this study, the poll shifts related to both the coverage wave's magnitude (the sheer number of stories and the diversity of outlets involved), and the story themes emphasized. The levels of juvenile violence actually began to drop off before this coverage wave began, and cannot, therefore, be seen as proportionately responsible for the coverage wave's magnitude or timing. Public officials' statements, linked primarily to pending proposed legislation such as "Three Strikes..." played an important secondary role in this coverage wave. Key overall was news outlets' exceptional attention to the problem of youth violence which focused public attention, leading to the historic spikes in the polls. The polls were not a sim-

Figure 6.
No. of TV Crime Stories 1968-1994
—◆— # Crime Stories
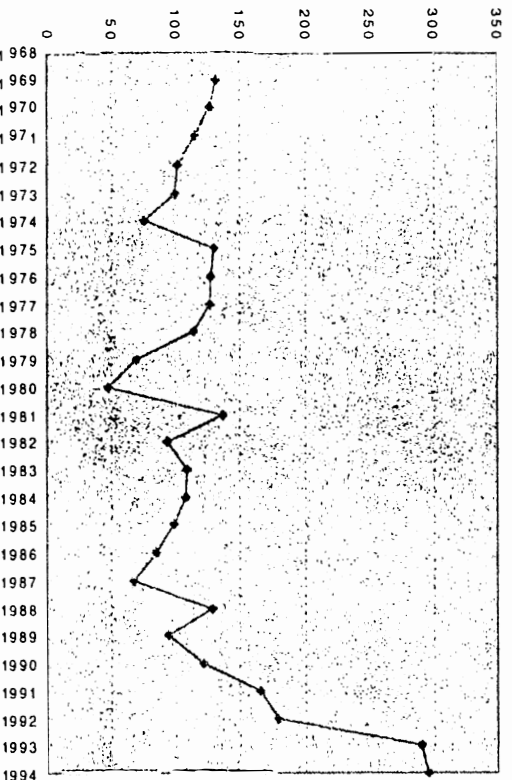
Table 2: Crime Stories in the L.A. Times, New York Times, Washington Post and Wall Street Journal

Year	L.A. Times	N.Y. Times	Wash. Post	Wall Str Jrnl
1982	20	229	30	19
1983	82	111	42	25
1984	42	101	41	35
1985	43	98	47	19
1986	29	88	28	19
1987	19	70	23	14
1988	21	45	29	9
1989	33	60	48	10
1990	47	118	30	14
1991	46	82	69	12
1992	58	63	74	13
1993	116	81	105	26
1994	239	231	231	75

Source: Newspaper Articles Database in Melvyl, indexed by Information Access Company, covering 1/1/82 through 3/01/95, using exact subject search term: "crime."

ple reflection of public sentiment. Rather, media activity, together with public official statements, acted as extrinsic variables vis-à-vis the public and the polls.

The persuasiveness of the current study's analysis of a media effect grows out of the novel methodology employed. That is, all three major media outlets — television, newsmagazines, and newspapers — were analyzed as a differentiated whole, allowing me to track which media outlet initiated the coverage wave. Using the entire polling record then allowed me to trace in very discrete time segments the causal sequence of media coverage vis-à-vis public opinion polls. The full record of polling data uncovered here challenges the collective memory about crime concerns as a consistently dominant public issue. Further studies of media effects should seriously consider employing a study design that includes the major news outlets as well as the complete polling record. This study argues for a wider appreciation of the role that media frequently play in initiating a social problem. Finally, in the example of the 1993-94 crime wave, record levels of public monies were devoted to the criminal justice system in the name of public demand. A demonstration that that public demand was manipulated challenges the validity of such expenditures (Scheingold 1995; Roberts 1992).

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(Endnotes)

[1] I did not use statistical techniques such as regression or time series analysis on this data because it was unnecessary. Regression, and similar statistical methods, are necessary when the data is more oblique than that presented here. As Tracy (1990: 77) argues: "There is a tendency in social science research today ... to apply very sophisticated statistical models and multivariate analytical procedures to reaserch data. In many instances, these highly advanced procedures are desirable, if not absolutely necessary. Despite this tendency, there is no substitute for a thorough descriptive analysis of one's data accompanied by a well-conceived presentation of tables and figures. The most simple analyses, effectively displayed, are often the most convincing and communicative to the reader."

[2] The Roper Center houses polls from all the major polling organizations. These polls were all asked in a closed format. Respondents were allowed to give more than one choice. Thus, the individual item choices (e.g., "crime") when added together total more than 100%. (In a few polls conducted in 1992 by the Wirthlin Group and by Gallup, respondents were asked separately, but in succession, in essence: What is your first choice for MIP? What is your second choice? What is your third choice? The results from these polls were consistent with the results derived from the primary format for the MIP polls in which respondents are allowed to give more than one answer).

[3] Because I was interested in major media impact, I chose to concentrate on crime cover stories in the newsmagazines instead of the sum-total of their crime related articles. My decision to select newsmagazine cover stories was based in part on a shift in recent years in newsmagazines' marketing strategy. In retrospect, an analogous strategy of concentrating on front page newspaper stories only, rather than their sum-total of stories, would have been possible and probably desirable.

[4] In part, my decision to use these national broadcasts as opposed to more local or regional broadcasts was due to the fact that national broadcasts are indexed, whereas local broadcasts are not, and because tapes of those broadcasts are more available than local ones which are almost impossible to obtain. In addition, the national broadcasts were generally a better source of information about national crime initiatives.

[5] Another compelling reason exists for a larger sample size of media outlets chosen for a media effects study: news media's self-referential nature. Several observers of journalistic practices (Cohen 1963; Gans 1979; Fishman 1980), as well as professional journalists themselves (e.g., Steffens 1931; Winerip 1998), have noted that journalists regularly decide what is "newsworthy" by monitoring what stories competing media are covering. Fishman (1978; 1980), notably, observed first-hand New York newspapers fueling a fictive crime wave against the elderly as they vied with one another to come up with more crimes against the elderly incidents. The newspapers did this even though they knew that, according to police statistics, crimes against the elderly were actually in decline. The story, however, was too "juicy" to pass up (Fishman 1978).

[6] Social problems theory (a subdiscipline within sociology) commonly employs the term "claims-maker" to refer to those who make claims about a putative condition. The designation "primary claims-maker" generally refers to interest group advocates (Spector and Kitsuse 1973; Best 1990; 1995).

[7] What if I had counted the number of covers during the 1960s that were about social disorder? Would this have made the contrast between the amount of attention given to the crime issue by the newsmagazines in the 1990s less dramatic as compared to the 1960s? Yes, a bit, but with a very important caveat. The issue of crime in the 1960s had a different character to it than in the 1990s. That is, "crime in the streets" was a contested matter in the 1960s in which the liberals (e.g., most notably President Lyndon Johnson and members of his cabinet such as Vice-President Humphrey and Attorney General Ramsey Clark) attacked the conservatives (e.g., notably, Barry Goldwater, Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew) on the express grounds that those touting "law 'n order" were using crime as a codeword for race. This debate at the highest levels was also evident in the debate in the streets where the social movements of the day argued that civil rights was the key issue. Crime, was, in

this view, by comparison, at best a secondary issue and at worst, a red herring. The media coverage in that time reflects that debate and the crime issue as a result did not attain the levels of attention in the polls or the level of media attention to street crime that it did in the 1990s. There is, unfortunately, not room here to fully pursue these points.

[8]These figures are taken from the *Television News Index and Abstracts,* known generally as the Vanderbilt Index. The dramatic increase in network stories in late 1993 and 1994 about crime as a general and distinct category *reflects a shift in network treatment rather than a shift in Vanderbilt's procedures.* In a personal conversation with Vanderbilt in April 1995, I was informed that they attempt to classify stories according to the story's own "bucket" (i.e., if they can categorize a story specifically, for example, "O.J. Simpson," as opposed to "crime" or "murder" they will do so.) Thus, the figures cited in Figures 4 and 5 do not include, for example, any stories on O.J. Simpson.

I double-checked *each* of the *daily* broadcast entries in the abstracts portion of the Vanderbilt Index to verify the numbers displayed in the Vanderbilt monthly index. These daily entries list all stories presented on that day's nightly news broadcasts, and the exact time they were presented within the broadcasts. Thus, the numbers I use herein of stories concerning the crime issue are all accounted for individually, and are not an artifact of the Vanderbilt Indexer's indexing system. In a small number of cases, the Vanderbilt Indexers missed some crime issue stories in their monthly subject category totals. I have corrected these errors in the data shown in this article. As another cross-check, I used the Internet version of the Vanderbilt Index, employing a search strategy of keyword "crime." The pattern of very low numbers of stories prior to the coverage wave compared to the very high numbers of crime stories during the coverage wave was also very evident using that alternate search strategy. In addition, as is evident from the text discussion, I viewed many of these broadcasts in their entirety.

[9]The February 1994, Tyndall Report (cited by *Extra!* (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting's magazine), May/June 1994, Vol. 7, No. 3, p. 10) reported that in the 3 years ending in January 1992, the 3 major television networks spent 67 minutes per month on crime stories in their nightly network news. By comparison, between October 1993, and January 1994, they devoted 157 minutes per month to crime stories. This represents a greater than 234 percent increase in crime stories on network television national news.

[10]Did other factors, such as the prevalence of "reali-TV" crime shows such as COPS, have something to do with this attention to crime in late 1993/4? Undoubtedly. These shows, however, cannot account for the volatile polls given the timing. These docucop shows began with "Unsolved Mysteries" in 1987, followed in 1988 by "American Detective" and "America's Most Wanted." "COPS began broadcasting in 1989, "Top Cops" and "DEA" in 1990, and "FBI: The Untold Stories" in 1991.

[11]Skeptical readers might not be convinced by this specific hypothesis. The major thrust of this case study does not require acceptance of that hypothesis.

[12]In the case of *Time*'s August 2, 1993 cover story "Big Shots: An Inside Look at the Deadly Love Affair between America's Kids and their Guns," the principal author, Chicago bureau chief Jon Hull, spent five weeks in Omaha preparing the story.

[13]The 15% reading in 1977 was only in one poll. But it did occur coincident with a plethora of news stories on crime, and law and order issues across major local papers (see Jacob 1982; Scheingold 1991).

[14]The scale on this Figure 6 is slightly different than Figures 4 and 5 because the search strategy looked for crime stories as opposed to crime issue stories. I used the Vanderbilt Index's Internet version for the data displayed in Figure 6. Thus, the magnitude of Figure 6 is greater than Figures 4 and 5.

[15]This is because the Information Access Company whose indexing system I have used herein does not index these papers earlier than 1982. It would be possible to use the *New York Times*' own index for earlier years, but it is not comparable to the search and indexing system employed by the Information Access Company's that I employed for the rest of my newspaper data.

Images of Color, Images of Crime
Readings
Second Edition

Coramae Richey Mann, *Indiana University*
Marjorie S. Zatz, *Arizona State University*

"With honesty and passion, the writers in this unique collection
bring to life the devastating effects of the linking of distorted racial
imagery to crime, and how this connection has been created,
maintained, and utilized by the country's dominant power
structure.... The injustice, both recent and historic, is clearly
revealed and confronted, from street-level interaction to
sophisticated media politics..."

— Julius Debro
University of Washington

The Second Edition of *Images of Color, Images of Crime*, a reader of 22 original essays
edited by eminent criminologists Coramae Richey Mann and Marjorie S. Zatz, has been
updated and enhanced from the previous edition.

This volume explores the dynamics of race, crime, and the criminal justice system in the
United States today, giving equal attention to the linkages between images of color and
images of crime. In their essays, the contributors stress the diversity of experiences within
racial/ethnic groups based on gender, class, and national origin/heritage. Many books about
crime and the criminal justice system ignore race when it comes to crimes by whites, much as
they ignore gender when discussing crimes by men. In contrast, Mann and Zatz present a
critical analysis of white privilege as a central feature.

The Second Edition has been reorganized, centering on substantive areas. Within each of the
four substantive sections, readers will find essays describing and analyzing the experiences of
American Indians, African Americans, Latinos and Latinas, Asian Americans, and Euro-
Americans. New transitional pieces have been added that tie each section together, and the
contributors have updated their essays with current information.

The book opens with a general discussion of race and racism as social constructions,
clarifying how images of color are structurally linked to systems of oppression and
domination and are reinforced by the media and politicians. Then there is a section on
personal narratives from each major color category, followed by sections on stereotyping by
politicians, stereotyping by the media, and crime and punishment on color lines.

Complimentary copies are available for classroom-adoption consideration. If you are not
considering the book for a course but would like to purchase a copy, please contact us for
pricing.

Elder Abuse:
Overview of Sources, Prevalence and Intervention Initiatives

Felix O. Chima, Prairie View A&M University

Abstract

This paper is about elder abuse as a social problem from the perspective of its sources, prevalence and intervention initiatives. The true incidence of elder abuse is difficult to determine because elder abuse is known to be very underreported. Literature, however, suggests that elder abuse is widespread and that probably hundreds of thousands of elderly persons are victimized each year. Because the older adult population is increasing in numbers at a rapid pace, there is little doubt that elder abuse will be among the nation's problems. This article discusses trends and prevalence of elder abuse and neglect. A discussion of social reconstruction theory and its effects on the elderly is provided. The empowerment perspective is discussed as the conceptual framework for professionals in their roles as elder abuse advocates and social service providers. Intervention initiatives recommended include: awareness of policies and services, policy evaluation research, caretaker assistance, and advocacy.

Introduction

Abuse of the elderly has been called a "national disgrace" (U.S. House of Representatives 1985). Studies have revealed that elder abuse, like child abuse and other forms of family violence, is widespread (Tatara 1995) and that probably hundreds of thousands of the nation's elderly are victimized each year. Although domestic violence and child abuse has come to be defined as a contemporary social problem, most Americans might find it hard to believe that elderly abuse as a social problem even exists. Because the issue of maltreatment of the elderly is still mostly hidden under a shroud of family secrecy, most members of the public and some human service professionals are not well informed of the problem and unfamiliar with ways to provide intervention to protect these at-risk members of society.

While reports of abuse, neglect, and exploitation of the elderly continue to increase, the demographics of the elderly population in the U.S. and other countries dramatically demonstrate that the aging population is growing (Rice 1997). It is estimated that by the year 2020, the number of people age 60 and older will increase from 42 million in 1995 to 72 million (Tatara 1995). Between 1989 and 2030, the population that is 65 and older is expected to more than double, with those 85 and over expected to more than triple as the fastest growing segment of the population (Rice 1997). With continuing trends over the next 30 years, today's 76 million baby boomers can look forward to celebrating their 100th birthday and with life spans of 120 to 130 years (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995).

By 2050, 1 in 5 Americans, 80 millions in all, more than twice the present number, may be 65 or older (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995). About 3 million Americans are 85 or older. This 85-plus age group could be nearly one-fourth of the elderly population and five percent of all Americans by 2050 (Thomas 2000; Treas 1995). Gerontologists, Social Scientists who specialize in the study of the aged and aging processes, refer to three groups of older adults: the "young old", "old old", and "oldest old". Chronologically, young old generally refers to people ages 65 to 74, who are active, vital, and vigorous. The old old are those persons ages 75 to 84. The oldest old, age 85 and above and the old old are more likely to be frail and to have difficulty (Zastrow 2000) engaging in some activities of daily living.

This paper offers a review of the prevalence of elder abuse and neglect with special attention to the sources of such abuse and neglect. Three of those sources are: familial, institutional, and societal. An understanding of elder abuse and neglect within our society and its consequences is necessary for professionals who must continue to intervene in the lives of the elderly. The paper also describes social reconstruction theory and its impact on the abuse and neglect of the elderly. An empowerment perspective, which assumes that issues of power and powerlessness are integral to abuse and neglect experience of the elderly is presented as a framework for intervention.

DEFINITION AND EXTENT OF ELDER ABUSE

There are as many definitions of elder abuse as there are elder abuse laws, programs, and research practices (Tatara 1995). Elder abuse has been broadly defined (Mann 1995) as adverse omission or commission of acts against an older person. Elder abuse, which is most commonly perpetrated by unpaid, informal caregivers (mainly family members), can assume many forms including physical, psychological, emotional, financial, material, and social. The National Aging Resources Center on Elder Abuse (NARCEA) developed and used its definitions of domestic elder abuse for several survey studies. The seven categories of domestic elder maltreatment developed by NARCEA (Tatara 1995) are:

Physical abuse: nonaccidental use of physical force that results in bodily injury, pain, or impairment.

Sexual abuse: nonconsensual sexual contact of any kind with an older person.

Emotional or psychological abuse: willful infliction of mental or emotional anguish by threat, humiliation, intimidation, or other verbal or nonverbal abusive conduct.

Neglect: willful or nonwillful failure by the caregiver to fulfill his or her caregiving obligation or duty.

Financial or material exploitation: unauthorized use of funds, property, or any resources of an older person.

Self-abuse or neglect: abusive or neglectful conduct of an older person directed at himself or herself that threatens his or her health or safety.

All other types: all other types of domestic elder abuse that do not belong to the first six categories (p. 835).

While studies have generally found that a typical abuser of older adults is a son or daughter caregiver who is living with (or in close proximity to) the abused older adult, abuse is found in institutional settings as well (Herron, Javier, McDonald, Alderstein 1994). It is estimated that between five and ten percent of elder Americans suffer some type of abuse (Pillemer, Finkelhor 1988). The U.S. House Select Committee on Aging (1990a) reported that in 1989, at least 1.5 million American elderly were victims of abuse, an increase of approximately 500,000 since 1980. In a nationally representative sample of more than 2,000 elderly people, Pillemer and Finkelhor (1988) found that the prevalence of domestic elder abuse, excluding self-neglect, was 32 of every 1,000 older people, or 3.2 percent. These researchers estimated that there were between 701,000 and 1,093,500 abused elders in the United States. Although Shiferaw, Mittelmark, Wofford, Anderson (1994); Tatara (1995); and Crystal (1987) have noted that it is difficult to know exactly how many older people are victimized each year, Tatara (1993b) using the data on domestic elder abuse collected from national survey estimated that 1.57 million elderly people became victims of various types of domestic elder abuse during 1991. This estimate included self-neglect cases because states generally include these in counting elder abuse victims.

Reported cases of domestic elder abuse are often collected by states and used to develop nationwide statistics on the extent of the problem. Tatara (1990c, 1993b) developed estimates of domestic elder abuse for the past several years which included 117,000 reports for 1986, 128,000 for 1987, 140,000 for 1988, 211,000 for 1990, and 227,000 for 1991. While the number of domestic elder abuse reports that were made to authorities across the nation rose a substantial 94 percent from 1986 to 1991, these reports represent only a diminutive portion of the actual incidents of domestic elder abuse, because most domestic elder abuse cases are never reported. Experts (Tatara 1993b; Pillemer, Finkelhor 1988) agree that only about half of the reported elder abuse cases are substantiated each year after investigations.

More recently, however, the number of domestic elder abuse reports rose sharply between 1986 and 1996 and marked an increase of 150.4% during this 10-year period (Tatara 1999; Tartara, Kuzmeskus 1997). In fiscal year 1996, Texas Adult Protective Services workers in that state alone, investigated 49,237 reports of abuse, neglect, and/or exploitation of vulnerable adults who were aged or who were young adults with disabilities. Of the investigations, 39,683 cases were validated as abuse, neglect or exploitation (TDPRS 1997).

SOURCES OF ELDER ABUSE

To further increase our understanding of elder abuse prevalence, a review of elder abuse literature provides a trichotomy of major sources. Those sources are 1) familial, 2) institutional, and 3) societal.

Familial Sources of Elder Abuse

Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1979) examined 2,143 families who were carefully chosen to be representatives of approximately 47 million families in America to determine the extent of elder abuse by family members. The researchers estimated that about one in five children hit a parent the previous year, including a parent who was elderly. In another study, Koch and Koch (1980) estimated from their Cleveland data that there may be a million elderly abused by their adult children. The authors found physical abuse in three-fourths of the cases, almost half included psychological abuse, and in almost every case, there was a violation of rights, including forcing a parent out of his or her own dwelling, usually into a nursing home. An example of elder abuse is related by Koch and Koch (1980):

> In Chicago, a nineteen-year old woman confessed to torturing her eighty-one year-old father and chaining him to a toilet for seven days. She also hit him with a hammer when he was asleep. "I worked him over real good with it. Then after I made him weak enough, I chained his legs together. After that, I left him and rested, I watched TV for a while" (p.14).

Tatara (1993b) studied the characteristics of elderly abusers and victims in all states and found that in 1991, 33% of elderly abuse victims were abused by their adult children, 14% were abused by their spouses (of both sexes), 24% by other relatives, friends or neighbors, and grandchildren. After analyzing data for types of abuse, Tatara (1993b) found: 45% of neglect, 17% financial and material exploitation, 14% percent psychological and emotional abuse, and 5% of all others including sexual abuse.

Studies of family caregiving suggest that caring for older people is difficult and stressful, particularly when the elder is frail or physically impaired, when the caregiver is ill prepared for the task because of inadequate training and knowledge, or when the needed resources for eldercare are lacking (Dwyer, Folts, Rosenberg 1994). One theory holds that abuse and/or willful neglect will occur as a result of increased levels of stress and frustration among caregivers (Tatara 1995). Families with limited resources frequently face problems in caring for older members and have higher rates of abuse. In a controlled study of abused victims and non-abused control group, Pillemer and Finkelhor (1989) noted that personality problems of abusers were "increasingly evident with the increased burden and stress in caring for elderly persons." Huckle (1994) also notes that the increased burden of caring for relatives with dementia can lead to pathological caring. Other factors such as alcohol and drug abuse appear to contribute to maltreatment. This relationship was studied by Anetzberger (1993) who found that elder abusers were more likely to abuse alcohol than non-abusers. Additional risk factors for potential abusers include medication or drug abuse, senile dementia, and emotional illness. Although victims of domestic elder abuse are more likely to be women than men, both males and females with high levels of dependency are at greater risk.

Self-neglect is common (Vinton 1991) particularly among elders who may be considered legally competent yet unable to "provide themselves with adequate food, clothing, shelter, or medication, and through their actions represent a danger to themselves or the community." In a study of 227 elders who were "reportedly competent but self-neglectful," Vinton (1991) found "higher rates of disabling conditions such as Alzheimer's or other related dementia and alcoholism when compared with the general older population." The likelihood of self-neglect increases with age.

Institutional Sources of Elder Abuse

For elders whose families are unable to care for them, the standard solution has been a nursing home or hospital. Although most older people are healthy and independent, about 25 percent need some help with the routine of daily life. The likelihood of becoming a nursing home resident increases with age. While only one percent of those 65 to 75 are in nursing homes, about a third of nursing home residents are those 90 to 94 (Zastrow 2000). It is important to note that the nursing home population is more likely to be those with multiple chronic diseases, some forms of dementia, and major impairments in activities of daily living. Nevertheless, absence of caregivers or a social support network appears to be a major factor that distinguishes long-term nursing home residents from those with equal impairments living in the community. Nursing home care is an area dominated by private, and particularly for-profit provision of services. More

than 1.5 million older people now live in extended-care facilities, making nursing homes a billion dollar industry (Meddaugh 1993). Recently, care in nursing homes has been characterized by one abuse scandal after another (Mann 1995).

Meddaugh (1993) used ethnographic methodologies to study elder abuse in nursing homes and suggests it occurs frequently in the form of subtle psychological abuse such as isolation, labeling, and other forms which violates the elderly residents rights. About 50.8 older people in every 1,000 living in nursing homes suffer some form of abuse. More specifically, 26.3 of every 1,000 experience passive neglect, 11.2 verbal or emotional neglect, 10.5 intentional, severe neglect, and 2.8 physical or severe physical abuse. According to a federal report by the Health Care Financing Administration in 1988, 43 percent of the nation's nursing homes fail to meet food sanitation standards, approximately a third have problems providing personal hygiene and properly administering drugs for their residents (Wineke 1988). The U.S. Senate Special Committee on Aging in 1987 found that conditions were overall dangerous and abusive in one out of ten nursing homes. The study's findings include neglect, medical maltreatment, beatings, and rape. According to that study, seventy-nine patients died as a direct result of neglect in California alone between 1985 and 1986 (Robinson 1988). A nationwide study (Robinson 1988) of nursing homes found significant abuses which included giving new and unapproved drugs to patients without their consent, and giving patients heavy doses of tranquilizers to keep them submissive.

The actions and attitudes of some professionals, whether intentional or unintentional, can constitute elder abuse. Many physicians, nurses, psychologists, social workers, and other professionals engage in negative activities that are not in the best interest of the elderly people they serve. For example, a grown daughter takes her mother for a medical checkup, and the physician directs all conversation to the daughter, as though the mother were a child or not even there. According to a Comprehensive Cancer Center Study published by the University of Wisconsin in 1992, patients over 75 were one-third as likely to be offered radiation and chemotherapy as younger people. This practice is disturbing since the overall cancer death rate has gone up 13 percent for people 65 and over and declined five percent for younger people in the last fifteen years (Mann 1995). Many older people are not given the kinds of diagnostic screening tests that are indicated by their physical condition. Women over 65 tend not to be treated as aggressively for ovarian cancer as are younger women. Frequently, doctors overload their older patients with pills, while others fail to prescribe needed medications (Poddolsky, Siberner 1993). Some doctors are too quick to recommend a nursing home without exploring other alternatives such as services provided by community agencies (Poddolsky, Siberner 1993; Mann 1995).

A task force report of the American Psychiatric Association (1993) estimates that 10 percent to 30 percent of all treatable mental disorders in older people are misdiagnosed as untreatable, often because the physician assumes that mental impairment is to be expected with old age and fails to rule out reversible disorders. Community mental health centers are often unresponsive to the elderly, lack sufficient funds to cover them, and prefer treating younger patients who are seen as more severely and chronically mentally ill. Insurance companies are quick to act when elderly patients do not demonstrate "timely and progressive improvement" in a rehabilitation program. Social workers sometimes treat older people as if they were incapable of making good decisions for themselves instead of concentrating on how to carefully present all the options available to the older person in such a way as to encourage self-determination (Mann 1995).

Societal Sources of Elder Abuse

Many Americans think of old age in very negative ways. Stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination adversely affect many lives in America, whether against racial groups (racism), women and men (sexism), or against the elderly (ageism). Ageism is characterized by three conspicuously yet interrelated aspects (Mann 1995): 1) prejudicial attitudes toward the aged and toward the aging process, including attitudes held by the aging themselves; 2) discriminatory practices against the elderly in employment, and in other social roles; and 3) institutional practices and policies that undermine their personal dignity. Attributes of age-

ism in the U.S. society have contributed to the transformation of aging from a natural process into a social problem. Ageism is perhaps the major impediment confronting the elderly in contemporary society. Beliefs about the elderly being unwilling or unable to change, incapable of learning, asexual, rigid, conservative in nature, and dependent and withdrawn are commonly held misconceptions (Rice 1997). Many stereotypes about old age do not accurately describe how older people feel and act. Older individuals have diverse needs and interests. They are often erroneously perceived as being a homogeneous category of people, while in fact, they vary broadly in health status, ethnic and racial background, income level, degree of educational attainment, and level of independence.

Our society places a high value on youth and on having a beautiful body. From advertisement to television talk show jokes, negative messages are so endemic and create an image of the elderly as debilitated and useless. The constant bombardment of negative stereotypes in the culture gets internalized by older people, which lowers their expectation of performance. Trafford (2000) reported on the findings from a recent Yale University research into the health consequences of chronic exposure to negative stereotypes about aging. The study shows that elder bashing can damage a person's mental and physical functioning.

Researchers divided 54 men and women between the ages of 64 and 82 into two groups. In one group, participants were exposed to several negative messages. Participants in the other group received all positive messages about the elderly. It was found that those who got negative messages experienced significant increases in blood pressure that lasted for half an hour. High blood pressure increases the risk of heart attack and stress. Those older adults in the study who were exposed to negative messages also showed a greater response to stress according to skin measurement (Trafford 2000). Moreover, participants in the negative-message group performed worse on mathematical tests. They had more difficulty on a verbal test in which they had to recount a stressful experience in the past five years when compared with the group that received positive messages. The extent of societal sources of elder abuse is severe enough to prompt geri-

atrician Jesse Ruth, professor of medicine at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine to note that:

> We are permitting a level of negative humor with the elderly that disappeared at the racial and gender level two decades ago. We are allowing words to describe the elderly that would cause one to lose his or her job if those words were associated with gender or race (Trafford 2000).

Job discrimination is one societal source of abuse and neglect against the elderly. Older workers are frequent targets of job discrimination when seeking new employment and promotion. The 1967 Age Discrimination in Employment Act, designed to protect workers between 40 and 65, has still not succeeded in eradicating discrimination against the elderly. Although there are state and federal laws prohibiting age discrimination, complaints continue to grow. For example, requests for information on fighting age discrimination have increased 55 percent since 1990 (Henderson 1994). Charges of age discrimination nearly doubled during the 1980s and by the 1990s there were 22, 537 new cases filed. Along with the cases filed through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), private lawsuits alleging age discrimination increased 2,200 percent from 1969 to 1989 (Henderson 1994).

In 1990 the EEOC had a backlog of age discrimination cases exceeding 45,000, and it received 17,000 more complaints in 1991. A record 60,000 discharged because of age cases were filed with EEOC in 1992. Moreover, there is a trend of lower wages, harsher performance appraisals and less training opportunities given to older workers, perhaps under the misconception that they are not adaptable or trainable. Those who have suffered racial, ethnic, or sex discrimination can expect to find additional indignities in old age. While it would seem progressive for society to find a meaningful productive role for the elderly, early retirement programs and stereotypic expectations of the elderly often result in the elderly being viewed as unproductive, inactive, dependent, and unfulfilled.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ABUSE

Elder abuse is a multi-dimensional problem that requires broad expertise and a variety of resources. The most common approach to pre-

venting elder abuse is to provide professional and public education programs at the community level. In addition to established federal and state laws designed for reporting elderly abuse and neglect, many states also provide informal caregivers and interested citizens with training in eldercare. In most communities, both public and private agencies such as the police, prosecutor's office, court client advocacy groups, hospitals and practicing physicians, and social service providers work collaboratively to ensure the protection of vulnerable elders (Tatara 1995). Although the causes of elderly abuse and neglect are complex and varied, a promising approach to increasing self-determination for the elderly is based on empowerment concepts. The rationale for the use of an empowerment approach to the elderly abuse and neglect problem derive from the powerlessness they experience based on social reconstruction theory, an orientation specific to older age.

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION THEORY

The basic tenets of social reconstruction theory (Kuyper, Bengston 1973) are based on analysis of breakdown and competence in older age. This theory suggests that, as a result of social reorganization that occurs in later life, older people are devalued and develop negative self-images. Social reconstruction theory provides a perspective for assessing planned change at the societal level that will benefit older adults. Older adults typically experience the loss of occupational roles and established network. As this loss occurs (Long, Holle 1997), they receive feedback from others that they are less needed and less valued. Older persons, in this way, are stripped of their dignity and opportunities to productively use knowledge and abilities they have spent a lifetime developing (Long, Holle 1997).

An understanding of social reconstruction theory and its effects on the elderly, provides valuable empowerment perspectives and techniques to reverse its negative cycle. Rice (1995) identifies how society reduces the self-concept of the aged in the following four steps:

1) our society brings about role loss, offers only sparse normative information and guidance, and deprives the elderly of reference groups, so that they lose the sense of who they are and what their roles are;

2) society then labels them negatively as incompetent and deficient;

3) society deprives them of opportunities to use their skills, which atrophy in the process; and

4) the aged accept the external labeling, identify themselves as inadequate, and begin to act as they are expected to act, setting the stage for another spiral.

Within existing models of responses to the elderly abuse and neglect problem, the problems of the elderly are couched in individual terms and analyzed in relation to a specific client situation, and overlook the role of objective powerlessness. An empowerment perspective, which assumes that issues of power and powerlessness are integral to the experience of older people, can be used to address elderly abuse problems.

EMPOWERMENT PERSPECTIVE

Empowerment is a process of increasing personal, interpersonal, or political power so that individuals can take action to improve their life situation (Gutierrez 1990). Researchers often approach empowerment from either a macrosystems perspective or from a microsystems perspective (Pinderhughes 1983). On the macrosystems level, empowerment is depicted as the process of increasing collective political power. Conversely, on the microsystems level, empowerment often is described as the development of a personal feeling of increased power or control without an actual change in structural arrangements (Pinderhughes 1983). Other researchers (Gutierrez 1990; Rappaport 1985) advocate for the interface of the two approaches: how individual empowerment can contribute to group empowerment and how the increase in a groups power can enhance the functioning of its individual members.

The literature describes four associated psychological changes that seem crucial for moving individuals from apathy and despair (Gutierrez 1990) to action. First is increasing self-efficiency. This pertains to belief in one's ability to produce and to regulate events in one's life. It uses such concepts as strengthening ego functioning, developing a sense of personal power or strength, developing a sense of mastery, initiative, or increased ability to act. Second is developing group consciousness. The development of group consciousness in powerless persons results in critical perspective on society that redefines indi-

vidual, group, or community problems as emerging from lack of power. Efforts of organizations such as the NARCEA and the Area Agencies of Aging (AAA) are designed to evaluate elderly abuses, identify their needs, develop comprehensive, community-based services to meet those needs, and administer federal funds largely through local service providers. Further, these organizations promote group consciousness among the older persons which allows them to focus their energies on the causes of their problems. Self-determination is encouraged.

Third is reducing self-blame. By attributing their problems to the existing power arrangements in society, older persons are freed from feeling responsible for their negative situations. Because self-blame has been associated with feelings of depression and immobilization, this shift in focus allows the elderly to feel less defective or deficient and more capable of changing their situation (Gutierrez 1990). Fourth is assuming personal responsibility for change. This aspect of the empowerment perspective assumes that as individuals develop self-efficiency, they may become more likely to assume personal responsibility for change. Further, the assumption of personal responsibility for change counteracts some of the potentially negative results of reducing self-blame. Researchers who have studied this process also suggest that one does not necessarily "achieve empowerment" but rather that it is a continual process of growth and change that can occur throughout the life cycle (Gutierrez 1990).

THE HELPING PROFESSION'S ROLE

Professional helpers and particularly social workers concerned about the social functioning and well-being of older persons are in a better position to help when they are cognizant and assess various avenues for social empowerment. The literature on empowerment suggests intervention on the individual and family levels. However, integrating individuals and social environmental factors often are neglected. It is essential that the social worker recognize that the older person's problems may be related to society's actions toward them. Empowering the elderly may require workers to recognize the older person's competence, society's responsibility to the older person, and educating them on their rights.

Competence Recognition. In our society, a person's worth is disproportionately weighted in relationship to one's performance in economically productive roles (Long, Holle 1997). Retirement and lower physical strength decreases feelings of self-worth among older persons. Social workers have the professional values to provide alternatives and help to redefine self-worth through empowerment. While recognizing that a shift in values is not a simple task (Kuyper, Bengston 1973), greater emphasis on wisdom, experience, and creativity are essential qualities that could be used to persuade employers, voluntary organizations, and schools to use the services of the elderly.

Societal Responsibility. Various helping professions have a rich tradition of providing clinical services to assist older persons in adapting to environmental change (Long, Holle 1997). However, placing emphasis on their ability to adapt creates more stress. Rather, older people need help and encouragement from society to pursue goals, make their own choices, and feel good about themselves.

Senior Rights Education. People of older age are susceptible to losing control over their lives (Long, Holle 1997). An important role of the social worker is to empower them to be decision makers regarding the social policies and programs that affect them and their positions in life. Older people are more likely to demand fair treatment from society when their self-worth is raised and their self-blame is reduced through empowerment. Areas of importance for social workers working in the interest of the elderly include awareness of policies and services, policy evaluation research, caretakers assistance, and advocacy. These intervention approaches are detailed below.

INTERVENTION APPROACHES

Awareness of Policies and Services. Although many social workers have clinical training and experience, it is essential to become involved in the policy-making process. Engaging older persons in social policy discourse and toward the acceptance of responsibility for their own happiness and social functioning is an important role for the social worker. Significant attention needs to be paid to the provision of services. Services provided should be evaluated on their impact on pre-

venting or reducing risks of abuse and neglect. Available resources include approximately 670 Area Agencies on Aging in the United States providing services to the elderly in almost every community. These resources are available to social workers and include elder evaluation, case management, information referral, adult day care, education, employment, support groups and many others.

Policy Evaluation Research. Another vital role for social workers is to actively expand their research agenda focusing on evaluating the implementation and impact of social policy. Such research effort will not only provide us with an assessment and understanding of the impact of social policies on the elderly, it will help in the maximization of resource allocation. Research is also essential to ensure that services are designed to foster maximum self-determination on the part of the elderly.

Caretaker Assistance. Many caretakers of older persons tend to have other responsibilities such as employment and raising their own families. These responsibilities become overwhelming to some who may require services that would alleviate family stress resulting from the need to care for a dependent older member. Caretakers can be provided with information regarding resources. They can be educated in the area of abuse and neglect and on how to manage their own emotions. Providing caretakers with information about the physical, emotional, medical, and social needs of the elderly persons, including other supportive available services to assist them in their care of the elderly, will reduce abuse and neglect.

Advocacy. While the roles of social workers in the field of aging is increasing to include consultants, community planners, researchers, and administrators of services, the role of advocate is crucial in responding to elderly abuse. Social workers have an obligation to help the elderly identify specific instances of ageism and discrimination and then serve as advocates in eradicating them. A beneficial guideline for advocacy is the Older Americans Act of 1965 and its amendments which provided the basis for financial aid by the federal government to assist states and local communities to meet the needs of the elderly.

The objective of the act is to secure for the elderly (U.S. Department of Health, Education, Welfare 1970): an adequate income, best possible physical and mental health, suitable housing, restorative services for those who require institutionalized care, opportunity for employment, retirement, health, honor, and dignity, pursuit of meaningful activity, efficient community services, immediate benefit from research knowledge to sustain and improve health and happiness, freedom, independence, and the free exercise of elderly individual initiative in planning and managing their own lives. These objectives are commendable, and some progress has been made, in reality they have not been realized for many of the elderly. Thus, these objectives provide the advocate with systematic measures and purpose of actions to at least increase the chances of more elderly needs being met in accordance with the Older Americans Act of 1965.

CONCLUSION

Although significant inroads have been made in improving social functioning and well-being for the elderly population, the increasing incidences of abuse and neglect is a national concern. For social workers to have an impact on conditions of elderly powerlessness, it is essential to move beyond work with individual clients and problems, to engaging in efforts toward both institutional and societal change. The literature on empowerment suggests specific ways for a social worker to engage individual elderly persons from feelings of hopelessness and apathy to active change. It also provides suggestions on how to advocate and challenge other systems (institutional, societal) that impacts on the lives of the elderly people.

The effectiveness of empowering practice requires interest in the structure and context of social work education. That is, in addition to developing skills in the area of individual and family forms, social workers are also to be empowered and supported to engage themselves in the social contexts of their clients and to move among levels of intervention. The growing aging population provides a compelling need for social workers to provide social justice initiatives and integrated intervention against elderly abuse and neglect.

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ANGER AND HATE GROUPS: THE IMPORTANCE OF STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF EMOTIONS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT RESEARCH

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Abstract

This paper explores the connections between social structural inequality, emotions, and social movement participation. The activities and ideologies of a diverse family of hate groups are treated as a social movement. The interplay between the structural, cultural, and emotional origins of this movement is spelled out. The central emotions shared by these groups are anger and hate, which stem from the perception that whites occupy subordinate positions in society relative to a growing number of undeserving "nonwhites." This theme recurs in hate group discourse and forms a fundamental part of the movement's ideology but it also regenerates the emotional dynamics that seed discontent and mobilization. This study joins a growing body of research that incorporates emotions into theoretical models of social movements.

Key words: hate groups, racism, social movements, sociology of emotions, and social inequality.

THE SOCIAL ORIGINS OF EMOTION

People's feelings have never been in the foreground of sociological discourse. In fact, a systematic sociological study of emotions did not emerge until the 1970s (Kemper 1978; 1990). Since that time sociologists have increasingly been paying attention to the social embryo of emotion. These scholars argue that cognitions and emotions are interdependent modes of psychological experience. Furthermore, sociologists of emotion have identified important social forces that influence human affect. Recently, Douglas Massey (2002) in a Presidential Address to the American Sociological Association, urged sociologists to incorporate the study of emotion into their paradigms. This paper, then, seeks to make a contribution to this growing body of work by examining the impact of social structural inequality on emotion, particularly on the eruption of *anger* and its transformation into *hate*. First, the two major paradigms (social structuralism and social constructionism) that currently guide the study of emotions will be spelled out. Then Theodore Kemper's (1990) social structural model of emotion will be used to interpret the contemporary hate movement in America in order to identify some of the social conditions that generate anger and hatred. This investigation of a social movement sheds light on the relationship between structural inequality, subjective appraisals of feeling rules, and emotional outcomes. In the process it will become clear that Kemper's (1990) model offers social scientists a holistic approach to the study of emotions.

Social movements and emotions

Most sociologists who study social movements have been reluctant to treat emotion as a legitimate variable (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001). For most of the twentieth century sociologists have depicted emotion as a manifestation of an irrational or dangerous impulse (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001). Most theoretical accounts of social movements assume that people somehow automatically understand their group's interests by simply occupying a particular structural location (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001). More recently, some new theoretical currents have tried to correct the overemphasis on rationality and cognition in the study of movement dynamics by incorporating an appreciation of the emotional foundations of collective behavior (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001). The call to pay attention to the emotions of protestors is, in part, a reaction against the resource mobilization perspective and other paradigms that have dominated the field for several decades (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001). These models have excluded social psychological components such as consciousness and identity from the terrain of acceptable topics of inquiry (Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001). Many researchers now acknowledge the importance of emotion in the formation of collective identities, the construction of grievances and framing strategies, and in the mobilization of participants (Goodwin and Polletta 2001). Jasper asserts "It is almost impossible to imagine mobilization in the absence of strong emotions" (1998:414).

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF EMOTIONS

Currently, sociologists interpret the emotional dynamics of social life with the aid of two theoretical models (Kemper 1981). Social constructionism and social structuralism both attempt to capture the social dynamics that produce feelings. Social constructionists explore feeling rules, which are essentially normative pressures to emote in culturally prescribed ways (Kemper 1981; Hochschild 1979; 1983). Individuals interpret the meaning of the prevailing standards of proper affect. An emotion is felt when a cognitive label is assigned to a generic physiological arousal (Kemper 1981). A person experiences "fear", "anger" or "happiness" after cognitive filters process a culturally constructed label which forges an emotion out of an amorphous soup of central nervous system stimulation. Initially, emotions are shaped during the socialization process. However, learned responses do not necessarily become fixed (Kemper 1981). They may recur or be transformed in different contexts where emergent rules are interpreted or reinterpreted. Constructionists insist that we negotiate our emotions by diagnosing the meaning of discourse, symbols, customs, rituals, and body language across shifting contexts (Kemper 1981). The cultural climate of a particular social environment supplies the resources for and sets the parameters of "emotion work" or the effort to manage a generic arousal and transform it into an acceptable feeling. Constructionists reject any assumption about a fixed number of discrete emotions (Kemper 1981). Feelings are constructed from subjective, fluctuating interpretations of culturally created but often transient or ambiguous norms (Kemper 1981). This image lacks any template of basic emotions (Kemper 1981). For constructionists, emotional states are pliant and endlessly susceptible to situational arbitration (Kemper 1981).

There are several problems inherent in constructionist accounts of emotion (Kemper 1981; Lyons 1998). First, the origin of emotion remains unclear. These accounts fail to explain how a constellation of social relationships and cultural climates *actually produces* an emotion. Somehow feelings emerge from subjective interpretations of culturally assigned feeling rules. Additionally, constructionists have a difficult time explaining why people often do not feel the "appropriate" affect. In other words, many emotional reactions are not culturally sanctioned. But, how is this possible? If norms determine our emotions then why do our feel-

ings sometimes violate the rules? Why do we often fail to feel the way we are *supposed* to feel? Often a feeling is denied, suppressed, or channeled in an effort to construct a more acceptable variant. We often display one emotional mask while concealing other prohibited faces. Constructionists need to develop the interplay between contradictory emotions. Another central conundrum of their position is the failure to pay attention to the impact of social relationships on the production of emotion. Instead, they conclude that the idiosyncratic interpretation of feeling rules is the spark (Kemper 1981). There really can be no other answer since constructionist discourse is so disconnected from any biological foundation. Constructionists are afflicted with an "ideational bias" which assumes that emotions emerge primarily from psychological deliberations of cultural symbols beyond the pale of the social structures that prop them up (Lyons 1998). Constructionism often fails to explore the critical role played by social structure in the genesis of emotion as well as in the creation of the cultural norms, codes, symbols, and discourse used as grist for the interpretive mill (Lyons 1998).

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF EMOTION

Kemper's (1990) theory, on the other hand, interrogates the impact of structural forces upon emotion formation while honoring the power of human interpretation. His model is more sensitive to the pressures imposed by the structural organization of the social field. Kemper's (1990) search for the etiology of emotion takes him into the microlevel world of face-to-face encounters situated within the boundaries of social structure. Interpersonal relations are constrained and enabled by configurations of rules, the distribution of resources, and the arrangement of power, status, and privilege. Every person occupies many social positions that are hierarchically ordered according to power and status regulations. The system of inequality explored by Kemper (1990) includes the division of labor embedded in a class structure of exploitive relationships overlapping hierarchies of racial and sexual privilege and authority. Power and status divisions establish the contours of the social locations where human relationships are consummated. Kemper (1990) wants researchers and theorists to focus their gaze upon the emotional interplay taking place in contexts shaped by the asymmetrical distribution of economic, political, and status resources.

For Kemper (1991), then, emotion is born in interpersonal encounters. "The fundamental theorem of the power-status approach to emotions is that a very large class of human emotions results from real, anticipated, imagined, or recollected outcomes of social relations" (1991:333). However, social relationships are constrained by power and status divisions (Kemper 1990; 1991). Power is expressed through coercion, manipulation, punishment, and domination (Kemper 1990). Status resources are displayed in voluntary conferrals of prestige, honor, deference, respect, or esteem that help cement the bonds of love, friendship, and community solidarity within but not necessarily between groups (Kemper 1990). Of course, there is a strong association between status and power. Those who hold positions of high status often have the means to wield power. So, if status rewards are commensurate with normative commitments and the operation of power is not abusive, then positive emotions (happiness, pride) are more likely to flow. Social structure coordinates the patterns of interaction within and across power and status boundaries which determine how much social support (status) a person receives and to what extent he or she will be victimized by power inequities (Kemper 1990; 1991).

Every person's emotional repertoire is formed within structurally organized social encounters. Specific emotions are generated by the particular dynamics of interaction between different social segments. For Kemper (1987; 1990), the physiological component of emotion is triggered by the outcome of an interpersonal engagement. However, Kemper (1987; 1990) posits two levels of emotion: primary and secondary.[1] Primary emotions (fear, satisfaction, anger, pride, and depression/sadness) are rooted in physiological substrates in the brain. The secondary emotions (guilt, shame, and hate) are primary ones redirected into socially conditioned (acceptable) feeling states. Cultural pressures in the guise of feeling rules (emotionology) fabricate a secondary emotion from a primary one. Primary feelings such as fear, anger, depression, or satisfaction are instigated by power and status relationships. Recoding a primary emotion into a secondary one requires some deliberation of cultural codes. Each person searches a culturally constructed cognitive map for the proper conduit into which a primary emotion can be legitimately funneled. Primary emotions, then, are channeled into secondary emotions such as guilt, shame, and hate that vary across con-

texts according to changing cultural proscriptions. A primary feeling is further clarified after the cause of it has been attributed to something the person did (an internal attribution) or to something that was done to that person by another (external attribution) or to some hybrid of both accounts. Designating the source of a primary emotion is a crucial feature of the construction of secondary feeling states (Kemper 1987; 1990).

Kemper (1987; 1990) urges sociologists to look more closely at how secondary emotions mask the primaries. The sociologist must penetrate the cultural discourse (standards, feeling rules) about emotions and uncover the provocative social relations involved in the generation of primary feelings. This task would force sociologists to stay attuned to the structural mechanics of power and status systems.

Primary and secondary emotions are correlated with status and power relations and attributions of causality (Kemper 1987; 1990). For Kemper (1987; 1990), fear (anxiety) tends to occur when a person loses power or someone else gains it. Satisfaction (happiness, security) usually follows a boost in power or status by the self or the loss of power or status by another. Anger erupts after a person loses status and blames someone else (or some group). Pride accompanies a status gain attributed to one's own abilities. Depression (sadness, despair) is induced by a loss of status accompanied by attributions of fatalism. Shame is manifested when a person's behavior is inconsistent with his/her status and the self is charged with claiming too much respect. Shame can also emerge when customary status is not granted and inadequacies of the self are blamed for the deficit. Guilt invades a person when excessive power has been used against someone else and the wielder blames his/her self. A desire for expiation typically accompanies the sense of responsibility for the misuse of power. However, the responsibility for the abuse of power may be assigned to the injured party in which case "blaming the victim" becomes a characteristic display. Hatred of the dominator evolves in victims who blame another person or group for their subjection (status and power loss). Additional permutations of the primary emotions can be refashioned with varying cultural interpretations and attributions. Obviously, certain emotions may emerge together. For example, if fear and anger are triggered simultaneously, hate and jealousy (longing for lost or unattainable status) may be countenanced as the channeled (sec-

ondary) emotions (Kemper 1987; 1990).

The power and status dimensions of human relationships are often vividly displayed in the behavioral obligations encoded in social roles (Franks 1989). Therefore, sociologists of emotion search the lattice of social roles for the imprint of structural imbalances. Although behavioral scripts do not completely determine role comportment, they do establish a frame of legitimate thinking, behaving, and feeling. Teachers, husbands, wives, lawyers, artists, kings, aunts, fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, supervisors, students, bureaucrats, and carpenters play out roles rarely constructed solely by their own praxis. Dominant groups possess and display symbols of respect like education, knowledge, credentials, sophistication, political connections, and other manifestations of cultural capital. They also control property, economic activities, political machinery, the manufacture of ideologies, and the work process. Roles of power and prestige tend to generate feelings of confidence, arrogance, pride, and contentment. The roles taken on by subordinates usually prevent them from making claims for respect or controlling material resources. They are often pressured to offer up deference to superiors, lower their expectations, listen to and grapple with dominant ideologies, suppress anger, deny desire, and fake satisfaction. Consequently, they are more likely to encounter emotionally deflating or frustrating social conditions that foster anger, fear, shame, depression, and resentment (Franks 1989). Anger, in particular, is an important primary emotion. The hierarchical arrangements of power and status systems are, to some extent, dependent upon its control (Barbalet 1998; Beck 1999).

SEARCHING FOR THE SOCIOLOGICAL ROOTS OF ANGER

Anger is a very potent emotion that can empower or impair individuals, families, and communities (Reiser 1999). Demonstrations of anger often foster constructive conflict resolution by invigorating the efforts of agents to raise awareness of and to redress an injustice or grievance. Anger can also lead to destructive forms of abuse and violence if it is not routed into innocuous or productive endeavors (Reiser 1999; Beck 1999). Angry workers, angry mobs, angry spouses, and angry subordinates of all stripes have posed serious threats to the stability of social relations in America. Stearns and Stearns (1986) have shown that institutional efforts to control an-

ger reach back to the seventeenth century. Various cultural strategies dealing with this recurring emotion have been introduced in different historical periods (Stearns and Stearns 1986).

During the Victorian Era, anger norms emphasized control, repression, and inhibition (Stearns and Stearns 1986). These codes idealized the family as a refuge from the conflict, competition, and stress associated with the work world. Self-control was promoted as a strategy for keeping the social relations in both arenas harmonious. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, channeling replaced repression as the sanctioned cultural practice. Channeling involved first corralling and then redirecting anger into productive pursuits such as sports, competitive work engagements, and moral crusades. Anger, it was contended, could energize workers, consumers, and moral crusaders. The goal of channeling, like inhibition, was to direct anger away from the home (Stearns and Stearns 1986).

Since the middle of the twentieth century, a managerial style of conflict resolution has sanctioned anger reduction through interpersonal mediation strategies (Stearns and Stearns 1986). These contemporary feeling rules place great stress on the psychological origins of anger. The proscription for anger resolution, accordingly, is some kind of interpersonal mediation or psychotherapy. The primary goal of this currently fashionable emotional style is the maintenance of cool, friendly atmospheres that promote the control of unpleasant and possibly destructive feelings in order to buttress the social relationships that form the backbone of contemporary corporate capitalism (Stearns 1994; Hochschild 1983). Apparently, the eruption of anger remains a very serious concern in the current era of corporate downsizing, falling wages, wealth and income polarization, declining union power, and strained social welfare programs (Gordon 1997; Schwarz 1997; Palley 1998; Blau 1999; Stearns and Stearns 1986; Reiser 1999; Beck 1999). Most political and economic power still resides in a small elite that profits immensely from the class arrangements that drive consumer capitalism. Furthermore, the domination of the workplace by professionals and managers inevitably recreates social divisions (of class, race, age, and gender) which pit subordinates against the "experts" (McDermott 1991; Wright 1998). The emphasis on psychological solutions to anger control often nullifies critical investigations of the structural

roots of workplace, racial, and domestic anger.

The growth of the service economy, too, creates even greater demands for smooth interpersonal relations that keep the daily rituals of order-taking and order-giving flowing in the office, over the phone, at the grocery store, and in countless commercial and bureaucratic locales (Stearns 1994). Consequently, the need for a corporate-friendly personality has shaped child-rearing practices, especially in middle class families. The workplace and the family now share common feeling rules that try to fashion cool parents, cool kids, and, ultimately, cool workers (Stearns 1994).

One of the most significant studies of emotion in the service sector is Arlie Hochschild's *The Managed Heart* (1983). Hochschild's (1983) study of flight attendants revealed the existence of problematic emotional struggles stemming from the feeling rules that guide their work roles. Hochschild (1983) argues that many service workers are obligated to perform emotional labor, which she defines as a form of emotional control sanctioned by employers. The goal of emotional labor is to create a particular emotion (satisfaction, contentment, happiness) in a customer by denying one's own authentic emotions, which often include anger, hostility, and resentment, while at the same time generating and publicly communicating verbally and nonverbally, pleasant feelings (Hochschild 1983). The artificial positive feelings, in turn, become commodities that service workers sell to an employer (Hochschild 1983). Furthermore, emotional labor demands that workers deny or ablate their feelings and is thus implicated in the production of their alienation and emotional strain (Hochschild 1983). Consequently, emotional labor as currently practiced in many work settings enables management to augment their control over the emotional lives of their workers (Hochschild 1983). Social scientists have been building up a body of research that explores emotional labor in various settings. A recent edition of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* (Steinberg and Figart 1999) was devoted entirely to investigating the effects of emotional labor on workers in the service sector. One recurring theme in this literature is that jobs with limited work autonomy tend to produce the most dissatisfaction among workers (Steinberg and Figart 1999). The research on emotional labor is consistent with Kemper's (1990) claim that the loss of status or power generates distressful feelings.

For Kemper (1990), anger is a primary response to a loss or denial of status. Cultural norms play a key part in determining who is to blame for the feeling (whether to make internal or external attributions) which, in turn, generates a secondary emotional response. From a social structuralist vantage point, however, the various efforts to constrain, channel, and mediate anger reflect attempts to manage the emotional fallout of living in overlapping social hierarchies coordinated in shifting but interdependent systems of race, gender, and class inequality *where anger perpetually incubates.* Inequality is, thus, a powerful force in the seeding of anger (Kemper 1978; 1987; 1990; Stearns and Stearns 1986).

Furthermore, our culture favors attributions of personal causality, which create opportunities for "experts" to sanction ideological strategies that urge the regulation of the self but not necessarily the democratization of social hierarchies. Many emotion codes try to thwart politically threatening feelings by making internal attributions of their origin. But the reproduction of class, status, and power divisions is a guarantee that they will recur.

One example of a contemporary social problem that derives from and feeds off of anger is racism. In some parts of the world "ethnic cleansing" and other forms of genocide are still practiced. In America today, racial prejudice and discrimination continue to mar social relations (Feagin 2000; Feagin, Vera, Batur 2001; Aguirre and Turner 2001). The consequences of ghettoization, segregation, bigotry and police brutality still weigh heavily on minority populations. The discontent and frustration over existing social conditions are sometimes manifested in public demonstrations or insurrections. Media analysts, pundits, and politicians, who seem to be chronically caught off guard by such collective expressions of anger, usually depict these displays as "riots." In April 2001, another "racial disturbance" unfolded in Cincinnati, Ohio. A familiar story line was played out on the nightly news as a frustrated African American community searched for answers to police misconduct and other forms of discrimination.

Yet, another type of anger seethes in many white people who feel that they have been denied access to their piece of the pie or have attained only a very small piece because they have to share it with inferior or undeserving minority populations. Many white people believe that they are the real "victims" of "reverse" discrimination. They, too, are angry.

The remainder of this study will examine the social structural conditions and cultural attributions that give rise to the anger and hatred manifested in contemporary racist organizations.

CASE STUDY: THE HATE MOVEMENT

Kemper's (1990) stress on power and status inequality helps to illuminate the social origins of problematic emotions. One way to substantiate Kemper's (1990) claims is to find empirical links between social structural inequality and the manifestation of emotion. The hate movement[2] is a good illustration of the interplay between structural inequality, feeling rules (cultural attributions), and primary and secondary emotions, especially anger and hatred.

Researchers appraise the membership of hate groups in America at around 25,000 with perhaps 150,000 "armchair" supporters who endorse the ideology but do not actually join (Perry, 2000). Between the 1970s and the 1990s, America witnessed a resurgence of older racist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi's as well as the birth of new hybrids such as the skinheads, Posse Comatitus, the Patriot movement, Christian Identity, and various racist militias (Perry 2000). The common thread binding these disparate groups together is an intense, often violent, hatred of minorities and the federal government. These groups have received a great deal of attention after Timothy McVeigh blew up the Alfred P. Murrah office building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1994 in retaliation for the federal assault on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas the year before (Hamm 1997). In addition to its perceived grievous behavior and policies, the government is seen as protecting and promoting the interests of minorities, especially through affirmative action programs, over and against the interests of whites. Therefore, tracking the source of hate group anger will shed light on the sociological origins of emotion.

HATE GROUPS AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT: KEEPING EMOTIONS FOCUSED

Betty Dobratz and Stephanie Shanks-Meile (1997) view the activities of hate groups (their designation is "white separatists") as a social movement. Despite diverse agendas and ideologies, hate groups utilize legitimate and illegitimate means to bring about social change (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997). Recently, researchers have turned their attention to the impact of social psychological factors (i.e., emotions) and social structural inequality on the birth and development of social movements (Morris and Mueller 1992; Taylor and Whittier 1994; Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001; Kemper 2001). The three important components of social movements that are focused on in this paper are framing, collective identity, and structural inequality. Frames articulate the cause(s) of an existing problem or inequity and also identify the appropriate remedies (Snow and Benford 1988). Most oppositional movements also produce an injustice frame or ideology that challenges the status quo by locating the source of an injustice, expressing disapproval of the unequal arrangements that produced it, and invoking a victim status for the aggrieved group (Gamson 1992; Ferber and Kimmel 2000; Berbrier 2000). Frames are successful when they evoke, corral, and channel the emotional energies that will increase the likelihood of mobilization (Jasper 2001; Kemper 2001; Collins 2001). Effective frames must resonate emotionally in order to energize and sustain collective action.

Collective identity refers to the fact that individuals come to share, through frequent negotiation, the definitions, values, meanings, and emotions that characterize a social movement (Polletta and Jaspers 2001). A collective identity helps to motivate people to join and stay in a movement. A collective identity is made up of the symbols, discourse, values, and emotions from various frames (Polletta and Jaspers 2001). Collective identities also need to be renewed through ritual activities in order to help sustain the perceptions, negotiations, and emotions that mark the meaning of movement participation (Collins 2001).

Kemper (2001) stresses the role of social structural inequality in triggering painful feelings that shape injustice frames. Structural inequality is strongly implicated in the generation of a great deal of discontent that eventually helps to give form to a social movement (Kemper 2001). The central emotion in many social movements is anger (Kemper 2001). A successful social movement must bring to light the unequal social arrangements that deny one group some reward or resource (status) at the expense of another more powerful group. Anger is a good indicator of the problematic social relationships that generate pools of potential recruits (Kemper 2001). Yet, people who occupy subordinate social locations are not automatically conscious of their own exploitation and group interest (Kemper 2001).

The consciousness raising efforts of movement activists are aimed at helping subordinates make connections between their low status and their discontent. If Kemper (2001) is correct, the emotional experiences of subordinates are essential features of the social movement recruitment process. Recruiters must get people to focus their blame for current inequities on a target, such as the state or big business, for the purpose of changing unjust social conditions (Kemper 2001). Structurally induced emotions make up one of the basic ingredients of social movement dynamics.

All social movements must recruit and try to hold on to new members. In order to accomplish this task, hate groups try to raise awareness of a particular type of injustice, and at the same time wed these cognitive appeals to powerful emotions (Groves 1995; Yang 2000; Benford 1997; Jasper 1998; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997). Hate groups effectively orchestrate the interplay between cognitive and emotional spheres in their discourse. First they identify the existence of an injustice and then cultivate the anger associated with it. Next, they attribute the cause(s) of the problem to minorities and then channel the anger into hatred of these targeted groups. Hate, in turn, often spurs people on to take violent action against the source of their status loss (Beck 1999).

Hate groups use several resources in their pursuit of members. First of all, hate groups benefit from the fact that America continues to manifest deep racial/ethnic divisions, especially between African Americans and whites, when it comes to perceptions about the prevalence of discrimination. Most whites tend to blame African Americans themselves rather than structural inequality or institutional discrimination as the cause of problems like poverty, crime, and unemployment (Feagin 2001; Feagin, Vera, and Batur 2000; Schuman and Krysan 1999). Furthermore, a strong anti-government sentiment forms another social current that hate groups use to their advantage (Boggs 2000; Berlet and Lyons 2000). Corruption, scandals, and the impact of high profile special interest groups have elevated the levels of political alienation and cynicism (Boggs 2000; Berlet and Lyons 2000). Consequently, many Americans have become suspicious of federal efforts to ameliorate social problems. Even politicians themselves, along with many media pundits, frequently trumpet the notion of reverse racism, which suggests that blacks now have access to federally pro-

tected privileges and resources at the expense of white people (Feagin 2001; Feagin, Vera, and Batur 2000). Public criticisms of welfare, drug problems, and crime are often couched in discourse laden with racial code words and other forms of symbolic racism. Additionally, racist jokes continue to permeate the culture. It is acceptable to publicly express distrust, dislike, or even contempt for certain minorities. This rhetoric helps to fuel tensions and prop up a volatile environment surrounding interpersonal race relations (Feagin 2000; Feagin, Vera, and Batur 2000). The prevalence of this kind of discourse creates a niche for the cultural tolerance of racial bigotry in subtle, mild, latent, and sometimes not so latent forms that can be channeled into more extreme manifestations of hatred and contempt (Feagin 2000; Feagin, Vera and Batur 2001; Beck 1999).

Hate groups also have used the cultural resources available to most other social movements. They organize protests, rallies, and gun shows where new recruits and established members can meet (Dobratz and Shanks-Meiele 1997). They have established over 300 web sites, which provide easy, immediate access to information about the various groups' ideology, announcements concerning literature, meetings, speakers, and rallies (Burris, Emery, and Strahm 2000). The Internet is playing an increasingly important role in recruitment as well as in sustaining a sense of solidarity among the disparate factions, many of which are essentially leaderless groups acting on their own but guided by a common agenda and worldview. Finally, hate messages are also available in musical form. Since the 1980s, a new brand of hard rock and punk music has been spreading the message of white supremacy (Dobratz and Shanks-Meiele 1997). Many of these social practices function as rituals that help to sustain the movement by recharging important emotional energies (Collins 2001).

ANGER INTO HATE: CONSTRUCTING ATTRIBUTIONS

Hate groups are in the business of turning anger into hate. Kemper (1990) argues that hate is a socialized secondary emotion related to anger and fear. Hate is focused anger and fear that has become locked in on a target designated as the cause or source of a person or group's loss of status (anger) and power (fear) (Kemper 1990). This study does not focus on fear because anger is the prominent emotion in the hate subculture, although a great deal of

the discourse contains an implicit fear of losing power as well as status to minorities. Hate groups have become adept at constructing discourse that channels anger into resentment and hatred of the agents responsible for their subjugation, namely, minorities, the government, and an economic system that has betrayed white people (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997; Blazak 2001; Ezekiel 1995; Hamm 1993; Daniels 1997; Kaplan and Bjorgo 1998). Hate discourse attributes blame for the real or imagined cause of white peoples' relative deprivation to the oppression imposed upon them by programs like affirmative action and the "reverse discrimination" it institutionalizes, an exploitative economic system, and gender equality which has spoiled the "natural" hierarchy between women and men. Thus, whites are portrayed as the real victims of reverse racism, an unfair set of practices, policies, and values that have restricted their status and mobility. There is no equal opportunity, they argue, because societal institutions promote racial diversity which, by definition, excludes and punishes whites in order to make room for minorities. Furthermore, white men now suffer at the hands of economic elites who try to rip them off by pitting them against nonwhite workers here and abroad (Daniels 1997; Berlet and Lyons 2000). Finally, the feminist promotion of gender equality has essentially emasculated many of these men, and in the process, spurred on interracial sexuality (Daniels 1997; Ferber 1998). Hate group advocates insist that they are only guilty of taking up the struggle for whites' rights, which have been severely curtailed in an era of multiculturalism, falling wages, and affirmative action. Their cause seeks to redress the injustices and to promote pride in the white race. These attributions enable hate groups to portray themselves as soldiers defending the white race against multiple threats and enemies.

"WHITE WORKERS UNITE!" CLASS INEQUALITY AND THE RACIST RIGHT: CONSTRUCTING A VICTIM IDEOLOGY

The first step in conducting a social structural analysis of hate groups is to identify the social inequities that lead to the disenfranchisement, whether real or imagined, of this particular subculture of whites. The literature on hate groups has focused on many of the social biases that produce a collective sense of disaffection (Berbrier 2000). This essay will focus on two themes: class inequality, and the perceived threat posed by interracial sexuality.

A disproportionate number of hate group members belongs to the working class or lower middle class (Dobratz and Shanks-Meiele 1997; Blazak 2001; Ezekiel 1995; Hamm 1993; Daniels 1997; Kaplan and Bjorgo 1998). While the perception that many whites have not benefited very much from existing economic arrangements is accurate, it is very difficult to argue that whites overall have been or are about to be displaced in the economy or in political institutions by people of color. Although minorities have made great social gains since the 1960s, so too have many whites and the latter still enjoy tremendous power, prestige, and privilege relative to nonwhites. But hate group members appear to have limited educational attainment or access to educational opportunities, are constrained economically, tend to be working and lower middle class, and feel marginalized from mainstream institutions (Dobratz and Shanks-Meiele 1997; Blazak 2001; Ezekiel 1995; Hamm 1993; Kaplan and Bjorgo 1998; Weinberg 1993; Daniels 1997; Zellner 1995). From a social structural perspective, these locations can foster alienation, relative deprivation and frustration. "As persons in the same social situation will share a common awareness of their situation, other things being equal *mutatis mutandis* they will have a common emotional or evaluative reaction to it" (Barbalet 1998:71). Hate groups manufacture a cultural and emotional climate that attributes the cause of difficult economic circumstances to the abandonment of white people by mainstream institutions. A collective emotional reaction to some kind of social injustice is a critical ingredient of social movement participation (Barbalet 1998; Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001).

However, the correlation between class and membership in hate groups should not be overstated. There is a significant representation of middle class participants and some evidence of an invisible or secret involvement (i.e. financial support) of the upper class (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997; Aho 1990; Weinberg 1993). Additionally, the leadership wing of most of these groups tends to come from a higher-class location. Nevertheless, even many well-off members of society resent having to share wealth and power with minorities, and construct economic grievances that blame their middle class status insecurity, fears of downward mobility, or frustration about a stagnant economic plight on those minorities (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997). Resentment and anger are kindred emotions in Kemper's (1991)

model. They both indicate a loss of status. Economic developments over the last thirty years have certainly created a large pool of insecure and frustrated workers from across the class structure. Some of these critical changes include: the progressive concentration of wealth in the top 10% of the class structure; stagnant or falling wages, a particularly painful affliction for the working and lower middle classes; federal and state cutbacks in social services; and distressingly high poverty rates, which have come down a bit recently but remain high relative to other industrialized nations; and, of course, downsizing and globalization which have spread job insecurity and diminished expectations across a wide swath of the class structure (Dobratz and Shanks-Meiele 1997; Blazak 2001; Ezekiel 1995; Hamm 1993; Kaplan and Bjorgo 1998; Weinberg 1993; Daniels 1997). These class factors nurture fertile ground for recruitment into hate groups and leaders of the movement are very much aware of how powerfully the message of class injustice resonates with many lower class whites. The hate group intelligentsia promulgates class warfare by condemning the excesses of capitalism, especially moving good jobs overseas where nonwhites work for low wages, giving jobs to minorities instead of whites back home, and creating a general social misery in pursuit of profits. The right sounds like the left when it analyzes contemporary class relations this way. Of course, hate groups argue that the real culprits behind class inequality are nonwhites, especially the Jews, who have set up a system of class inequality in order to exploit white people. In one sense, the extreme right sees class conflict as one manifestation of a broader racial conflict. The key point is that the hate movement portrays itself as a group(s) that represents a subordinate class, made up of white people, who have been systematically displaced from their rightful, dominant place in the social hierarchy (Dobratz and Shanks-Meiele 1997; Blazak 2001; Ezekiel 1995; Hamm 1993; Kaplan and Bjorgo 1998; Weinberg 1993). The central argument is that whites have become order takers at the hands of race traitors and biologically inferior groups of nonwhites. Hate groups very consciously depict their members and many white nonmembers as occupants of a subordinate social class rank. Trying to attain a higher status ranking while butting up against blocked pathways tends to produce anger (Kemper 1990). The reason whites ended up at the low end is attributed to the gains made

by nonwhites at the expense of whites, a zero sum calculus that redirects anger into hate.

These rationalizations appear to be elements of a right-wing populist ideology. According to Berlet and Lyons (2000), most hate groups can be categorized as various branches of right-wing populist movements in America. Right-wing populism typically scapegoats low status groups as threats to the social order as well as the class interests and mobility aspirations of white people; populists, however, also target the exploitative practices of the dominant economic classes (Berlet and Lyons 2000). Both of these groups (economic elites and poor minorities) are portrayed as threats to the white middle and working classes and have been met with great contempt by right-wing populist movements (Berlet and Lyons 2000).

Bonnie Berry (1999) has also noted the potential for structural inequality to produce destructive emotions. Berry (1999) posits the notion of social rage, a sociologically induced, public expression of anger, hate, incivility, intolerance, prejudice, discrimination, and violence that exacerbates the divisions between racial/ethnic groups, men and women, social classes, and in general, dominant and subordinate groups. This type of behavior is evident in many different guises such as road rage, crime, political policies, and public displays of contempt promoted by media pundits and politicians who lead and foment crusades against feminists, welfare mothers, minorities, unions, and homosexuals (Berry 1999). The ultimate source of the rage stems from the inability of a group to attain or preserve an advantageous social position. Real or imagined economic insecurity, in particular, can produce tremendous resentment aimed at scapegoats who reside in the lower echelons of the social hierarchies (Berry 1999).

The injustice frames in hate group discourse construct an image of social relations in which whites are victimized by minorities through social programs that favor minorities and the well-off but neglect the needs of the white majority, especially those who do not have access to the opportunities for upward social mobility. The tone of the hate movement's injustice discourse is one of frustration and resentment about being left behind in the struggle to obtain valuable resources. Hate group victim ideologies blames minorities and complicit whites for creating a system that disadvantages a significant percentage of whites. Their injustice discourse reflects a collective rage directed at class and race inequality. Relative

deprivation can generate anger in any social class, although the lower middle and working classes undergo a more direct experience of class inequality. The middle class may be just as angry about giving up resources to undeserving groups or about being blocked from improving their social status.

The symbols of hate group victim ideology depict whites as a group that is egregiously and consistently harmed by minorities. Thus, minorities are defined as a threat to the economic opportunities of the white race. If a minority group can be characterized as a threat to the dominant group, then that minority group is more likely to encounter institutional discrimination and other systemic and cultural barriers (Aguirre and Turner 2000; Perry 2001). These perceived threats to the social status of the dominant group promote the notion that the social position of whites has been compromised. The loss of status sparks anger in Kemper's (1990) model. In fact, anger is an important component of hate group consciousness raising efforts and is actively and enthusiastically cultivated because it supposedly helps to awaken the white race to its own subjugation (Dobratz and Shanks-Meiele 1997; Blazak 2000; Ezekiel 1995; Hamm 1993; Kaplan and Bjorgo 1998; Weinberg 1993). Anger is the emotion on center stage in the hate movement. It is the fuel of the "white revolution," and sustainer of perpetual resistance.

The theme of social inequality permeates the injustice frames in hate group discourse. Manifestos, pamphlets, newspapers, websites, cartoons, and books highlight the diminishing availability of status, privilege, and resources for white people. Populist themes are very prevalent throughout the literature. For example, many groups blame corporate capitalism as much as the government for intruding into social life and disrupting the natural racial hierarchy, which should privilege whites. Tom Metzger, the head of White Aryan Resistance (WAR) and former leader of the Ku Klux Klan of California, has helped to forge a new brand of fascism called the Third Position. This hybrid rejects both capitalism and communism while calling for the creation of separate nation-states partitioned by race (Berlet and Lyons 2000). The Third Position promotes political views that align with the left on issues concerning labor unions, military intervention, free trade, feminism, and the environment. After all, they contend that the Jews are in control of the forces (monopoly capitalism

and the government) that destroy good jobs in the U.S. while exporting capital across the borders in order to maximize profits by paying low wages to nonwhites. Tom Metzger made the following statements while speaking to the Aryan Nations Congress in 1987:

> WAR is dedicated to the White working people, the farmers, the White poor... This is a working class movement...Our problem is with monopoly capitalism. The Jews first went with Capitalism and then created their Marxist game. You go for the throat of the Capitalist. You must go for the throat of the corporates! (quoted in Berlet and Lyons 2000:269)

The sentiments expressed in this excerpt are anti-Semitic but also reveal a strong class-consciousness. The Jews are the enemies but the economic system they have constructed, even though whites dominate that system, is unjust. The government, too, is viewed as too centralized, stifling, bureaucratic, bent on social engineering, and repressive (Berlet and Lyons 2000). However, most groups do not envision a totalitarian state replacing the current one. Furthermore, many groups do not endorse the Third Position but still seek to set up a system that does not abuse white people. Many hate groups promote some version of National Socialism which allows private property to be owned by individuals but at the same time proposes regulation of big business in order to prevent the exploitation of the white worker (Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 1997). David Lane, of The Order, penned "88 Precepts" which has become a white power manifesto for many groups. The following precepts indicate contempt for the practices of high finance capitalism:

> 73. Materialism leads men to seek artificial status through wealth or property. True social status comes from service to Family, Race, and Nation.
> 74. Materialism ultimately leads to conspicuous, unnecessary consumption which in turn leads to the rape of Nature and the destruction of the environment. It is unnatural...
> 76. The only lawful functions of money are as a medium of exchange and a store value. Usury/interest, in particular, at any percent, is a high crime which cannot be tolerated.
> 77. A Nation with an aristocracy of money, lawyers, or merchants will become a tyranny (Lane, N.d., in Kaplan 2000:500-501).

These precepts show sensitivity to economic injustice and condemn any system that takes advantage of whites. The theme of status loss provoking anger is chronically rehearsed in the literature and recurs throughout the discourse. A *WAR* editorial argues:

> Under U.S. law, state bodies can and do favor women, blacks and Hispanics over white males; all in the name of remedying past discrimination. It is this above all that has put the "angry" into angry white men. Across America White males complain of losing out to less qualified rivals, squeezed out by PC quotas (1995a:10).

White males are "losing out" and this, the author points out, makes them angry. Affirmative action policies constrain white workers' chances for economic success and to this extent reflects class concerns. In fact, the cartoon that accompanies the article shows a picture of Superman on whose chest the phrase "Angry White Male" beams forth in place of a large "S."

The working classes will have to be the carriers of a white revolution, according to one *WAR* contributor who writes:

> First, the elite of this System are the maggots who created this mess…Our homeland is screwed up because the people in power wish it to be so. Who is in power? Whites own almost all of the wealth in the West…I don't believe the White working-class and poor people are more moral than the upper-classes, but they are less satisfied with the system and more likely to listen to our message and act than are people who are happy with the way things are (1995b: 4).

According to this writer, the working class is more discontented than the middle classes and is more likely to initiate radical change. This is an additional indication that some groups believe that class inequality is an important factor in sparking and regenerating the mobilization that is necessary for an effective social movement to evolve. According to recent studies, the belief that white workers are denied good jobs, decent wages, or hard earned promotions because of unfair affirmative action practices is common among many white workers (Rubin 1994; Fine and Weis 1998; Lamont 2000).

FEAR AND LOATHING: INTERRACIAL SEXUALITY AND THE RACIST RIGHT

An intense dread of interracial sexuality also characterizes the racist worldview fostered by hate groups (Ferber 1998; Ferber and Kimmel 2000). Sexual activity between blacks and whites, in this view, leads to the obliteration of racial differences. Once the races "mix" and produce mongrels, the white race is on its way to extinction. All policies, programs, and social movements that call for or enforce democratic treatment of racial groups are viewed as threats to the purity and survival of whites. Affirmative action, they contend, not only improves the economic opportunities of minorities at the expense of whites but also encourages interracial contact and ultimately sexual unions. The following sample from a white supremacist publication illustrates this concern:

> …integration is just a code word for racemixing. Civil rights for Black men do not really mean equal opportunities; they mean equal enjoyment opportunities with White women…."(*National Vanguard*, 1979:11, quoted in Ferber 1998: 90)

Interracial sexuality is portrayed as a violation of an innate attraction to one's own race (Ferber 1998; Ferber and Kimmel 2000).

Most hate groups also link the increase in this kind of sexual behavior to a weakening of traditional gender roles and, especially, to the "feminization" of men (Ferber 1998; Ferber and Kimmel 2000). Feminists are accused of minimizing the natural differences between men and women through their efforts to institutionalize gender equality.

> Men are constrained from expressing their maleness in any of the ways which were natural in the past. One of the most important of those ways was protecting a mate…One way in which Western women have responded to the perceived demasculinization of their men has been to turn toward non-White males, who are perceived as more masculine…[a woman will] run through a long succession of Black lovers in her fruitless, instinctual search for a man who would not only love her but also master her (*National Vanguard*, January, 1983:17, quoted in Ferber 1998:95)

Men have been transformed the most, according to this logic, in so far as they have become more and more effeminate and unable to defend their women against the sexual affronts of minorities. Changes in child rearing practices have turned men into wimps. Hate group advocates argue that few men today would ever dream of protecting their women against minorities because they fear being seen as "racist." This reasoning forms one part of the broader ideological justification of the violence aimed at minorities (Ferber 1998; Ferber and Kimmel 2000).

The emotional dynamics of this contempt for gender equality and interracial sexuality are very apparent (Ferber 1998; Ferber and Kimmel 2000 Blazak 2001). Hate group accounts of interracial sex reveal tremendous anxiety about changing status relations. White racist men in these groups believe that gender equality, like racial equality, diminishes their status in society. Equality between men and women, in their view, is no more possible than it is between whites and nonwhites. All efforts aimed at bringing this equality about only destroy the "natural" order of society. Thus, men are angry and they blame feminists, minorities, politicians, and liberals who are upsetting the hierarchy and in the process unleashing a tidal wave of social ills on society. These men see themselves situated below or in the same rank as those who are "naturally" inferior to them and this makes them angry (Ferber 1998; Ferber and Kimmel 2000; Blazak 2001). Their discourse further directs blame for these aberrant social conditions and, in the process, generates hate by targeting their anger.

THE BENEFITS OF PARTICIPATION: BUILDING COL-
LECTIVE IDENTITY BY BOOSTING MEMBERS PRIDE

There is a very evident emotional struggle in hate group discourse that shapes the collective identity of the movement. Members often report a new sense of pride and love of white culture that works as an antidote to the shame and humiliation they once were taught to feel as members of a race that has committed brutal acts of discrimination (Dobratz and Shanks-Meiele 1997; Blazak 2001; Ezekiel 1995; Hamm 1993; Kaplan and Bjorgo 1998; 1993; Blee 2002). The sense of pride is part of a strategy of presenting themselves as an ethnic group like many others who are struggling for respect and power. Kathleen Blee writes "Not only do racist groups promise a sense of personal identity and a collective culture, but they also

afford their members a sense of control over the circumstances of life, a feeling of self-empowerment, and an expectation that they have authority over others" (2002:163). Race consciousness and group solidarity for haters *build* self-esteem in the face of a society that, in their eyes, increasingly caters to the economic, cultural, and political needs of nonwhites. If the first step in hate group consciousness raising is channeling anger and frustration, the next step is to instill in people a sense of their own worth as members of a group that is under attack from many more powerful institutions. Hate rhetoric is laden with emotional appeals that center on the need for whites to resist the humiliating experience of occupying a social standing below Jews, blacks, and homosexuals. This discourse also helps hate groups to fashion a collective identity that characterizes racial relations in extremely polarized terms (Snow and Benford 1988; Anheier, Neidhardt, Vortkamp 1998). Hate movement activists attempt to shape a dualistic racial identity by encouraging whites to band together and stave off the detrimental effects of interacting with biologically and culturally impaired stocks of people. Society is depicted as a battleground occupied by two armies: whites and nonwhites. Promoting pride in being white is a defining ideological strategy that carries with it an intense emotional drama. Hate group members feel better about themselves because they gain a self-esteem boost by joining the movement.

The hate movement secures two important emotional rewards for its followers. The first payoff is an outlet and direction for their anger. The second provision is the experience of communal solidarity that generates feelings of respect, worth, dignity and a sense of importance as carriers of a revolutionary movement that will eradicate social injustice and create a world where whites can live together in harmony.

CONCLUSION

Hate groups carry different ideologies and political agendas, yet, share a common anger directed at minorities. This anger is couched in a discourse that portrays whites as victims of social and economic injustices perpetrated by minorities and their race traitor allies in politics, academia, big business, and the media. Part of this mythology is the romantic portrayal of a pristine historical epoch before the Civil War when the social order sanctified the "natural" inequalities between men and women and minorities and whites. In this

Golden Age, white men ruled other groups, local political bodies governed their communities, bureaucracies were nonexistent, federal power was not invasive, and social life was structured according to a strict ascetic, Protestantism. The most important aspect of this glorification of a racialized version of the "good old days" is the idea that everyone knew his or her station in society, which means dominant groups and subordinate groups were firmly anchored in place. The social changes that followed the end of the Civil War, hate groups contend, disrupted this "natural" balance with devastating consequences for whites.

This essay contends that a social structural approach to the study of emotions is an indispensable tool for understanding human affect. This examination of hate groups offers evidence in favor of the contention that systems of structural inequality *along with* cultural systems of feeling rules and attributions of causality, tend to produce fairly predictable emotional conditions in individuals and groups. The advantages of applying Kemper's (1990) theory is its synthesis of both structural *and* constructionist claims. The need to search for the social forces initiating subaltern primary emotions as well as the more obvious culturally manufactured and publicized secondary emotions is critical. The emotions produced by social inequality play a key part in instigating and regenerating the collective energies of social movement participants domestically as well as abroad.

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ENDNOTE

[1] Recent developments in the fields of psychology and biology suggest the existence of discrete emotions linked to differentiated brain regions and neurotransmitters. These studies provide evidence in favor of the postulate of basic or primary emotions (Damasio 1999; Franks and Smith 1999; Turner 2000; Sloman and Gilbert 1998; Panskepp 1998; Brandstatter and Eliasz 2001; Scherer, Schorr, and Johnstone 2001). However, constructionists still make powerful arguments in favor of their position. See Lewis and Haviland-Jones (2000) for an overview of this ongoing exchange.

[2] In this study the designations "hate groups" and "hate movement" are used interchangeably; both terms signify the following groups: the Ku Klux Klan, skinheads, Nazis and neo-Nazis, white supremacists, Christian Identity groups, and the racist militia branches and the Patriot movement. I would like to thank the Political Research Associates for providing me with excerpts from *White Aryan Resistance (WAR).*

The Mexican American Religious Experience in South Texas

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Abstract
Deep South Texas is one of the poorest parts of the country and as a result of the extreme poverty the population faces many problems, from high unemployment to the drug trade. The vast majority of the population is Mexican origin. This paper suggests that one way that the population deals with circumstances beyond their control is to resort to the use of magic. The anthropological and sociological literature shows that this is a common phenomenon among many people of the world but this research uses the rational choice explanatory model to analyze and explain the experiences of the people. The actions of the people go beyond mere superstition; they are rationally calculated decisions based upon the cost and benefit to themselves. Purveyors of magic are found almost everywhere, from small herb shops to major department stores. Data was collected from these sources. The research showed that for the purveyors of such items there is an extensive and lucrative market for magical paraphernalia. The purchase of a votive candle or talisman brings to the believer a chance to change their life for the better.

INTRODUCTION

The belief in magic, as many scholars have pointed out, is found almost everywhere (Durkheim 1965 [1915], Frazer 1951 [1890], Malinowski 1954, Stark and Bainbridge 1996, Tambiah 1999, etc.) and in the Rio Grande Valley, magic is an important part of the lives of many of its inhabitants. Describing the Mexican Americans of the area in question Nall and Speilberg note, "Magico-religious or pro-pitiatory ritual practices are a common trait of Mexican-American folk culture" (1967:303). This paper describes how magic is inextricably interwoven to the cultural fabric of the people in the region.

If we consider the ubiquitous existence of magic paraphernalia in a wide variety of stores as an indicator of the extent that magical beliefs among the Mexican American people of the Valley, then one must conclude that magic is important an important part of their lives. Magical paraphernalia are sold in *verberias*, which according to Trotter and Chavira are stores that sell herbs, perfumes, oils and candles (1997). Magical candles, sprays and perfumes are also in regional and national grocery and chain variety stores. Why would such major retail stores sell such items unless there is a demand for these items? Would it be economically feasible to sell these things? The contention of this paper is that there is a demand by the people for such products so there is a market.

The study of magic as part of a religious system has been an important area of research for scholars in the social sciences since the 19th century (Bellah 1964). In an early description, Durkheim commenting on the importance of magic in society states, "to be sure, the belief in magic is always more or less general; it is frequently diffused in large masses of the population, and there are even peoples where it has as many as the real religion" (1965[1915]:60). The observations of Durkheim are still valid today. Although Durkehim was using functional analysis to explain magic, this paper will use rational choice theory to explain the use of magic among the Mexican Americans who live in Deep South Texas.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MAGIC

It is important to begin any discussion of magic with some of its defining characteristics. Magic has as one of its most important characteristic the control of supernatural forces by man (Trotter and Chavira 1997 [1981]. Marwick states, "...the activities or craft of the magician, a person who, suitably prepared, performs rituals aimed at controlling impersonal supernatural forces held responsible for the succession of events" (1975:12). Individual knowledge gives the person the ability to control supernatural powers (Evans-Pritchard 1976)

Another important characteristic is its clandestine or secret nature (Keefe 1982). Mauss and Hubert state, "We call 'magic' any ritual that is not part of an organized cult, such as the private ritual, which is secret, mysterious, and tending at one extreme toward the prohib-

ited" (1961:1088). Magic rituals are not like the rituals of organized religion which tend to be highly visible and public, rather, because of its selfish nature it is performed out of the sight of the general public.

Lastly, magical words are an important part of any magical system. Mauss states, "normally verbal rites in magic are called spells and we see no reason for not continuing this custom" (1972 [1950]:54). Verbal invocations are as important as material substances in fulfilling the purposes of magic. Evans-Pritchard reports that among the Azande, "the magician addresses (sima) the medicine and tells them what he wants them to do" (1976: 177). Use of appropriate words causes the medicine to work. Words are power and the right combinations of words, allows the magician to control the supernatural forces (O'Keefe 1982). Webster states, "If there is power in wishes, threats, or commands unuttered, how much greater must be the power of words which affirm or describe what the magician wants to come to pass"(1973:92). The spells used to control events can be positive, or negative, meant to harm people or their property. Yet, it is always the group that categorizes the harmful from the benign.

Due to the socially unacceptable nature of magic many in society often find it difficult to understand. Bernard points out that verbal magic makes the process better to understand (1938). Spells coalesce the goals and desires of the person using magic.

HOMEOPATHIC AND CONTAGIOUS

In understanding magical beliefs, it is important to differentiate the types and varieties of magic. Frazer identified two types of sympathetic magic: homeopathic magic (imitative magic) and contagious magic (1951 [1890]). He believes that both branches of magic are under the category of sympathetic magic because "...things act on each other at a distance through secret sympathy..."(Frazer 1951 [1890]:54).

Homeopathic magic or imitative magic is based on the principle that 'like produces like.' The so-called 'voodoo doll' is an example of the homeopathic principle. A wooden, wax, or cloth image is created in the likeness of the individual one wishes to influence. If the doll is harmed, then the person is harmed (De Vos and Suarez-Orozco 1990).

Contagious magic is based on the principle that once a thing has been in contact with a person a bond is established that lingers on. According to Frazer, contagious magic "...proceeds upon the notion that things which have once been conjoined must remain ever afterwards, even when quite dissevered from each other, in such a sympathetic relation that whatever is done to the one must similarly affect the other" (1951 [1890]:174). Frazer's understanding of magic still holds true today, at least for the Mexican American people in South Texas.

Although, the people who live in the Rio Grande Valley are predominantly Roman Catholic with a long Christian historical tradition they will resort to magic to solve their immediate problems. Sometimes it is difficult to determine the boundary between magic and religion. Davis states, "Since there is no universal essence of religion or magic behind the actual religions and magics we find in human experience, no single predicate can sufficiently define the phenomena" (1980:211). In other words, since there is no clear defining characteristic the boundary between orthodox religious belief and magic stays obscure. Such is the case in the Lower Rio Grande Valley where one finds in grocery stores votive candles dedicated to saints like Saint Joseph next to votive candles dedicated to El Chango Macho, a pagan image.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

The ethnographic technique, to include methods of participant observation and in-depth interviews, has been an important part of the social sciences and throughout at least five decades has produced some remarkable urban studies (e.g., Gans 1982 [1962], Liebow 1967, Suttles 1968, Whyte 1993 [1943], etc.). As Suttles notes, participant observation allows for a sense of intimacy with the community. He states, "When observing from a great distance, one is apt to invent all sorts of irrational mental mechanism to account for the behavior..." (Suttles 1968:12).

Participant observation and informal interviews were the main data collection techniques employed in this study. Following this method, 22 *yerberias* were visited in McAllen, Edinburg, Weslaco, Pharr, Mission and Alamo and talked with the owners or employees about the operation of the stores. I also, visited ma-

jor retail giants like Walmart, Kmart and Walgreens and local grocery stores like HEB, Pronto and Junior's. At the non-*yerberia* retail stores I spoke with either the managers or persons who were responsible for ordering candles.

In *yerberias*, sometimes I would visit in the guise of a customer to observe the interactions of the owners and employees with the other customers. Inventories were made of the type of goods the merchants had for sale. Candles, herbs, amulets, aerosol sprays, oils, ointments, statutes, and sacred pictures were all sold. Services such as *limpias* (cleanings) or card readings were usually available as well.

RESEARCH LOCATION

The location of the study was conducted in Hidalgo, county, located in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, twenty miles north of the Mexican border. The area is not actually a valley but an alluvial plain bordering the Rio Grande River. The land area of Hidalgo County is 1,569 square miles (County and City Data Book 1994). The area is warm to hot most of the year, which makes it an ideal climate for agriculture.

For the people who live in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, there are many stresses and strains they must confront on a daily basis, from high unemployment and poverty levels to the drug trade. Writing on magic many years ago, Malinowlski stated that, "Both magic and religion arise and function in situations of emotional stresses: crises of life, lacunae in important pursuits, death and initiation into tribal mysteries, unhappy love and unsatisfied hate" (1954:87). Malinowski's comments are still timely when analyzing the socioeconomic problems of the area. This paper will attempt to prove that although magic might be functional it is also very rational.

According to the Census Bureau, the population was 569,463, with about 88.3% being Mexican origin (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). The population of Hidalgo County is young with 38.8% of the population being under the age of 25 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000). This deep South Texas county remains a major port of entry community into the U. S. and staging center for U.S. agricultural migrant streams.

The people of Hidalgo County have to deal with difficult economic circumstances because it is one of the poorest areas in the country:

36.3% of families have an income below the poverty level (County and City Data Book 1994). There is little if any industry on the American side of the border (U.S. Census Bureau). On the Mexican side of the border are *maquiladoras* (assembly plants, established by American industrial giants to take advantage of low Mexican wages (Bailey 1988). The economy is geared towards agribusiness, tourism and retail. The unemployment rate is always higher than most of the nation. In 1994, the unemployment rate was 14.3% (County and City Data Book 1994). During the winter months thousands of elderly visitors converge on South Texas to take advantage of the weather and lower cost of living (Texas Department of Economic Development 1997). Maril states, "The Mexican Americans of the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas are among the poorest people in the United States"(1989:4). The per capita income level for Hidalgo County, $10,085, (U.S. Census Bureau 1996), makes the area one of the most economically deprived areas in the country.

It is a part of the United States characterized by economic deprivation and for those that live in the *colonias* a standard of living closer to the third world than the first (Holz 1993). *Colonias* are substandard subdivisions with inadequate water supplies and electricity which usually lack paved roads and proper drainage. The land is cheaply acquired, there is little in terms of adequate infrastructure and most homes are self-made (Ward 1999). There are over a thousand *colonias* in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, with the majority of them being located in Hidalgo County. The *colonias* are pockets of concentrated poverty in an economically deprived area. While unemployment is high in Hidalgo County, within the *colonias* it is oppressive. The incomes are very low with part-time and seasonal employment being common. Credit histories are virtually non-existent (Dabir 2001).

RATIONAL/UTILITARIAN MODEL

The relationship between religion and exchange is not a new idea. Marcel Mauss wrote in his classic, *Le Don*, "Money still possesses its magical power and still linked to the clan or individual. The various economic activities for example the market, are suffused with ritual and myth" (1990 [1950]:72). When someone decides to turn to magic to solve economic

problems it is a rationally calculated move. As Weber notes, "…religiously or magically motivated behavior is relatively rational behavior, especially in its earliest manifestations" (1991 [1922]:1) To perform magical or religious behavior implies a benefit for the individual (Ianaccone 1997).

Many contemporary scholars are using rational theory in explaining religion (Finke, Iannaccone, Stark and Brainbridge, etc.). Although there are critics of this theoretical model (Bruce, 1993, Spikard 1998, etc.), it is relevant to explaining why Mexican Americans use magic. Collins refers to this perspective as the rational/ Utilitarian tradition (1994, p.121). This theoretical tradition includes the work of scholars like Homans (1961), Blau (1964), Hechter (1983), and Coleman, (1992). Although there is some disagreement concerning the focus the underlying bond is exchange. According to Münch, Coleman sees social interaction as "…basically an economic transaction that is guided by the actor's rational choice between alternative outcomes of an outcome taken in terms of its benefits and costs…"(1992:138). The rational/utilitarian model rests on the belief that human beings make choices that they expect will maximize their rewards and/or minimize their costs. In other words people will always try to increase their advantages and decrease their disadvantages. Exchange is key to understanding this theoretical perspective. Collins states "Exchange operates according to an underlying principle: if I give something to you, you should give something of equal value in return" (1994:139). This sentiment is echoed in Iannaccone's analysis of rational choice theory and religion when he states, "Individuals act rationally, weighing the cost and benefits of potential actions, and choosing those actions that maximize their net benefits" (1997:26).

Exchange is not limited to just the choice of individuals, but to groups as well. Blau states, "Social exchange, broadly defined, can be considered to underlie relations between groups as well as individuals…"(1964:4). Although individual choice is important in this perspective it is the individual as part of the group that will create a religious market. Would a large grocery chain sell religious candles if they did not make a profit?

As Homans points out, people want to change their lives when they are not getting much out of it (1959). The purchase of a candle means a potential reward, yet, as Stark points out, there is a difference between rewards and what he calls compensators, which are "…intangible substitutes for the desired reward…"(1996:36).

Magical solutions may not actually reward the individual (in other words change their economic or educational opportunities) but they provide an explanatory framework for a positive change. Supporting this idea, Douglas states, "We should recognize that the possibility of magic intervention is always present in the mind of believers, that it is human and natural to hope for material benefits from the enactment of cosmic symbols (1989[1966]:61). In the lives of the people of the Rio Grande Valley, given low income and low educational attainment levels, magic remains a viable option.

MEXICAN AMERICAN MAGIC

Simmons points out that magic and witchcraft have been a part of the Mexican American religious experience since the sixteenth century (1974). In one of the earliest sociological descriptions of Mexican American religious beliefs, Bogardus writes of the Mexican American, "Ceremony, ritual, the supernatural, exert a special influence over him" (1934:63). As some scholars have pointed out, Mexican American religious practices are different from other groups in the United States (Mirande 1985, Murguia 1989). Contemporary Mexican American religious belief spans the spectrum from the very traditional and conservative Roman Catholic to those who use magic. Williams discussing Mexican American religious belief states,

All the data we have on Mexican Americans indicate that religion, notably Roman Catholicism, in the past played a compel ling role in everyday life. It was not just that people attended church…but that their lives were permeated by religion. Within the home, altars and other religious symbols were often prominently displayed(1990:22).

Although religious beliefs have changed over time, the fact remains that Mexican Americans still are highly spiritual. Mexican American religious experiences are syncretic, which is reflected in their practices. Where organized

religion leaves off and magic begins is not always clear as will be shown in the following sections.

CANDLES

Most *yerberias* and grocery/variety stores have a wide selection of candles for various purposes. Detailed information was collected from 22 *yerberias* and from 29 retail stores. The candles from the retail stores were inventoried and categorized according to being either traditional Roman Catholic or non-traditional magical candles. Retail stores, like H.E.B. or Walmart, have a section devoted to selling candles devoted to, Jesus, the Virgin Mary or some untraditional figure like the famous *curandero* (traditional healer) Pedro Jaramillo. The burning of votive candles is widely accepted Roman Catholic practice. There is no contradiction between faith and practice in the burning of the traditional candles. However, people can be uncomfortable with less traditional candles. At a grocery store where I was counting the candles a young woman was buying a candle dedicated to Pedro Jaramillo. When she saw I was looking at her she put the candle back and got a plain white one.

The candles sold in the *yerberias* have both religious and magical symbols, sometimes mixed together. In the case of the strictly magical candle, you are able to write down the name of the individual you wish to enchant. Most candles are bilingual and have a spell written in both Spanish and English. Following is a brief description to better illustrate the variety of candles and their functions.

There are two types of *veladoras* or candles sold. One type has an inscription embossed on the glass containing the candle and the other type, *compuestas*, have a label that the *yerberia* has placed and you can write down your name. The *compuestas* are considered more powerful than the regular *veladoras* and as a consequence are more expensive. At one *yerberia* they were double the price of a regular *veladora*. The worker at the *yerberia* said this was because they contained special incense and herbs which made them more powerful. The candles that people buy reflect their desires.

There is a brisk business in the selling of votive candles. Managers at both K Mart and Walmart said that they sold a lot of religious candles. This is consistent with HEB's estimate

that they sell between 200 and 300 candles per week in McAllen and 540 per week in Elsa. This empirical fact further lends support to the thesis that the poor are more apt to rely on candles to control their circumstances since the median family income of McAllen is $23,809 compared to only $9,544 in Elsa (County and City Data Book 1994). An average of 400 candles in every HEB would mean that they are selling 1600 candles per month at each store. The candles at HEB sell between .99 cents and $1.59 which means each store sells between $1,600 and $2,500 in candles each month. Based upon the data I collected at the stores, twenty Five percent of candles at all non-*yerberia* retail stores are non-traditional. Examples of non-traditional or magical candles:

1) Yo puedo mas que tu (I have more power than you). The inscription states "To gain over others. To gain control over others. To gain power for yourself. You will gain your objective. Will bring person to you rapidly. The person you desire will enhance their love towards you. Protection from your enemies. Your partner will do as you command. Use to obtain success. This candle reflects a desire to be in control of social relationships and greater economic success."

2) Chango Macho: Espiritu de Buena Suerte (Chango Macho: The Spirit of Good Luck). Chango Macho is a popular figure of good luck and is represented as an African king surrounded by money, jewels and gold. The person who burns this candle will obtain amor (love), tesoros (treasures) and riquezas (riches).

3) El Indio Poderoso (Lucky Indian Spirit [English translation on the candle]). The written spell invokes the Holy trinity. "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, invoke your power and end my affliction, break my chains and protect me from my enemies."

4) Amar y Ser Amado (To Love and Be Loved). The inscription promises, "You will be amazed by the love you will receive. You will be loved and have someone at your side all the time. Make your

dreams realities"

All four candles described an interest in controlling the forces which govern love, money and power. For many people who live in Hidalgo County, money and power are beyond their control. They are at the mercy of shifting economic conditions, such as the freeze in 1983 that destroyed the citrus crop and left many without work. As Stark and Bainbridge observe, "One important feature of magic is that it deals in relatively specific compensators for relatively specific rewards"(1996:105).

Other candles reflect a more ominous intention. Evans-Pritchard makes the distinction between magic and sorcery. He views sorcery as criminal activity whereas magic is perfectly acceptable to the members of society. Magic can be destructive and still be considered good because it is directed against a transgressor (Evans-Pritchard 1976). Sorcery or bad magic is used out of jealousy, greed, lust, or some other negative feeling. The methods and techniques of magic and sorcery are the same but as Kieckhefer note, "The difference between positive and negative magic lay not in their basic conception but in the purposes they serve" (1990:81). Invoking the spirit of Chango Macho, the spirit of good luck, is good because it is done to get a better job or more money. As Lieban notes, establishing a relationship with an evil spirit is the defining characteristic of sorcery (1977).Two examples reflect a negative form of magic:

1) *Muerte contra mis Enemigos* (Death for my enemies). The candle bears an image of a skull and cross-bones surrounded by fire.

2) *Separar* (Breakup). A picture of a rattlesnake poised to strike is pictured on the candle. It is used to breakup a relationship.

According to one *yerberia* employee, there is a special room in the *yerbaria* that these kinds of candles can be used because people do not want to take them home. They are unwilling to let family or friends know they are burning these candles because they know they are doing something wrong. Non-*yerberia* retail stores do not stock candles that can be considered sorcery.

In addition to *veladoras*, there are candles in the shape of naked men and women. The candles come in three colors, black, red and white. They are sold only in *yerberias*. According to one *yerberia* owner, the colors reflect the motive of the person burning the candle. For example burning the red candle is used to win someone's love. If there was not a desire by the people to control events they would not be buying candles but on the contrary it is very lucrative market, each HEB store alone every year sells between $19,200 and $30,000.

TALISMANS

All *yerberias* sell a wide variety of talismans that bring luck or ward off evil. For example, the *ojo de venado* (deers's eye), is used to keep harm away from infants. The *ojo* is a seed with a picture of some religious figure like the Virgin Mary or San Martin Caballero (Saint Martin of Tours). The majority of talismans sell for less than five dollars.

Saint Martin a common figure in many of the talismans, is indicative of the flexible nature of Mexican American magical beliefs. Saint Martin is the patron saint of soldiers but I was told by one *yerberia* worker that people use his image to bring luck to business.

The syncretic nature of the talismans is evident in the mixing of mainstream Roman Catholic religious figures with magical material like horseshoes. However it is not only Christianity that is being used in the talismans. For example, Hotei, one of the seven lucky gods of Japan and Kali, Hindu goddess of death and regeneration are popular. The Chango Macho can be ultimately traced to West Africa. Yet each of these figures are transformed into something that is part of the conceptual framework of the population. The syncretism of eastern and western traditions can be extreme, for example during one visit, I asked a *yerberia* owner about Kali, a fairly fearsome looking goddess with six arms and was told she is a form of Santa Barbara.

MISCELLANEOUS MAGIC

Finally, in addition to the *veladoras* and talismans, most *yerberias* (and even some grocery stores) sell lotions, powders and aerosol sprays with magical properties. The belief is that you can smear, sprinkle or spay power on yourself or whatever you want to influence. For example, the Lucky Indian spray or

Chango Macho spray will bring good luck to your home. There is a connection between all form of supernatural paraphernalia. For example you can buy a candle dedicated to *Los Siete Potencias Africanas* (Seven African Powers), as well as buy a spray and talisman.

CONCLUSION

Popular understandint of the large number of *yerberias* and grocery/retail stores selling magical solutions to everyday problems could be explained as superstitions of an ignorant people. In reality, nothing could be further from the truth. Homans states, "social behavior is an exchange of goods, material goods but also non-material ones, such as symbols of approval or prestige" (1959:606). Those who are using magic are exchanging a few dollars for the hope of a better life. As long as economic conditions in Hidalgo County remain dismal spending a little money with the hope of bettering your economic conditions will remain a rational choice. As Metraux states concerning Voodoo in Haiti, "As long as medical services are nonexistent in the country districts, so long may the voodoo priests be sure of a large clientele" (1972:61). The same thing holds true for South Texas.

The kinds of items sold in the *yerbaria* and grocery/retail stores shows a rational attempt to return some control to their lives. The items sold are not expensive but the potential return on their investment is great. People who believe in their efficacy state they know someone who because they purchased a talisman or candle, won the lottery or got a better job. The "empirical evidence" shows that the stores are accommodating the desires of the people by giving them what they want. Thousands of dollars are spent each month by the people in their attempt to control the uncontrollable.

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LIFE, DEATH,
and
IN-BETWEEN
on the
U.S.-MEXICO
BORDER
Así es la vida

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Forword by Xavier Leus

"What's Become Of Our Bliss"?
The Politics Of Recognition: Reconsidered
Transracialism And Transfiguration In
Ralph Ellison's *Juneteenth*

Gregory Stephens, University of Oklahoma and University of North Carolina

Abstract

How do we create a true politics of inclusion, what Nelson Mandela has called a "non-racial democracy"? This essay argues for the importance of artistic representations of a "multiracial imagined community" in helping us to imagine a more attractive alternative to the "diseased imagination" of racialism. Ralph Ellison was an Oklahoma writer who emphasized our cultural inter-relatedness as a means of helping achieve a more inclusive politics. His novel *Juneteenth* illustrates the role of the arts in articulating a moral philosophy which can help create the change in consciousness which is a necessary precondition of reconstructive social movements. All reform requires coalitions, and coalitions require new vision: new paradigms to facilitate social and cultural awakening. *Juneteenth* critiques the root paradigm of racialism, and challenges the pieties of identity politics regarding how to create a new pattern. This essay concludes by applying the novel's complex dramatization of "the true inter-relatedness of blackness and whiteness" to contemporary identity politics, such as racialized commentary about controversial Caucasian rap artist Eminem.

Introduction

"*And this is what's become of our Bliss.*"

This line, from Ralph Ellison's posthumous novel *Juneteenth* (1999), describes a "white"-looking boy raised among Afro-Americans[1], who later rejects this culture and becomes a racist senator. More broadly, it expresses a betrayed hope that North American leaders could put into practice a true "politics of inclusion." Yet Ellison's Bliss is also a symbol of interracial co-creation; of blind faith (ignorance is bliss); and even of political reconstruction.

Before spelling out these themes, I want to first let readers know the purposes to which I apply the analysis of this essay. I approach cultural texts (literature, film, etc.) as "aesthetic resources" for the emancipation from mental slavery (to join Bob Marley with Herbert Marcuse). Specifically, following Ellison's lead, I will argue that representations of multi-"racial" commu-

nity such as *Juneteenth* are one important pre-condition of multi-ethnic social movements. "Social action must be animated by a vision of a future society," Noam Chomsky has written. And this vision of the future will be most effective if grounded in a re-examination of the past. As Jose Limon insists, "cultural re-imagining cannot happen without cultural remembering."[2]

How do we remember? Our memory can be blinkered by unconscious schema or expectations which predetermine what we see. Or memory can be liberating if it is re-imagined, if we correct the "habit of repressing" the recognition of intercultural commonalities, indeed, of kinship. The notion that North Americans have repressed recognition of an interracial kinship is central to Ellison's works. His perspective is far from an effort to whitewash differences, but rather is a historically grounded assertion that commonality and difference can

co-exist. Indeed, they have always co-existed, if only we take off the blinders of binary racial mythology.

Ellison is a representative of a tradition of writers who believe that visionary art can facilitate this re-imagining, giving us an inspirational or a corrective horizon towards which we orient ourselves. Ellison is like what Wayne Hampton has called a "guerrilla minstrel" who uses his artform to express concern over social issues, i.e., the continuing dilemma of how commonality and difference can co-exist in a multi-ethnic society. For Ellison, fictional narratives give us a historically grounded vision of a future society—a future in which we learn to avoid repeating the exclusionary politics of the past. "If the ideal of achieving a true political equality eludes us in reality," he wrote, "there is still that fictional vision of an ideal democracy [which] gives us representations of a state of things in which [our differences, "racial" or otherwise] are combined to tell us of [new] possibilities such as those when Mark Twain set Huck and Jim afloat on the raft."[3]

Such visions of an "ideal democracy" are meant to make visible a "more attractive alternative" to the history from which Huck and Jim were escaping, and to keep us from falling into cynicism regarding the problems of the present.

This view of a *more attractive alternative* to what Frederick Douglass called the "diseased imagination" of racialism has guided my study of multi-ethnic freedom movements, and of artistic expressions of a "multi-racial imagined community." The present essay is a continuation of my attempt to think through the consequences of recognizing the social construction of race, while remaining tempered by awareness of the ongoing power of "racial formations." Here again, I ask some "big questions" which have driven my writing and teaching.[4] Namely:

1) How do we create the multi-ethnic coalitions which will be necessary to pursue issues such as social justice, educational reform, and environmental sustainability?

2) What sort of language do we need to develop what Mandela calls a "non-racial democracy"?

3) How can the arts help us develop new models of identity and community, in which commonality and difference can co-exist?

My approach here is an interdisciplinary form of cultural studies in-between the social sciences and the humanities. Yet this is also a form of social critique, with an eye to implications for political practice. I am not just looking back to assess what Ellison's novel can tell us about the writer and his times. Rather, my approach is what I have called a glance in the "contemporary rear-view mirror."[5] That is to say, it is of utmost importance to keep in view what is behind us, but even more imperative that we use this knowledge to prepare for what is rushing up on us, lest we have a head-on-collision. Following Ellison's lead, I am using his artistic vision as a tool to look at some contested issues of the present. Ellison and his novel offer us a vantage point from which to critically re-examine our preconceptions about what diversity means. *Juneteenth*, situated within the border culture of early Oklahoma, spawns a narrative of transracial transfigurations. Such transfigurations are necessary in order to move beyond the politics of race, Ellison believed, and in order to move towards the politics of inclusion. At the end of this essay I will use the issues raised in *Juneteenth* as an occasion for comment on the ongoing controversies over the relationship between "black" culture and a supposedly "white" mainstream, as evident in debate over the Caucasian rapper Eminem, or the interracial romance *Save the Last Dance*.[6]

ELLISON'S OKLAHOMA AND THE QUESTION OF FATHER FIGURES

Ralph Ellison's life and work were a fundamental challenge to the black and white binaries of racial mythology. Ellison was a writer who rejected the ghetto-ized box of "black writer." His work is in fact an extended meditation on what he called "the true inter-relatedness of blackness and

whiteness." The character Bliss in *June-teenth*, like the *Invisible Man*, dramatizes the social construction of race.[7]

Ellison's determination to resist what he called "the deadly and hypnotic temptation to interpret the world and all its devices in terms of race" arises from encounters with "breaks" in the Racial Divide, as he experienced this in Oklahoma. "One cannot overestimate the extent to which [Ellison] derives his point of view from the experience of growing up in Oklahoma," insists John Callahan, his literary executor. Oklahoma was admitted as the 46th state in 1907, seven years before Ellison's birth. Oklahoma was a racial frontier: prior to joining the United States, it was known as "Indian Territory." Many Southeastern tribes, such as the Cherokee, had been forcibly resettled there. And for many years before Oklahoma became a state, as a territory it was a sanctuary for runaway slaves seeking the protection of the Five Great Indian Nations, as Ellison noted. There was another large emigration to Oklahoma by Afro-Americans after the collapse of the Reconstruction (the historical backdrop of Toni Morrison's *Paradise*). Many of these emigrants conceived of it as, and lobbied for it to be, a "black state." This notion of a Westward exodus to Indian territory as a land of freedom found expression in popular culture, Ellison noted, as when Bessie Smith sang about "Goin' to the Nation, Going to the Terr'tor'."[8]

Euro-American settlers came relatively late in this process. In the first years of statehood they did not have the same degree of political and economic dominance as was typical of other Southern states. Recalling the interracial friendships which he and his family had during the years after statehood, Ellison remarked: "I guess it's the breaks in the pattern of segregation which count." This liminal period of breaks in Oklahoma's Racial Divide has been captured in Edna Ferber's *Cimarron*. Domination by Anglo elites was increasing, and there was racist violence, as in the 1921 Tulsa riots. But there were also numerous Indian million-aires, and a considerable degree of economic autonomy in numerous black communities. The segregation laws being passed were not uniformly enforced, in the state's early years.[9]

Ralph's father Lewis Ellison and his mother Ida Milsap emigrated to Oklahoma from Chattanooga, Tennessee, determined to start a family in the relative freedom of a frontier state. Of his childhood in Oklahoma City, Ellison recalled that they lived in a "white middle-class neighborhood," and that "there was never a time that we didn't have white friends." His father "had many white friends who came to the house when I was quite small, so that any feelings of distrust I was to develop towards whites later on were modified by those with whom I had warm relations."[10] But it was hardly a privileged childhood, or a predominantly white cultural milieu. Lewis Ellison died when Ralph was three, and the family was quite poor. Ralph attended a segregated school. His immediate cultural referents were largely Afro-American.

Somehow, in this frontier environment which was both provincial and culturally vibrant, Ralph and his crew of friends grew up thinking of themselves as potential "Renaissance Men."[11] Ellison remembered his crew as "members of a wild, free, outlaw tribe which transcended the category of race," many of them fatherless. Their need for "father and mother substitutes" shaped their search for, and fabrication of, "heroes and ideals." The models these budding "Renaissance Men" chose were a mixed lot: jazz musicians, scientists, gamblers, scholars, stunt men. "We were seeking examples, patterns to live by," Ellison wrote. "We were projecting archetypes, re-creating folk figures, [heroes which often] violated all . . . accepted conceptions of the hero handed down by cultural, religious and racist tradition." The archetypal figures he and his childhood friends identified with were "projections, figures neither white nor black, Christian nor Jewish." One important model for Ellison, an archetypal figure capable of containing both black pride and transracial

Renaissance ambitions, was Frederick
Douglass.[12]

I refer to Douglass, along with Ellison
and Bob Marley, as "integrative ancestors"
who can be claimed by more than one
ethno-racial group. Ellison articulated a
similar notion of trans-racial community,
by claiming literary ancestors of several
nations, and in the way in which he consis-
tently points out the ways in which "black"
culture or institutions are inevitably rooted
in multi-ethnic or interracial network. In his
essays, Ellison applied this perspective to
The Black Dispatch, the paper he delivered
as a boy in Oklahoma City. The support
networks for such papers invariably seemed
to be interracial: some white citizens of
Oklahoma City helped support Roscoe
Dunjee's paper, Ellison pointed out, "just
as a black sailmaker . . . kept William Lloyd
Garrison's paper, *The Liberator* going in the
name of Abolition," and in a similar man-
ner as "whites kept Frederick Douglass'
paper going."

And how can we learn to recognize that
inter-relatedness? Ellison characterized in-
terracial interactions as a sort of "antago-
nistic cooperation." Whether one focused
on the antagonism, or the cooperation, the
end result was still co-creation, to which
all of us could lay claim, and for which all
of us must take responsibility. There is a
redemptive power, in Ellison's logic, to the
recognition of inter-relatedness. It can lead
to cultural transfiguration, Ellison suggests,
in which we learn to take joint responsibil-
ity for the world we created together, rather
than merely assigning blame for how it
came into being.[13]

Ellison's answer to this question of mu-
tual recognition is: we achieve it through
the re-imagining and collective re-
membering of the language of literature, of
myth, of popular culture.

THE SYMBOLIC LIFE

Roscoe Dundee, the Oklahoma newsman,
understood that "America moves through
myth," Ellison wrote: cultural myths which
are always in a state of flux and transfor-

mation. Therefore, "the problem is to keep
up with the metamorphosis and find out
who Frederick Douglass is today." Because
despite generational change, "the patterns
of society demand again and again repeti-
tion of that same heroism with a new body
and a new face."[14]

If cultural heroes reappeared only in
transfigured form, then what would a "new
heroism" look like? In what style and in
what format would each new generation
project its re-imagined archetypal ideas?
Shortly after he moved from Oklahoma to
Alabama, Ellison began to formulate his
own artistic answer to these questions, in
what was a fusion of the "Renaissance
Man" and "New Negro" ideals. In typical
fashion, he chose both black and white
models. His first literary hero was T.S. Eliot,
whose *The Wasteland* served as a study
guide for young Ellison, enabling him to
see the mythic dimension of his own expe-
riences. Alain Locke was also a role model
because his theory of the "New Negro"
pointed Ellison towards the realization that
"black culture" was at the cornerstone of
the American experience: so central that
"*everyone who is touched by it becomes a
little bit Afro-American.*"[15]

This notion that all Americans are cul-
turally part "black"— if in denial about their
hybridity—is a central theme of *Juneteenth.*
And again, Ellison drew heavily on his
Oklahoma roots in creating this novel. As
Callahan write in his Introduction to
Juneteenth, "For Ellison the geography, his-
tory, and human diversity of Oklahoma
embodied the actual and potential if oft-
denied richness of the country."[16]

Yet if it was the richness of Afro-Ameri-
can folk culture in Oklahoma which most
consistently fired Ellison's imagination, it
was cultural traditions from outside the
black community which often gave him the
"lense" through which to see the unique-
ness of this specifically "Negro" culture. "I
was taken very early with a passion to link
together all I loved within the Negro com-
munity and all those things I felt in the
world which lay beyond," Ellison writes in

Shadow and Act. And very often, it was an Oklahoma context, in which the inter-penetration of Afro-American, Native, and Euro-American cultures was abundantly evident even during segregation, which gave Ellison the grounding to criticize "the insidious confusion between race and culture which haunts this society."[17]

Ellison had what Mark Busby calls an "integrative imagination." "There is no specifically American vernacular and language which has not been touched by us and our style," Ellison asserted. "*I don't recognize any white culture,*" he emphasized. "I recognize no American culture which is not the partial creation of black people. I recognize no American style in literature, in dance, in music . . . which does not bear the mark of the American Negro."[18]

Ellison's colleague Albert Murray once wrote that "the mainstream in America is not white, but mulatto." If much of Ellison's work published while he was alive was an illustration of this assertion, the story of Bliss in *Juneteenth* shows Ellison dramatizing our deep denial of our hybridity. I have previously discussed the importance that substitute father figures played in his imagination after his own father died when he was three. In his essays, he is adamant about the importance of European writers in his imagination. "Writers as artists are sons of many fathers," he asserted, in opposition to those who would want to confine him to a "black box," in which his only possible form of kinship would be with black writers such as Richard Wright.[19]

During a 1977 interview, when Ishmael Reed accused Ellison of downplaying black influences, Ellison declared: "An artist can't do a damn thing about his relatives, but he can sure as hell choose his artistic ancestors." Ellison, then, engaged in a form of "self-fathering." As a character says in *Invisible Man*: "Be your own father."[20]

In *Juneteenth*, Ellison reversed the equation, giving us Bliss, an apparently Caucasian boy, who is raised by an Afro-American preacher, Reverend Hickman. This story has particular resonance for Con-

temporary American culture, with its fascination with a black "street" culture that is, in turn, is obsessively concerned with "white boys" as outsiders or intruders against which "authentic" black culture is defined. More broadly, Ellison uses this narrative to examine the reasons for and the result of many Americans' refusal to acknowledge Afro-Americans as co-parents or co-creators of our culture, as well as our political and economic systems.[21]

TRANSFIGURATION: THE POLITICAL INTERFACE OF RELIGION AND RACE

The epigram chosen for *Juneteenth* is a poem by T.S. Eliot which reflects on "the use of memory" as a form of "liberation" in which the "faces and places" of the past "become renewed, transfigured, in another pattern."[22] The transfiguration in which Ellison is specifically interested is that in which heroic figures such as Frederick Douglass reappear "with a new body and a new face," and in which Americans discover the interracial links which Ellison believes are the cornerstone of the American experience.

An archetypal instance of transfiguration is Matthew 17:2. The disciples see Jesus on a mountaintop, conversing with Moses and Elijah, while "his face shone like the sun." More broadly, transfiguration can refer to any sudden transformation in outward appearance which also indicates inner change. People have often used the language of transfiguration to describe "race leaders," or nationalists who fuse political and spiritual ideals. Thus, Martin Luther King, Jr., who was fond of quoting "the cross we bear preceeds the crown we wear," seemed visibly transfigured at the end of his "Mountaintop" speech, on a stormy night just before he was assassinated. In one strain of North American cultural mythology, racialized transfiguration leads to political redemption: often as a blood sacrifice which atones for the sins of exclusion, and sets a moral tone necessary for the enactment of inclusive democracy. This mixture of the political and the spiritual in relation to the

struggle for racial equality is evident over a long sweep of American history: hence, abolitionism and the Civil Rights movement have been referred to as a "secular church," i.e, *a movement of moral vision applied to political inclusion.*[23]

Juneteenth is not a utopian novel. It is partly a requiem for the failure of American politics to carry forward the sort of national transfiguration envisioned by icons of the Civil War era: Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass. Yet the failure, suggests Ellison, lies primarily within our imagination: we have already experienced this transfiguration, culturally, but racial mythologies have blinded us, kept us from recognizing it. It is a failure both of sight, and of faith—the loss of faith that political inclusion is achievable.

Juneteenth opens in 1955 with a group of elderly "Southern Negroes" chartering a plane, in which they "swooped down" on Washington D.C. in order to try to save a man they claim as a Prodigal Son, Senator Sunraider, from the lethal consequences of his own racist politics. And in trying to protect him, they must try to reclaim him. To redeem him. For these are the people who raised Sunraider when he was a boy known as Bliss.

This is the congregation of the Reverend A.Z. Hickman, who was Bliss/Sunraider's de facto father. These are the long-suffering, freedom-seeking "black folk" of literature, film, and myth: the archetypal Afro-Americans of Civil Rights dramas such as *I'll Fly Away*, or in the real-life footage of *Eyes on the Prize*. They are the embodiment of the search for freedom as both political and spiritual avocation. These people are the conscience of America, Moses before Pharaoh, speaking truth to power in a deeply dignified way.[24]

With the intuition of the folk, Hickman and his congregation have come to warn their wayward son, Senator Sunraider, that his life is in danger. His secretary refuses to see them. They are powerless, in North America's halls of power. And yet the black folk carry their own sort of power: the

power of myth, of moral legitimacy. The secretary is so disoriented by the "quietly insistent" manner of these black visitors that "she could no longer see the large abstract paintings hung along the paneled wall, nor the framed fascimiles of State Documents which hung above a bust of Vice-President Calhoun" (4). Here we see, in a manner similar to the Liberty Paints segment of *Invisible Man*, the black constituency, or the repressed black cornerstone of the American republic, making invisible the dominant "white mythology."

Hickman and his congregation, however, are denied access to Senator Sunraider. So they sit in the gallery of the Senate. During Sunraider's speech, an angry man rises in the gallery to fire upon the Senator, who says, with an inflection that betrays both the religious and racial roots of his upbringing: "LAWD, WHY HAST THOU . . . forsaken . . ." (26).

So Hickman and his church have arrived too late to save Sunraider. But Hickman still hopes to reclaim him, and thereby to redeem him. The rest of the novel is centered on memories that Sunraider and Hickman have, in a hospital, as Sunraider lays dying, while Hickman prods him to remember who he is, and from where he came. So in the language of contemporary critical theory, *Juneteenth* is about the politics of recognition: the recognition of transracial inter-relatedness as a form of redemptive transfiguration.[25]

TRANSRACIALISM: BETWEEN BLACK & WHITE AND LIVING COLOR

After watching Senator Sunraider, his son, fall in the speaker's well, Hickman begins to sing from the gallery: "Why has thou take our Bliss, Lord? . . . Your were our last hope, Bliss." And the Senator, in his blood-bathed delerium, begins to respond to the call. He begins calling out for Hickman (38-9). So against the wishes of Sunraider's aides, Hickman is brought to the Senator's hospital bed.

Much of the first third of the novel concerns Hickman training the young boy Bliss (the future Senator) in the theatrics of a re-

ligious tent revival. Bliss is made to lay in a coffin, and then stage a resurrection from the dead at a dramatic moment in Hickman's sermon.[26] Hickman trains Bliss in the fine art of making people believe in the illusion. "You got to look like you feel it, Bliss," Hickman instructs. And has him repeat John 11:25—"I am the resurrection and the life" (46). Hickman bribes the youth constantly with ice cream to ensure his participation, and to restrain the boy's occasional urges to puncture the illusion.

The suspension of disbelief is of course a pre-requisite of faith. And Bliss is invaluable to Hickman in facilitating this suspension. Later in the novel, Hickman confides to a semi-conscious Senator Sunraider in the hospital: "You made me feel like I wasn't a fraud" (113). Bliss' participation has a redemptive feel for Hickman for several reasons: Bliss' youthful innocence, and probably his color, contributes to the suspension of disbelief. Furthermore, Hickman himself has been transfigured or "reborn" through adopting Bliss: from a womanizing, hard-drinking, hard-blowing jazz trombonist, to "God's Trombone."

Bliss' racial ambiguity is central to the whole story: to the suspension of disbelief in matters of faith and religion; to how he came to live with Hickman; and eventually, to why he is wrenched away from his black home and community, and seeks a new direction.

As Hickman and Bliss tour the circuit with their resurrection show, Afro-Americans are continually commenting on Bliss' appearance. He is called "li'l ole hi-yaller," "yella," "Indian," "half-white," and "white." A street tough boy trying to provoke a fight remarks: "He probably got him some mean cracker blood too!" (55). Bliss then smashed the boy's head with a rock.[27]

Racial ambiguity also affects the relationship between Bliss and Hickman, his "father." Hickman confesses mixed emotions about this child, whose fair skin transforms his relations with both blacks and whites. He also struggles with racial mythologies, as obstacles arise in fulfilling the

destiny he has in mind for Bliss (which is to be a Lincoln-like "liberator"). At one point, Hickman remarks that his apprentice is "definitely a preacher," yet has a serious flaw: "I guess whoever it was give you that straight hair and white skin took away your singing voice" (63).

Is he or isn't he? Nobody knows for sure. As one of Hickman's church women says, "he don't show no sign [of blackness] in his skin or hair or features, *only in his talking*" (218).

Other facets of the Bliss' racial ambiguity surface in Chapter Five, one of the most hauntingly lyrical sections of a sometimes uneven manuscript.[28] This chapter takes place during a transitional phase of Bliss' life when he was a film-maker (a continuity in his career of casting spells or spinning illusions). The setting is Oklahoma, "Out there where they thought the new state a second chance for Eden" (65). The chapter relates Bliss' seduction of a young multiethnic woman (Cherokee, Anglo, and Afro) he calls "Miss Teasing Brown." She in turn calls him "Mister Movie Man," but cannot place him. "Once in a while you sound just like one of us," she says. "I just talk as I feel," he responds. To which she replies: "Well, I guess you feel like us—every once in a while" (73). Later she asks if moviemaking is like piecing together scraps of a quilt, "with all the colors of the rainbow in it." Almost, Bliss says. "There has to be a pattern though and *we only have black and white*" (my emphasis). His lover replies: "Well, there's Indians and some of the black is almost white and brown like me" (83).

THE ILLUSION OF EMANCIPATION

The novel pivots on the memory of a Juneteenth celebration in which Bliss' illusion of belonging to a black community is shattered. This memory is inspired when Sunraider, in the hospital, regains consciousness and has a conversation in which he reflexively calls Hickman "Daddy." He wants to remember the event that drove them apart. Hickman reminds him.

"Juneteenth," the Senator said, "I had

forgotten the word."

"You've forgotten lots of important things from those days, Bliss" (114).

Juneteenth is a holiday primarily celebrated among Afro-Americans in Texas, and in other states where Texans have migrated. It commemorates the day in 1865 in which slaves in Galveston finally got word of Emancipation. "*The celebration of a gaudy illusion*," Sunraider thinks, semiconscious; "a bunch of old-fashioned Negroes celebrating an illusion of emancipation, and getting it mixed up with the Resurrection, minstrel shows and vaudeville routines" (115-16).

Sunraider's characterization is condescending, but accurately describes the mixture of religious and political themes one often witnesses in such entertainments, and a certain carnival or vaudeville flavor often tinged by racial stereotypes. Hickman reflects, in a monologue directed to the semiconscious Sunraider, that in those days "we hadn't started imitating white folks who in turn were imitating their distorted and low-rated ideas of us" (132). Both Sunraider and Hickman's assessments have an element of truth: the Resurrection spectacle they staged during that Juneteenth celebration did occur during an era when there was a more dinstinctly "black" folk culture. Yet even that black folk culture was tinged by blackface traditions—created within an interracial hall of mirrors.[29] The fair-skinned Bliss was clearly a key part of the success of the variant of this racial/religious myth Hickman was staging. The other Biblical version of the transfiguration remarks that Jesus' clothes were "dazzling white, whiter than anyone in the world could have bleached them" (Mark 9:3). Christian hymns sung by people of all colors speak of being "washed white as snow." Clearly, Judeo-Christian transfiguration has historically been associated with whiteness, or the sun. And Bliss, a "white" boy, would represent this purity for a black Christian audience of that era.

Just before the climactic moment of that Juneteenth "Resurrection," so long ago, which Sunraider is remembering as his life

ebbs, an Anglo woman stormed into the tent revival. The tall redheaded woman in a purple dress rushed forward, knocking over chairs, and declaimed: "He's mine, MINE! That's Cudworth, my child. My baby. You gypsy niggers stole him, my baby. . . . I'm taking him home to his heritage" (155-56).

Bliss is lifted from the coffin, with the white woman pulling on his head, the black church women pulling on his legs and arms. As Hickman recalls this scene in the hospital, he frames it in historical perspective: "the fight between her kind of woman and ours goes way back to the beginning . . . to when women found that the only way they could turn over the responsibility of raising a child to another woman was to turn over some of the child's love and affection along with it. They been battling ever since" (160). Hickman notes that most of his "deaconesses had been nursing white folks' chillun from the time they could first take a job . . . and had fought battles with the white women every step of the way" (161).

This is another instance of what Ellison describes as a historical antagonistic cooperation between blacks and whites. It describes a situation that was a reality for many Anglo children in the south for a couple of centuries: they spent much of their early childhood being nurtured by black women, playing with black children, and yet then were "reclaimed" by their white parents when the time came for them to learn about their "heritage." As Hickman observes, "that situation must make a child's heart a battleground" (161).

Ellison's notes make clear his intent in this scene: "Bliss's coffin is a threshold . . . [A]fter its symbolism of rebirth (Christian) he does indeed find rebirth—but in an ironic reversal he becomes white and anything but the liberator he was being trained to become" (357).

Hickman and his congregation have to hide their Bliss. The confrontation with the white woman sets off a debate: could Bliss really be her son? Hickman's? Anything is possible, one woman surmises. "Half the devilment in this country caint be located on account of it's somewhere in between

black and white and covered up with bed-
clothes in the dark" (218).

THE SHOCK OF RECOGNITION

One thing is sure: as Hickman had sur-
mised, this conflict, being torn between two
"races," two "heritages," two opposed but
intersecting sets of hopes, turned Bliss's
heart into a battleground. Bliss was now
forced to recognize that he was in essence
fatherless and motherless. The old illusion
of belonging could no longer be sustained.
Bliss would continue creating illusions, and
he continued to speak of resurrection. But
he found a different audience, and turned
his back on the people who raised and nur-
tured him. The shock of recognition: that
the crazed white woman at the revival was,
if not his mother, then someone who looked
like his mother, and that Hickman was not
his real father—this shock set in motion the
transformation of Bliss. Once the pride and
joy of black people, he metamorphosized
into Senator Sunraider, who repressed the
memory of this earlier connection, and
made racist jokes. He used the skills he had
learned on the revival circuit, but now
within a political arena.

In one of *Juneteenth*'s most moving
scenes, Hickman leaves Sunraider's bedside
and walks to the Lincoln Memorial. He had
been pondering how Bliss evolved into
something so different than what they had
imagined. "We made a plan, or at least we
dreamed a dream and worked for it but . . .
the dream got out of hand" (270). And Bliss
turned away, "even at the very last moment,
refusing to recognize us . . . who for years
haven't asked anything except that he re-
member and honor the days of his youth"
(271). Bliss' story is a secret: both a trag-
edy and a mystery, as is the real, repressed
story of the nation. A reporter had asked
Hickman how he could cry for a man who
hated his people. He couldn't explain the
truth, but mused: "if *we* can't cry for Bliss,
then who? If we can't cry for the Nation,
then who?" (274). The tragic mystery of
both the nation and Bliss are based in the
repression of how inter-connected "black"

and "white" people actually are.

During these thoughts Hickman came
upon the statue of Lincoln, in whose ex-
pression he recognized a part of himself:
"That look, that's us! It's not in the features
but in what . . . those eyes, have to say"
(280). A church-woman who had followed
him cried out: "Ain't that Father Abraham?"
Hickman nodded, thinking "Yes, with all I
know about him and his contradictions, yes
. . . And with all I know about white men
and politicians of all colors and guises and
intentions, yes . . . She's right . . . you're
one of the few who ever earned the right to
be called 'Father'" (281).

It is after this encounter with the memory
of Lincoln that Hickman reflects: "And to
think, we had hoped to raise ourselves that
kind of man" (283). Back at the hospital
bed, looking at the dying Sunraider, he
wearily concludes: "And this is what's be-
come of our Bliss" (286). Whereupon
Hickman finally returns to the repressed
secret of how Bliss came into being. And
how the dream of his people, who hoped to
raise Bliss to be a liberator, was deferred,
derailed. It becomes clear that this is, in-
deed, also the story of a nation: in some
ways an almost unbearable tragedy, yet in
other ways a mystery which challenges our
most fundamental assumptions.

The scene is one of racial horror and
dread. Hickman, then a young hell-raising
musician, is waiting in his house, a gun on
his lap, fearing or expecting a racist mob.
This mob has already earlier lynched his
brother and killed his mother. A pregnant
woman steps into his house, already in la-
bor, and pleads that Hickman find a woman
to help her deliver her child. Hickman puts
his gun to her belly and wants to kill both
mother and unborn child. This same woman
had blamed Hickman's brother Bob for her
pregnancy. He was lynched and mutilated;
"his wasted seed . . . now a barbaric souve-
nir floating in a fruit jar of alcohol and be-
ing shown off in their barbershops and lodge
halls and in the judge's chambers down at
the courthouse" (297).

Yet here the woman is, having decided

that Hickman was the only man in town who might show her Christian charity. She calls herself a Christian, yet confesses she is a liar, and a murderess. She assures Hickman that his brother Bob had nothing to do with the pregnancy, but she refuses to name the father. Hickman understands that "she'd have destroyed the nation just to protect her pride and reputation in that little old town" (297). He is incredulous: "Do you think that after being the son of a black preacher in this swamp of a country I'd let you put me in the position of trying to act like Christ? . . . Tell me, what kind of endless, bottomless, blind store of forgiveness and understanding am I supposed to have?" (299-300).

Yet then the woman's water breaks, and he crosses a Rubicon: "that instinct and life inside her had reached out and tagged you and you were It" (300). He helps into the world new life, the offspring of a woman who has destroyed life in his own family. When the boy is born, and he cuts the umbilical cord, the birth awakened in Hickman "*some cord of kinship stronger and deeper than blood,* hate or heartbreak" (302, my emphasis).

After nursing the child a few days, the woman announced that she was leaving, and implored him to keep the child. "It's the only way, Alonzo Hickman . . . Take him, let him share your Negro life and whatever it is that allowed you to help us all these days . . . [Y]ou'll need him to help prevent you from destroying yourself with bitterness. With me he'll only be the cause of more trouble and shame and later it'll hurt him" (308).

Hickman lets her walk, reflecting: "Hickman, you had wanted a life for a life and the relief of drowning your humiliation and grief in blood, and now this flawed-hearted woman was offering you two lives—your own, and his young life to train. Here was a chance to prove that there was something in this world stronger than all their ignorant superstition . . . Maybe the baby could redeem her and me my failure of revenge and my softness of heart" (311).

"*I'll call him Bliss, because that's what*

they say ignorance is," he decides (311). The child Bliss would grow up ignorant of his origins, of the original sin of his mother. He would have a chance for new beginnings.

A writer of less vision than Ellison might not find the route from racial horror to transraciality and transfiguration. But as always Ellison focuses on the consequences of antagonistic cooperation: of co-creation, and the move from assigning blame, to taking responsibility. Even in this story, rooted in the horror of the most extreme forms of racial violence, the responsibility cannot be assigned solely along the lines of race.

Certainly a primary part of *Juneteenth* is a lesson about the moral bankruptcy that develops when "whites" refuse recognition of their inter-relatedness with other "races." Meditating on the dream his congregation had of raising a "liberator," and the distance Bliss deviated from this dream, Hickman mused: "I guess we hoped for the Prodigal's return. But in a country like this, where prodigal boys . . . forget where home is . . . our hoping and waiting [becomes] *a true test of our faith or at least our love*" (315).[30]

The disjuncture between the Bliss of their faith and dreams, and the Sunraider of national politics, is so great that Hickman wonders if "maybe the real one, the true Bliss got lost and this is somebody else." But he concludes with finality, "this was Bliss . . . It's him and there lies the nation on its groaning bed" (316).

But the flight from interracial recognition is not just a "white" problem. Hickman also wrestled with his own conflicted feelings, with what role his own rage, his own illusions, and his own refusal of recognition may have played in Bliss' deviation from the dream.

Around 1935, when Bliss was a rising politician, some Georgia politicans located Hickman and tried get him to admit his connection to Bliss. "I lied and denied so he could climb higher into the hills of power hoping that he'd find security and in his security and power he'd find his memory and with memory use his power for the good

of everyone" (316).

This is another illusion, and another racial mythology. Today we might name it the Clarence Thomas Syndrome. The belief that we should support a public figure on the basis of racial origin, or original racial affiliation, on the faith that this origin will determine allegiance in our place and time.

When Bliss was a baby, Hickman's struggle with recognition and responsibility was intense. He at first carried the baby in a briefcase, and "lied that he was my dead sister's child." He travelled with the child, "still mixed up over why I was trying to save him but needing to bad enough to learn to pray" (313). A year later, Hickman was "still mixed up in my emotions about him but always having him with me" (313). And it is no wonder that his emotions were confused: aside from Bliss as a reminder of the horror he lived through, there was the matter of Bliss changing every facet of his present life, in ways beyond his control. Black women rejected Hickman, accusing him of "laying around with a white gal," because of the fair-skinned baby he carried. They saw Bliss as "half-white," as proof of Hickman's guilt-by-miscegenation. So Bliss, the child, forced Hickman into celibacy. Another marker of his complete transfiguration from hell-raiser to man of God and would-be miracle worker.

MUSIC'S TRANSFIGURATIVE POWER

The true miracle is perhaps that out of horror, sometimes comes redemption. Through Bliss, Hickman found his redemption in playing spiritual music. The young man who had tried to blow all his rage and joy and gusto into his jazz trombone now played God's trombone. And he tried to blow into his Bliss the breath of life, the hope of justice, and reconciliation.

In his dialogue at the hospital with Bliss/Sunraider, and with his own conscience, Hickman quizzes himself many times: If I had done this or hadn't done that, would things have turned out differently? If he hadn't declined to recognize Bliss early in his political career, could he have been re-

claimed? Hickman feels that the dream of raising a white child to be a "liberator" of or powerful representative of black people, has been a failure. And he clearly feels that part of the failure was his own.

Ellison's answer on "lessons learned" from this story comes primarily in two forms. One, at the novel's end, can be found in Hickman/Ellison's memory of the Oklahoma of his youth. And the other is in Sunraider's speech at the beginning of the novel, to which I will return shortly.

While meditating on this seeming failure ("this is what's become of our Bliss"), Hickman recalls elements of Oklahoma when he was a young man that had made the dream of transracialism and transfiguration seem achievable. Because anything seemed possible in those days. Oklahoma was "the new country which He gave us, the Indian Nation and the Territory then, and everything wide open and hopeful" (319). And the people who lived together on that frontier were a diverse lot, including "a lot of half-Indian Negroes, those 'Natives,' they called them . . ." (318). He remembers "That Texas white boy who was always hanging around till he was like one of us." They asked him why he hung around when "You could be President."

"Yeah, but what's the White House got that's better than what's right here?" Tex replied.

"Maybe Bliss could tell him," Hickman mused (319).

He also remembered a day when they had gone "to the polls with ax handles and pistols, some whites and Indians with us, and battling for the right. Long back, now Oklahoma's just a song, but they don't sing about that . . . Run up a skyscraper and forget about the foundation" (319).

Still, Hickman affirms: "Yeah, but we got it all in the music." He describes the music and the life that went with it as "Its own communion and fellowship" (319). In the memory of the musical fellowship, hope is kept alive. Earlier, Hickman explained the music's power to the boy Bliss: "we had received a new song in a new land [which

we] had to use . . . to build up a whole new nation" (127-8). *"Keep to the rhythm and you'll keep to life"* Hickman told Bliss (129). The music inspired faith: "They couldn't divide us . . . Because anywhere they dragged us we throbbed in time together." He described the music as *"the spirit of our redemption"* (130).[31]

But at the dying Sunraider's side, Hickman's thoughts turned back to fast living in the New Eden, when he was a jazz musician. The sort of "communion and fellowship" inspired by this wild dance music was of an entirely different sort. Maybe, Hickman thinks, "I should tell him about those times; maybe it was the self-denial that turned him away" (318).

Hickman (reflecting Ellison's view) describes music as like a code. The story Hickman feels he should have told Bliss was the repressed story about the "new song" of a fast-living, multi-ethnic community in the New Eden. And not just the illusion of resurrection (318-19). Hickman realizes that he, too, has run up a skyscraper, while neglecting the foundation. But the real story, the repressed story, is still there: "we got it all in the music." People can follow the rhythm to the source, and in the source, there is a shared memory, and there is a form of liberation. The music has *"transfigurative power."*[32] This was a form of music and community that crossed barriers: racial frontiers, and the boundaries between secular and sacred.

Yes, that was Bliss then.

SUNRAIDER'S SPEECH: CO-CREATION RE-IMAGINED

But Bliss now (1955) carried some of the music Hickman taught him. In his Senate speech, one hears many voices, some arrogant and pompous, but some wise. There is praise of the importance of diversity (19), and even a meditation on the importance of memory. What is Ellison up to in this speech?

The speech is framed in such away that one would not tend to imagine that there could be anything of redeeming value in Senator Sunraider's words. We have already been clued in that he is a racist, and he gives evidence of this in the speech. Yet the first time I read the speech, I experienced a sense of "cognitive dissonance" between the way I understood I was supposed to be reading the speech, and the actual content of some parts of the speech, which in part read as an extension of Hickman's worldview, and often, as an expression of Ellison's own deepest convictions, as expressed often elsewhere, about "unity in diversity."

Sunraider's speech is in fact central to Ellison's message, regarding antagonistic cooperation as co-creation, and the unexpected challenges that interracial co-creation presents to overstanding "what diversity means."[33] To understand the significance of this speech in the novel, and in Ellison's thought, I want to suggest two necessary framing devices:

1) the speech must be understood as a form of call-and-response with a multiracial audience;

2) the speech is a fictional re-visioning of Eliot's poem about liberatory memory, in which "faces and places" of the past "become renewed, transfigured, in another pattern."

If we re-visit the speech as an illustration of call-and-response: as an interactive, dialogical speech paradigm, then it becomes clear that much of Sunraider's speech is in fact a reaction to the aspirations of his long-repressed "family," Hickman and his Afro-American congregation.

In the call-and-response style of communication, which has most often been associated with "black" religious traditions and African-derived musical patterns, "a speaker governs the use of language under tutelage of the audience," as Molefi Asante writes.[34] The part of Sunraider's speech which Ellison included came after the Senator had been distracted by a hallucinatory "cinematic image" of the "heraldic eagle" of the Great Seal hovering over his head. (Shades here of the *Invisible Man*'s throwaway line about "making the old eagle rock dangerously") (576). Looking upwards,

Sunraider becomes aware of "a collectivity of obscure faces, staring down . . . from the tortured angle provided by a segregated theater's peanut gallery" (12). Sunraider does not register that this is Hickman's congregation, but he does sense an "expectation of some crucial and long-awaited revelation which would make them whole" (13). He is "pleasurably challenged" by their attitude of expectation, and shifting emotional gears, he finds himself "giving expression to ideas the likes of which he had never articulated," words and ideas which arose "from some chaotic region deep within him" (13).

Ellison does not tell us which of Sunraider's ideas are new, and which merely voice the ideology of a Southern Senator in a segregationist era. But a form of call-and-response is happening, it becomes evident, of which the Senator is not fully conscious. His "family" is pulling certain themes out of him. Glancing at them, he thinks: *"In whose name and under what stress do they think I'm speaking?"* (12). Hickman's congregation still loves Bliss, their Prodigal Son. They still claim him, recognize him, as their partial creation. And they do have an attitude of awaiting "revelation." But Sunraider delivers a speech that is directed to all members of his audience. So we find him playing to racists, but also affirming diversity. We find him praising the founding fathers, yet calling on the audience to break with history.

There are numerous affirmations here of North America's role as a "Redeemer Nation," imposing its will in a form of what Octavio Paz has called "imperial democracy."[35] Sunraider uses fulsome praise of the "awesome vision" of the forefathers to justify what seems to be a jingoistic nationalism. Yet I was struck by the ways in which this speech actually establishes a more problematical relationship to the past, and to the founders, similar to that employed by the abolitionist orator Frederick Douglass in his "July 5th Speech."[36] This is not immediately evident, given the set of expectations Ellison signals to his readers.

Yet something else besides bigotry or stale patriotism is at work here: something perhaps only explainable in terms of Sunraider's response to the expectations of that audience in the peanut gallery, or the awakening of long-buried parts of his consciousness, which speak to ways in which *that* family has trained him. For Sunraider has not come to merely praise the fathers. He says: "In our beginning our forefathers summoned up the will to break with the past. They questioned the past and condemned it and severed themselves from its entangling tentacles" (14). This is, in fact, quite like Douglass' attitude towards the founding fathers: Sunraider wants to both "affirm and revitalize their awesome vision" (15). He wants not "to reject the past; rather . . . to overcome its blighting effects"; to "redeem" the past by "transforming" its "obsolescent" ideals" (16).

So what are these "entangling tentacles" of the past which must be "remembered but rejected"? The Senator says that "we become victims of history . . . if we fail to evolve ways of life that are more free [and] more human" (19). And in this context Sunraider poses a "fatal question" of history, whose past patterns he says we must "remember selectively, creatively." That is: "How can the many be as one?" The answer: "Through a balanced consciousness of unity in diversity and diversity in unity" (19).

This reads very much like "the next phase" that the *Invisible Man* had envisioned in his search for multiracial community: "Our fate is to become one, and yet many—this is not prophecy, but description" (577). ("I am neither seer nor prophet." Sunraider says before advocating "unity in diversity" [19]). And does it matter that the one line was voiced by a "black" man; the other by a "white" man? Does that alter the meaning?[37] To the degree that Ellison wants us to think about co-creation, and about the possibility that commonality and difference can co-exist, why would he put these words about transforming the patterns of the fathers, and about the need for

diversity in unity, in the mouth of a racist Southern Senator?

Sunraider certainly seems to be a racist. Or is playing to racists. Shortly after making a zen-like pronouncement about the inter-relatedness of "darkness in lightness" (20), Sunraider makes a crude joke about "Coons" driving Cadillacs (23). We are told that the Senator's applause is "accented here and there by enthusiastic rebel yells" (24). Yet immediately after his racist joke about "our darker brethren," he also equates "their crass and jazzy defiance of good taste" with "the flexible soundness of the nation." And he asserts the need for "citizen-individualists possessing the courage to forge a multiplicity of creative selves and styles" (23).

What is going on here? Racial ambiguity? Hypocrisy? Can we imagine that, in engaging in call-and-response with an audience whose expectations are so different, Sunraider is responding to the expectations of both his racist constituents, while also rising to meet the expectations of that audience whose presence in the peanut gallery somehow pleases and challenges him?

Let us return again for a moment to the idea around which Ellison has centered this novel: that of a liberatory memory which transfigures the faces and places of the past in a new pattern. Was Hickman's dream in fact a complete failure? Elements of liberatory discourse, and transfiguration into oneness, remain in the Senator's speech, alongside a racist joke, and crude nationalism. There is a recognition of the need to break from old patterns, while *re-invigorating* certain visions of the past. In his bedside meditations, Hickman had reflected on the masks that public figures wore. Ideals are embodied in people, yet "men change and have wills and wear masks" (284). This makes it difficult to differentiate between the human being "inside," and the persona adopted in order to meet the expectations of people "outside."[38]

Behind Sunraider's mask, is there something redeemable? Something recognizable as having been created by both black and white people, even though Sunraider himself, in public, apparently refused to recognize this?

I sense that Ellison is challenging us to think about the consequences of co-creation in new ways. The offspring of our co-creation come from inter-twined roots. They may follow a trajectory similar to our expectations, but with unexpected fruits. Hickman and his people dreamed of raising a modern-day Lincoln, who would fight for the black people who raised him. It did not work out quite that way. Another "heritage" claimed him. Yet when Sunraider adopts Psalms 121:1, "We lift up our eyes to the hills and we arise" (15), which heritage is he forwarding?

To what does Sunraider refer when he speaks of "remembered but rejected things"? Could one of those remembered but rejected things be the notion of racial solidarity itself? Sunraider has probably also rejected Hickman's notion of liberation. He had told the boy: "*Bliss, you must be a hero just like that little lad who led blind Samson to the wall, because a great many grown folks are blind and have to be led toward the light*" (228). When the child becomes a man, he puts away childish things. Even as a boy, this notion of liberation "troubled" him. And as a man, he clearly envisioned liberation as reconstruction, not as total destruction. As building a new structure, with selected elements of the past, rather than pulling or burning the roof down on our heads.[39]

These questions are alive with us today. One fascinating story of the 2000 Presidential campaign was an uneasy dance between Democratic vice-presidential candidate Joseph Lieberman, and civil rights leaders. They were suspicious of Lieberman because he had made critical comments about affirmative action. When stories were released about his participation in a 1963 Civil Rights voter registration campaign in Mississippi, civil rights leaders gave him the benefit of the doubt. Yet the tenor of the debate was of racial solidarity as a form of faith: if his conscience had been forged fighting for equal rights, then how could he

question affirmative action? That was not part of a conceivable trajectory, in the conventional wisdom of latter-day civil rights leaders. In fact, to claim roots in the struggle for racial equality, yet to also question the underlying logic of affirmative action, was perceived of as an "apostasy." A break with the faith of the fathers.[40]

CONCLUSION: THE CONSEQUENCES OF CO-CREATION

Ralph Ellison's work does not advocate a specific politics, but he sees the re-imagination of the past as a necessary step in the transfiguration of identity in the present, and the reconstruction of a politics of inclusion in the near future. *Juneteenth* insists, in a variety of voices, that to repeat the patterns of the past without critical re-examination is a form of "mental slavery," to quote Bob Marley. So when Sunraider speaks of the need to "redeem" past ideals by transforming them, he clearly speaks for Ellison. When Sunraider urges his audience not to be "passive slave[s] to the past" (23), he speaks not only for Ellison, but for a much broader cultural and spiritual tradition. This language calls to mind certain liberatory elements of the scriptural tradition in which Hickman trained Bliss. Such as Paul's admonition to "Submit not again to the yoke of [mental] slavery" (Galatians 5:1). Or his letter to the Romans (12:2), "Do not conform any longer to the pattern of this world, but be transformed by the renewal of your mind."

The inherited pattern which Ellison most clearly believes must be remembered but rejected, as a form of mental slavery, is racialism. Resistance to racialism was the cornerstone of Ellison's artistic re-imagining of history. Racialism is what Jung called a "category of the imagination," or what Freud called a *schema*, i.e., a largely unconscious pattern of thought.[41] Freud once remarked: "We are often able to see the schema triumphing over the experience of the individual." We often tune out experience that doesn't fit into the boxes we use to categorize experience, and this is certainly true of racialism. Racial mythologies have caused us to ignore experience which does not fit within the normative black/white binary of "official" American politics and culture.

In *Juneteenth* Ellison challenges this binary thought pattern in a way surely meant to trouble our ingrained habit of assigning blame and responsibility, once more, along the lines of race.[42] Ellison has a "white racist" character voice the approach he endorses, which is "to remember selectively, creatively" (29). Hickman, on the other hand, a character with whom it is much easier to empathize, attempted a complete break with history. He hoped that ignorance of the past was Bliss. But repressed memory is memory which returns, disguised, and writes our script for us, in ways beyond our control.[43]

With "creative memory," we can reclaim the past, especially repressed parts of memory, that can serve as resources for constructing a new pattern, for gaining a more inclusive vision of a future society. Re-imagined memory allows us to revitalize the vision of our ancestors. This balancing act in which we seek to embrace redeemable ideals, but reject "obsolescent" ideals, is voiced in common sense terms by Denzel Washington's character in *Mississippi Masala*. Walking along the shores of a Southern lake, he tells his Indian lover: "racism is like a family recipe. You've got to know what to eat, and what to leave on the plate."[44]

To move beyond racialism (one of the "isms and schisms" Marley hoped to vanquish), and into new patterns of culture, politics, and spirituality in which commonality and difference can co-exist: that is a fundamental challenge of the politics of inclusion. One part of that process is to achieve a forms of kinship or solidarity with people who do not look like us, do not think like us, or who do not share parts of our political or religious ideology. This would require a culture-based, rather than a blood-based or ideology-based definition of kinship. Once we understand that culture can-

not be accurately linked to "race," or color, then cultural communities and social solidarities can be imagined on a foundation other than surface appearances.[45]

Ellison's *Juneteenth*, then, is a call for us to re-imagine cultural kinship. And he does this through re-examining an issue that continues to have contemporary resonance: the relationship of so-called "white" youth to "black" culture.[46]

Well-meaning "white" youths used to come to Ellison's lectures and ask: "what can we do about the black man in a white society?" And Ellison would say, "Why don't you start by examining how black you are." In other words, changing the patterns of exclusion cannot be done while maintaining the illusion of separation.[47] Writing the new script must start from a recognition of inter-relatedness, of kinship. And this calls for a rethinking of racial terminologies themselves.

White is the color of a piece of paper. Who wrote on that paper? Ellison was telling his students that no matter what their skin color, they were culturally part black. And therefore, a part of the "mulatto mainstream." Bliss was Ellison's testament about this problematic inter-relatedness.

Let us conclude by forwarding this discussion to the present, and ask: who are the Blisses of our own day? What do they say to us, about us? Can we recognize them as our co-creations?

A) Anti-Types

Let me propose a parallel: a white youth raised amidst black culture, who grows to make disturbing utterances on an (inter)national stage. Eminem is Bliss.

At least, Eminem is a version of this inter-relatedness embraced by commercial culture. If Sunraider fled his black host culture, Eminem embraced it, was transfigured by it. According to news reports, the vile-mouthed Eminem who has become a number-one selling rap star is very much an adopted persona. Marshall Matthers, a lower-class Caucasian youth raised in downtown Detroit, was doing "conscious rap" not long before vaulting to superstardom. Then Matthers joined forces with Doctor Dre, who made his name and fortune glorifying the gangster lifestyle that he had once lived. Dre, a former member of the group Niggaz With Attitude, pushed Matthers to re-invent himself, and encouraged the emergence of Matthers' anti-social alter-ego, "Slim Shady." This became his ticket to success: in the world of rap music, the gangster style is seen as the authentic style, the "black" style, the "street" style. Rappers who do themes of positivity are dismissed as "soft niggas" who are not "keeping it real."[48]

Speaking of "white" youths raised among "blacks," and later reclaimed for a Eurocentric heritage, Hickman had said to Bliss: "Come the teen time . . . they cast out the past and start out new . . . Even their beloved black tit becomes an empty bag to laugh at and they grow deaf to their mammy's lullabies" (162). Now, quite the opposite has happened. While the "racism is eternal" school of thought has a continuing vogue, it would be more accurate to say that Americans have historically had a love-hate relationship with black people, and that in recent years, among young people, this has turned into a form of idolization: "the enormous vogue of all things black."[49]

So, if youths like Eminem grew up sucking on the breast of black culture, then who created the pattern they copied, or internalized? Eminem was raised by contemporary "black culture" to "keep it real" by living the thug life myth. His success is an inevitable extension of opposition as fashion, a virulently misogynic oppositionality, in a thriving marketplace of oppositional gestures.[50] And the furor over Eminem's success (sounds authentic, but doesn't look authentic) is a reflection of a deep neurosis, centered on a refusal of recognition re: "black urban" culture's interconnectedness with its predominantly suburban (but increasingly international) consumers. If being authentically "black" requires one to be fiercely opposed to all things "white," then what does someone like Eminem do to this binary?[51]

Has Eminem co-opted and corrupted rap music, and hiphop culture? Or has he perhaps given voice to, and exploited, the inherent contradictions of its obsessions with racial authenticity; the confusion of commodified oppositional postures with being a "true revolutionary"?

Let us take another, reverse angle on transfiguration and transracialism: that of Michael Jackson seeking to make himself "white." We might say that Michael Jackson was not so much transfigured as disfigured. He seemed to be somewhat conscious of what he was doing, and offered his reconstructed face as a stigmata for our racial obsessions.[52]

Trying to follow the trajectory of Ellison's thought, I would say that the ultimate disfiguration is the Procrustean violence of the black/white binary. So the "mulatto mainstream" must say: this part of me doesn't fit [in a world constructed on racial binaries]? Then chop it off! Perform plastic surgery! Michael Jackson is certainly not the first to be disfigured by racial mythologies. Let me only point to Malcolm X's fabrications about his Caucasian grandfather as one example of the extremes to which many have felt compelled to go, to reinforce the social division between black and white.[53]

The more attractive alternative to binary racialism already exists. We need only shed binary blinders in order to recognize it.

B) Proto-types

Juneteenth, as a narrative of life on racial frontiers, has a place in a mainstream American history, literature, and political culture. This legacy of interraciality and co-creation may be a repressed history. But as depth psychology tells us, the greater amount of force we expend in repressing something, the greater will be its force when it returns.[54] And today we are witnessing the tremendously forceful return of the "mulatto mainstream." Tiger Woods, Derek Jeter, Jason Kidd, Halle Berry, Mariah Carey, Ben Harper, Findley Quaye, Sade, Bob Marley, et al. This is a very partial list of public figures, in sports, music, and film,

who are offspring of interracial unions, and who to various degrees, directly or indirectly, trouble our binary racial mythology.

The evidence that this is just the tip of an iceberg is overwhelming. We have genetic proof now that Thomas Jefferson did indeed father children from one of his Afro-American slaves. The contemporary repercussions for identity, for community, and for politics were spelled out on a PBS special edition of *Frontline*: "Jefferson's Blood" (5-2-00).[55] The "true inter-relatedness of blackness and whiteness," it becomes ever more evident, has been normative in America since colonial times, in high and low places.

The body of scholarship that has emerged within the last decade which traces this history of inter-penetration and co-creation is enormous. Let me only mention a few of the landmark authors which have mapped this domain in encyclopedic detail: Shelly Fisher Fishkin, Neil Foley, Paul Gilroy, Grace Elizabeth Hale, David Hollinger, George Hutchinson, Frances Kartunnen, José Limón, Mechal Sobel, Eric Sundquist, and the master of this domain, Werner Sollors.[56]

Such scholarship has opened up countless new vistas on the "true inter-relatedness" of American politics and culture.[57] *Juneteenth* is part of a domain which, in the title of Sollors' masterwork, is *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both*. My intent has been to suggest the political implications of learning to recognize the pervasiveness of a co-created cultural tradition. Regarding the figures of Ellison's writing, the range of figures from popular culture I listed above, and the cultural domain being explored by the scholars of border cultures (or what Latin American scholars call *mestizaje*).[58] I ask: How can we remember these people and this shared history in order to re-imagine community, or social solidarity and political coalitions? And how can this re-membering help us to enact an inclusive vision of a future society?

We can start by learning to recognize and re-claim "heroes and sheroes" raised by

more than one parent culture, such as Frederick Douglass; to take them out of their racialized boxes, and put them into the mainstream of cultural and political discourse. These sorts of figures can serve as reference points in debating the politics of inclusion, because more than one ethno-racial group can learn to trust them, and to identify with them, in at least a partial way. We must first let them be as they are, not what we expected them to be, and to engage them on the third space on which they live, beyond the binaries of race.[59]

Identity politics or the politics of recognition in this era has mostly lost sight of the coalition politics needed to engage in structural reform. Identity politics has become addicted to gestures of opposition, at the expense of creating more attractive alternatives. I would hope that one legacy of Ellison's work would be that the politics of recognition needs to move beyond narcissism. Rather than merely demand that mainstream institutions recognize ME and my culture, we need to begin thinking through the consequences of co-creation. The politics of recognition is itself a redeemable ideal, if it leads us to see something of ourselves in others outside of our own home base of race, class, gender, or nation: like Hickman in front of Lincoln, who recognized commonality not in the face of Lincoln, but in what Lincoln looked towards. His eyes saw, after all is said and done, a concept of justice, and of nation, far more inclusive than that entertained by most Americans of his day.

Juneteenth is a capstone of Ellison's work, in that it portrays interracial recognition, the affirmation of multi-ethnic kinship, as a form of redemption. And it reaffirms the importance of "the illusion of emancipation." Like Bob Marley's "Songs of Freedom," ritual expressions of rebirth or regeneration are not without practical value, especially in cynical times. They serve as an orienting horizon, the sun of a faith under whose light we are transfigured, and see more clearly our common humanity, the "One Blood" that ties us to each other, and to our common mother, the Earth.[64]

FOOTNOTES
[AUTHOR'S NOTE: Thanks to Alberto Mata for his persistence, and for being brave enough to champion non-traditional scholarship. Portions of the section "Ellison's Oklahoma and the Question of Father Figures" are adapted from "Invisible Community: Ralph Ellison's Vision of a Multiracial 'Ideal Democracy'," in *On Racial Frontiers: The New Culture of Frederick Douglass, Ralph Ellison, and Bob Marley* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Citations in parenthesis are from Ralph Ellison, *Juneteenth*, edited by John F. Callahan (New York: Random House,1999). When not indicated otherwise, italics are Ellison's.]

1) I use "Afro-American" rather than "African American," in part because it seems less chained to a specifically U.S. context. I also find Orlando Bagwell's point of view persuasive: "Afro-Americans are not Africans; they are among the most American of Americans, and the emphasis on their African-ness is both physically inappropriate and culturally misleading. Furthermore, in light of increasing immigration of Africans from Africa to the U.S., it is best to reserve the term African Americans to describe this group." *The Ordeal of Integration* (Washington, DC: Civitas/ Counterpoint, 1997), xi.

2) José E. Limón, *American Encounters: Greater Mexico, The United States, and the Erotics of Culture* (Boston: Beacon, 1998), 160. Noam Chomsky, "Language and Freedom," quoted in *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media* (Part Two: Activating Dissent), dir. Mark Achbar and Peter Wintonick (Montreal: Necessary Illusions, 1992). Herbert Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics* (Boston: Beacon, 1978). "Aesthetic resources" is from Charles Reitz, *Art, Alienation, and the*

Humanities: A Critical Engagement with Herbert Marcuse (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 5. "Marcuse believed that any genuinely emancipatory social movement had to be directed by, and responsible to, the human truths that only the aesthetic faculty of the imagination could develop," writes Rietz (167).

3) Bernard Boxill, ed., "Introduction," *Race and Racism* (Oxford UP, 2001), 21. The habit of tuning out or "not seeing what we share with others" in inter-ethnic contexts, writes Boxill, is a form of myopia that leads to a denial of commonality or kinship. People invested in racialized worldviews "develop a habit of concentrating their attentions on their racial differences when they think of or associate with people of other races, and ignoring or repressing what they share with such people" (22). Wayne Hampton, *Guerilla Minstrels* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986). Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Vintage, 1952/1982), xx.

4) "diseased imagination": Frederick Douglass, "The Races," *Douglass Monthly* (August 1859). David Hollinger, "Culture, Color, and Solidarity," Postscript to 2nd edition of *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (Basic Books, 2000). Social construction: Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Illusions of Race," In *My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (Oxford UP, 1992), 28-46; Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Harvard UP, 2000). Michael ●mi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formations in the United States* (New York and London: Routledge, 1986/1994). Among the works in which I have pursued this theme: "Frederick Douglass' Multiracial Abolitionism: 'Antagonistic Cooperation' and 'Redeemable Ideals' in the July 5 Speech," *Communications Studies* 48:3 (Fall 1997); "'You Can Sample

Anything': Zebrahead, 'Black' Music, and Multiracial Audiences," *New Formations* (Winter 1999/2000); "Romancing the Racial Frontier: Mediating Symbols in Cinematic Interracial Representation," *Spectator* 16 (Fall/Winter 1995/96); "Rap Music's Double-Voiced Discourse: A Crossroads for Interracial Communication," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 15 (1991).

5) rear-view mirror: Stephens, *On Racial Frontiers*, 1-11; 57-60. In prior work, I have engaged contemporary critical theory in depth, esp. as it applies to representation, but will here mention only two recent works that have influenced my thinking, at the interface of political theory and debate on diversity: *Theorizing Multiculturalism*, ed. Cynthia Willett (London: Blackwell, 1998), esp. Nancy Fraser's essay "From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age," and Charles Taylor et al., *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton UP, 1994), ed. Amy Gutmann.

6) Among a slew of articles about Eminem obsessively focusing on "the white boy thing," one of the most perceptive is Scott Poulson-Byrant, "Fear of a White Rapper," *The Source*, June 1999, 174 ff.

7) *Invisible Man* is centrally about a search for multiracial community. The novel's hero serves as a Hermes archetype who carries messages back and forth between "white" and "black" worlds. He also acts as a trickster who undermines the assumptions of both groups. Stephens, "Invisible Community: Ralph Ellison's Vision of a Multiracial 'Ideal Democracy'," in *On Racial Frontiers*, op cit. On Ellison's hero as a trickster: T.V. Reed, "Invisible Movements, Black Powers: Double Vision & Trickster Politics in Invisible Man," in *Fifteen Jugglers, Five Believers: Literary Politics and the Poetics of American Social Movements* (Berkeley: U. California, 1992). A forceful statement of Ellison's

determination to claim a much broader identity than "black protest writer" is made by Stanley Crouch. "The Measure of the Oklahoma Kid," in *The All-American Skin-Game* (New York: Pantheon, 1995), 83-92. "inter-relatedness": Ralph Ellison, "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke," reprinted in *The Collected Essays of Ralph Ellison* (New York: Modern Library, 1995), 107. In an essay reflecting on his Oklahoma heritage, "Going to the Territory," he wrote that "by ignoring such matters as the sharing of bloodlines and cultural traditions by groups of widely differing ethnic groups . . . we misconceive our cultural identity." *Essays*, 595-6. In what seems to be a cultural sense, he refers to "my mixed background" in the Introduction to *Shadow and Act* (*Essays*, 56).

8) temptation: Ellison, "Introduction," *Shadow and Act*, in *Collected Essays*, 57. John F. Callahan, "Chaos, Complexity, and Possibility: The Historical Frequencies of Ralph Waldo Ellison." In Kimberly Benston, ed., *Speaking for You: The Vision of Ralph Ellison* (Washington, D.C.: Howard UP, 1987), 131. "Indian Nations"/Bessie Smith: "Going to the Territory," *Collected Essays* (New York: Modern Library, 1995), 600-1. Ellison quotes the lyric in *Juneteenth*, 59. Oklahoma as racial frontier: Ellison's essay "Going to the Territory," *Essays*, 604. See also references to Oklahoma in Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West* (New York: Norton, 1998). Black state in literature: Toni Morrison, *Paradise* (New York: Plume, 1997/99).

9) "breaks": "That Same Pain, That Same Pleasure," interview with Richard Stern, in *Essays*, 71. Edna Ferber, *Cimarron* (New York: Bantam, 1929/ 1963). See discussion of interracial dynamics of this novel in Mary V. Dearborn, *Pocahontas's Daughters: Gender & Ethnicity in American Literature* (Ox-

ford UP, 1986), pp. 128-30. Oklahoma was more commonly thought of as Southwestern in the early 20th century, and is sometimes still referred to as part of the Southwest. Hence, Ellison differentiates between his "Southern experience" (at Tuskegee) and "my South-Southwestern identity." "An Extravagance of Laughter," *Essays*, 658. Re: Indian millionaires, there was a horrifying episode in which some Osages were defrauded of their oil money by Anglos who married in the tribe and then had family members disposed of. This has been documented most recently by Dennis McAuliffe, *Bloodland: A Family Story of Oil, Greed and Murder on the Osage Reservation* (Council Oak Distribution, 1999).

10) "middle-class/warm relations": "That Same Pain," *Essays*, 71. "white friends": Hollie West interview, Maryemma Graham and Amritjit Singh, *Conversations with Ralph Ellison* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), 255. The sense in which I'm using the term "crew" is informed by a history of Caribbean scholarship on "crews" as associations of young men. A recent use of this term is Norman Stolzoff, *Wake the Town and Tell the People: Dancehall Culture in Jamaica* (Durham: Duke UP, 2000), 186-7.

11) vibrant: "I recall that much of so-called Kansas City jazz was actually brought to perfection in Oklahoma by Oklahomans." Intro to *Shadow and Act*, in *Collected Essays*, 51.

12) Models for budding "Renaissance Men": Ibid, 52-3.

13) Integrative Ancestors: "They can act as a common icon or shared antecedent, an 'integrating personality' through whom diverse groups trace many of their ideological beliefs, their expressive style, or their model of identity and cultural rootedness." Stephens, *On Racial Frontiers*, 4. "Roscoe Dunjee and the American Language," *Essays*, 456-9. The Philadelphia black sailmaker was

James Forten.

14) Ibid. C.G. Jung, *The Symbolic Life* (Princeton UP, 1976), *Collected Works*, XVIII, and "The Transcendent Function," in *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche* (Princeton UP, 1969), *Collected Works* VIII, 67-91.

15) "Alain Locke," *Essays*, 441-2, 445, my emphasis.

16) Ralph Ellison, *Juneteenth*, Ed. by John F. Callahan (New York: Random House, 1999), xix.

17) "link together": *Essays*, 71. One humorous example of the role of Ellison's Oklahoma upbringing in his tendency to see all American culture as "racially hybrid" is in his "Portrait of Inman Page," Ibid, 587. "insidious confusion": "Going to the Territory," *Essays*, 606. True inter-relatedness: Ellison, "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke," *Essays*, 107.

18) James Alan McPherson, "Indivisible Man," originally in *Atlantic Monthly* 226 (Dec. 1970), my emphasis, and in Ellison's *Collected Essays*, 356. Mark Busby, *Ralph Ellison*, 39, 141.

19) writers as fathers discussed in Stephens, "Invisible Community," *On Racial Frontiers*, 114-22. Albert Murray, *The Omni-Americans* (New York: Dutton, 1970), 112.

20) Ishmael Reed, Quincy Troupe, and Steve Cannon, "The Essential Ellison," *Y'Bird Magazine* 1 (Autumn 1977); Graham & Singh, *Conservations with RE*, 361-2. "self-fathering": Eric Sundquist, *Frederick Douglass: New Literary and Historical Essays* (Oxford UP, 1990), 12. "own father": *Invisible Man*, 156.

21) On tension between rap artists and black entrepreneurs, and the Euro-American males who buy most of their product, but from whom they must continually distance themselves, see this perceptive piece about the creators of FUBU: Leslie Kaufman, "Trying to Stay True to the Street," *New York Times* (March 15, 1999), B9. On the ironies and ambiguities and sometimes hostilities faced by Caucasian performers in this domain, see also Somini Sengupta, "A Multicultural Chameleon," *New York Times*, October 9, 1999, and N.R. Kleinfield, "Guarding the Borders of the Hip-Hop Nation," *New York Times*, July 6, 2000.

22) T.S. Eliot poem "Little Gidding," *Juneteenth*, ix.

23) David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Vintage, 1985/88), 7.

24) Re: the nickname Hickman's congregation gives him, "God's Trombone": see James Weldon Johnson, *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (New York: Penguin, 1927); Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Drum Major Instinct," in *I Have a Dream: Writings and Speeches That Changed the World*, ed. James M. Washington (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

25) Nancy Fraser, "From Redistribution to Recognition?", op cit., and Taylor et al., *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, esp. K. Anthony Appiah, "Identity, Authenticity, Survival: Multicultural Societies and Social Reproduction," 149-63, and Jurgen Habermas, "Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State," 107-48. An obvious reference in Ellison's dialogue with William Faulkner is *As I Lay Dying* (New York: Random House/Vintage, 1930/1990).

26) This carnival-like "resurrection" is really a Southern, rather than a "black" cultural tradition. The roots of this form of theatrical transfiguration go back to the 18th century Great Awakening— which we now know was a multiracial phenomenon Frank Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening"* (Princeton UP, 1999). On the multiracial character of the Great Awakening, see Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Princeton UP, 1979), and *The World They Made Together:*

Black and White Values in 18th-Century Virginia (Princeton UP, 1987).

27) *Juneteenth*, pp. 49, 52, 55, 311, 225. The hypersensitivy of mixed-race people to issues of racial "authenticity" is a pervasive feature of the literature and culture of racial frontiers. See for instance my interview with Jeremy Marre, director of the PBS documentary on Bob Marley *Rebel Music*, in which he comments on Marley's rage towards those who deemed him less that fully black (http://www.jahworks.org/music/movies/jeremy_marre.html). This can be heard on-line at www.ireggae.com/sounds/jeremymarreint.ram.

28) The novel was skillfully edited by Ellison's literary executor John Callahan. However, it had to be assembled from a manuscript long enough to fill three novels. Although much of the writing is powerful, on the visionary level of *Invisible Man*, it is clear that as Ellison himself acknowledged, he never fully achieved a structural unity between some sections of this work.

29) The most nuanced recent studies of interracial dynamics in blackface I have read are W.T. Lhamon Jr., *Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* (Harvard UP, 1998), and Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (Oxford UP, 1993). Re: "Bamboozled": Stephen Holden, "Trying on Blackface in a Flirtation With Fire," *New York Times* Oct. 6, 2000, B14. I have discussed the "hall of mirrors" effect regarding the combination of religious and racial mythology in contemporary reggae in "Rasta Prophet as Sound Boy Murderer: Garnett Silk inna de Dance,"*Jahworks* October 2000 (http://www.jahworks.org/music/cd/g_silk.html). Re: the origins of dance in an interracial hall of mirrors, with blacks parodying whites imitating blacks, see James Haskins, *Black Dance in America* (New York: HarperCollins,

1990), 14.

30) "waiting . . . our love". Emphasis mine. This is perhaps "blind faith," but then blind faith is a staple of romantic love, as well: "I don't want to wait in vain for your love" (Bob Marley, *Kaya*, Island, 1978).

31) keep to the rhythm/spirit of our redemption: my emphases. Bob Marley says much the same thing in his song "One Drop," in which the heartbeat rhythm is a source of unity, in which "you'll find your redemption." From *Survival*, Island, 1979.

32) "music's transfigurative power": from Ann Power's review of dance music artist Moby, "A Mild-Mannered Nerd Turned Cool Rock Star," *New York Times* (Oct. 24, 2000), my emphasis.

33) overstanding—I am signifying here on Rastafarian language, which means "achieve a fuller awareness of." Tracy Nicholas, "Rasta Talk 'Bout I and I," *Rastafari: A Way of Life* (New York: Anchor, 1979), 38-40. The best scholarly study of Rastafarian beliefs and culture is Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse UP, 1994). "diversity means": I have quoted a lecture of Troy Duster, UC-Berkeley Sociologist, from "The Diversity Report" which UCB commissioned and published in 1990.

34) Molefi Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1987), 18.

35) "imperial democracy": Octavio Paz, "Mexico and the United States," in *The Labyrinth of Solitude and Other Writings* (New York: Grove, 1985), 375. Ernest Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (U. Chicago Press, 1968).

36) Gregory Stephens, "Frederick Douglass' Multiracial Abolitionism: 'Antagonistic Cooperaton' and 'Redeemable Ideals' in the July 5th Speech," *Communication Studies* 48:3 (Fall 1997), 1-19.

37) Yes and no: color-blindness has become the ideology of conservatives. David Hollinger distinguishes between being

"color conscious" in order to address continuing discrimination, and the de-emphasis of color in matters of culture. "Color, Culture, and Solidarity," op cit.

38) C.G. Jung, "The Persona as a Segment of the Collective Psyche," *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* (Princeton UP, 1953/1966), par. 245-6.

39) I would also compare this to Frederick Douglass refusing to side with John Brown's Harper's Ferry raid, which he knew would be suicidial, but which he later used to great effect rhetorically. It was not the form of liberation which he personally felt most committed to, but it made his version more palatable, just as Malcolm X made Martin Luther King, Jr. seem more acceptable. See David Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1989), 95-98. "It seems like total destruction's the only solution." Bob Marley, "We and Dem," *Uprising* (Island, 1980).

40) Kevin Sack, "Trip South in '63 Gave Lieberman a Footnote, and Hold, in History," *New York Times* (September 26, 2000), A19.

41) *Sigmund Freud*, Standard Edition 17, p. 119, quoted in Michael Vannoy Adams, *The Multicultural Imagination: "Race," Color, and the Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 1996), 45. C.G. *Jung, Psychology and Religion* (Princeton UP, 1958/1969), 518.

42) Randall Robinson, *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 2000).

43) Sigmund Freud, "Repression," in *The Freud Reader*, ed. Peter Gray (New York: Norton, 1989), 572.

44) *Mississippi Masala*, dir. Mira Nair, 1992.

45) Hollinger, *Postethnic America*, 189. William Julius Wilson, *The Bridge Over the Racial Divide: Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

46) Simon Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth* (London: MacMillan, 1988); Roger Hewitt, *White Talk Black Talk:*

Inter-racial Friendship and Communication Amongst Adolescents (Cambridge UP, 1986); Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1993); Mark Costello and David Foster Wallace, *Signifying Rappers: Rap and Race in the Urban Present* (New York: Ecco, 1990).

47) Illusion of separation: Gail Straub, *The Rhythm of Compassion: Caring for Self, Connecting with Society* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 2000), 96. "how black you are": Ralph Ellison, "Indivisible Man," *Collected Essays*, 373. Robert Farris Thompson has said "If you don't know how black you are, you don't know how American you are," "The Kongo Atlantic Tradition," lecture at the University of Austin, February 28, 1992, quoted in Fishkin, *Was Huck Black?*, 132.

48) An appraisal that puts Eminem's lyrics in broader context is David Plotz, "Eminem: The rapper is sadistic, misogynistic, and fantastic." http://slate.msn.com/Assessment/00-06-09/Assessment.asp. For perceptive commentary see Scott Poulson-Byrant, "Fear of a White Rapper," *The Source* (June 1999), 174 ff., and Chris Norris, "The Shady Bunch," *Spin* (August 2001), 74-82. The latter makes it clear that Eminem's closest friends and associates in Detroit have always been and continue to be Afro-Americans. Norris also portrays Eminem as a performer who remains focused on the music "at a moment when his multiplatinum rap colleagues are all about their clothing lines and diversifying portfolios" (82).

Re: the usage of the binary "soft niggas" vs. "field niggas" (which echoes the "house niggers" vs. "field niggers" terminology of Malcolm X), see the interview with NAS in *Rap Pages*, June 1999.

49) Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992); Jése Limón,

"The Other American South: Southern Culture and Greater Mexico," in *American Encounters*, 7-34. For a work on the vogue of things Afro-American that anticipates my position, see George Hutchinson, *The Harlem Renaissance in Black and White* (Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard UP, 1995). Re: The "racism is eternal" school: in Postethnic America, David Hollinger speaks of "a game of competitive disillusionment" (169), which infects a large number of writers on race relations. Two of the most-cynical winners in the black-folks-as-victims and white-people-as-inherently-racist contest: Derrick Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), and Andrew Hacker, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal* (New York: Scribner's, 1992). The majority of so-called "critical race theory" suffers from this tendency. See for instance Mari Matsuda, et al., eds., *Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech, & the First Amendment* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).

50) Pick up any issue of *Vibe, Source* or *X-tra Large*, and see the reams of ads devoted to products positioned as "rebellious," "gangster," of "alternative." Thug life: The tatoo Tupac carved on his belly. After Tupac's death, he was transformed by the music industry, and in the minds of many youths, into a Black Christ, or revolutionary, who died fighting against the system. Neil Strauss, "Hip-Hop Requiem: Mining Tupac Shakur's Legacy," *New York Times* (April 11, 2001). http://www.nytimes.com/2001/04/11/arts/11NOTE.html.

51) "opposed to all things white": see my discussion of rapper KRS-One and his use of Malcolm X's racial mythologies expressing this re: Frederick Douglass in *On Racial Frontiers*, 58-59. Rap has become so successful that urban American youth are now making big money

teaching Japanese housewives hiphop dances moves. *ABC News* carried a report on this about 1998.

52) Gregory Stephens, "The Man in the Mirror," *UC-San Diego Guardian* (February 18, 1993). "Watching Jackson trying to explain himself [on NAACP's 'Image Awards'], I got the feeling that he was almost a sort of Jesus figure. He had 'stigmatized' his face in order to become a transracial icon—not so much out of disgust with himself as disgust with society's racial neurosis."

53) Bruce Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* (New York: Station Hill Press, 1991). Arnold Rampersad, "The Color of His Eyes: Bruce Perry's Malcolm and Malcolm's Malcolm," in *Malcolm X: In Our Own Image*, ed. Joe Wood (St. Martin's, 1992). Gregory Stephens, "Demythologizing Malcolm X," *In These Times* (Oct. 28, 1992); "Between the Lines of Malcolm X's Life," *San Francisco Chronicle* (August 30, 1992); "Spike Lee and Beyond: Other Voices on Malcolm X," *San Francisco Chronicle* (Jan. 1, 1993).

54) Freud, "Repression," op cit.

55) John Carman, "On 'Frontline,' Jefferson's Lasting Legacy, *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 2000. A more melodramatic commercial version of this was the CBS docu-drama "Sally Hemings: An American Scandal." Caryn James, "A Founding Father and Perhaps the Mother," *New York Times* (Feb. 11, 2000). There has been a debate in scholarship and popular culture about this affair stretching across two centuries. The most up to date scholarly assessments can be found in Jan Lewis, Peter Onuf, and Jane Lewis, eds., *Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson: History, Memory, and Civic Culture* (University Press of Virginia, 1999). See also Annette Gordon-Reed, *Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings: An American Controversy* (University Press of Virginia, 1998). The film *Jefferson in*

Paris includes a very nuanced treatment of this episode.

56) Shelly Fisher Fishkin, *Was Huck Black?*, op cit.; Neil Foly, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Paul Gilroy, *Against Race*, op cit., and *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Harvard UP, 1993); Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Pantheon, 1998); David Hollinger, *Postethnic America*, op cit.; George Hutchinson, *Harlem Renaissance in Black and White*, op cit.; Frances Kartunnen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1994); José Limón, *American Encounters*, op cit.; Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On*, and *The World They Made Together*, op cit.; Eric Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature* (Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard, 1993); Werner Sollors, *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations in Interracial Literature* (Oxford UP, 1997), and *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (Oxford UP, 1986). Also, I could not recommend too highly *The Journey of August King* (dir. John Duigan), a film set in 1815 which is visionary in the way it looks beyond racial myths, and re-imagines a full range of attitudes re: the 90% of ante-bellum Euro-Americans who did not own slaves.

57) W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1935), 469. Kathryne V. Lindberg, "Raising Cane on the Theoretical Plane: Jean Toomer's Racial Personae," *Cultural Difference & the Literary Text: Pluralism & the Limits of Authenticity in North American Literatures* (Iowa City: U. Iowa Press, 1996), 49.

58) Among the huge literature on mestizaje, I will mention only as starting points Claudio Esteva-Fabregat, *Mestizaje in Ibero-America* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), and a bracing if too-cynical critique of the romance of mestizaje as hybridity: Ernst Rudin, "New Mestizos: Traces of a Quincentenary Miracle in Old World Spanish and New World English Texts," in *Cultural Difference and the Literary Text*, Ibid, 112-29.

59) I refer to Bob Marley's line "We refuse to be what you wanted us to be," from "Babylon System" (*Survival, Island,* 1979). "heroes and sheroes" was a phrase Maya Angelou used at a speech I heard her deliver at the University of Texas in 1988. One historian who has most explicitly addressed interracial inter-relatedness is William Freehling, *The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War* (Oxford UP, 1994). See also Orlando Patterson, *The Ordeal of Integration: Progress and Resentment in America's "Racial" Crisis* (Washington, D.C.: Civitas/Counterpoint, 1997). C.G. Jung articulated a theory of mediation which I find useful in this context, re: creating an interracial "third space": "The confrontation of the two positions generates a tension charged with energy and creates a living, third thing . . . a movement out of the suspension between opposites." The establishment of a relation between opposites, in a third space, Jung calls the "Transcendent Function." This can only happen if conflict is allowed, while moving beyond a binary model: "So long as these are kept apart—naturally for the purpose of avoiding conflict— they do not function and remain inert." *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche* (Princeton UP, 1960/1969), 90, my emphasis. Homi Bhabha has discussed the notion of a "third space" in *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 1994).