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Managing Editor: Melinda McCormick
E-Mail: swrk-jssw@wmich.edu

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Please mail books for review to: Fei Sun, School of Social Work, Michigan State University, 655 Auditorium Rd., Room 150, East Lansing, MI, 48824.

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Editorial: A Call for Research

History is being made. Yes, it's always being made; you can't stop it. Bill Buckley couldn't. But this is different. Our entire social welfare system is under review, with the intent of some to totally dismantle it.

Now is the time to monitor what's going on. The Editorial Board of *JSSW* has instructed me to commission from our readers a Special Issue, a double one if we can collect enough articles, to document what is happening under the new administration.

So, get cracking. What is the issue dearest to your heart? What theories explain how it works and how it might be changed? Collect baseline data and decide the best way to monitor change.

We don't need anti-Trump polemics, or pro-Trump polemics, should there be any out there. We don't need prophecies of doom. We need cool, gimlet-eyed, carefully measured research. If you're a qualitative researcher, we need warm, rich description, but equally cool analysis of what people are experiencing.

We may fear the worst, but we need to be open to the possibility that some good things may happen. We may discover, perhaps, that our programs and institutions are more resilient than we thought. We may discover that assault has actually strengthened them. We may discover that they needed to be shaken up to work better. We may discover that we can actually do without some of them.

But, we can't just sit by and watch in horror. We have a professional obligation to find out what is going on and report it.

Bob Leighninger, Editor

Congregations in the Community: A Case Study of Social Welfare Provision

SARAH B. GARLINGTON

Ohio University

A complex mix of community and government activities address social welfare needs. Even with structural changes, communities are active in assessing and providing for their own members' needs, though in widely variable forms. Religious organizations are key in community social welfare. This project investigates the role of religion in social welfare provision at the local community level. Examining religion's participation contributes to the understanding of religion's role in the public sphere as moral commentator, contributor to the common good, and identity legitimation. This article uses a functionalist theoretical framework and case study data to discuss congregations and social welfare provision.

Key words: social welfare, faith-based organizations, congregations

A complex mix of community and government activities and policies address social welfare needs, and the balance of roles varies from country to country and sometimes community to community. In the last two hundred years, economic changes and other factors have led to the development of comprehensive welfare states in many countries, making national/federal governments significant players in social welfare planning and provision. Even with these structural changes, communities are still active in assessing and providing for their own members' needs, though in widely variable forms. Religious organizations are key players in providing for community social welfare needs, whether congregations or formal faith-based organizations. This project investigates the role of religion in social welfare provision at the local community level in the U.S. national context. Examining religion's participation in social welfare provision contributes to the understanding of religion's role in the public sphere as possible moral commentator, contributor to the common good, and identity

legitimation. This article uses a functionalist theoretical framework and case study data to discuss the role of congregations in community social welfare provision.

The following discusses congregational activity in a small U.S. city through the lens of the stakeholders interviewed for the study; this is supplemented by information from telephone surveys, publically available information, and background information about the city. The theoretical framework organizes the findings, beginning with congregational activities and moving on to stakeholder views. From the community data, collaboration dominates the conversation about what role congregations play in social welfare provision. Reflecting on the theoretical frameworks from Casanova (1994, 2009) and Warner (1993, 2005) of moral commentator, contributor to the common good, and identity legitimation, collaboration reflects aspects of these while also connecting them. The following discussion of the research findings synthesizes collaboration as the primary relationship between congregations and the social welfare community, linking this to congregations as contributors to the common good through their bureaucratic flexibility and access to subcommunities as brokers of trust and information conduits.

Religion in the Public Sphere

Participating in social welfare structures is one way that religion is active in the public sphere. To place this participation in context, the following discusses theoretical developments of the relationship of religion and society generally. As a beginning, functionalist theories of modernization and religion are presented to understand how religion is differentiated from other social structures. Historically, religion is an institution that has served political and social functions as a primary actor in governing bodies, in shaping cultural norms, and as an integral part of other facets of society. Theorists disagree on how differentiation changes the role of religion in society (Bellah, 1970; Durkheim, 1912/1995; Parsons, 1961). Some secularization theories equate religion's differentiation with religion being excluded from the public sphere and becoming a concern purely of personal faith (Bellah, 1970; Berger, 1969).

As a society modernizes, religion is expected to play a less significant role (if any) in political discourse and other aspects of the public sphere. This expectation, however, has continually been challenged by the reality of international politics and new iterations of modernity.

In contrast to the evolutionary views of Berger (1969) and Parsons (1964), Smith (2003) locates the changing role of religion in the power dynamic between the established church and elite groups instead of in implicit social evolutions. Smith is rooting secularization to political and economic changes that Parsons argues are also linked to the Reformation and the rational individualism that Parsons argues Protestantism enables. This begins to incorporate institutional change and differentiation into the discussion of religion's relationship with society. In contrast to Parsons' evolutionary argument, Smith presents an intentional maneuvering of institutions within society that shapes the shared culture. This institutional change happens within a context of pluralism that Martin (1978) argues is a "resultant pattern" within the secularization process, especially in the U.S. (p. 5). (Martin, however, writes that secularization is "largely related to ethos rather than to institutions and beliefs" [Martin, 1978, p. 5].) Understanding pluralism then becomes another variable in defining and assessing secularization.

These presentations of secularization and the changing relationship between religion and society emphasize the differentiation of religion from other sectors of society and, as a consequence, the declining significance of religion in the public sphere. However, this model of modern society and privatized religion has been challenged by other examinations of religion in secular society. The work of Casanova (1994, 2009) and Warner (1993, 2005) are particularly useful to understand possible modern roles for religion in society.

Casanova (1994) argues primarily that differentiation among spheres of society is an inevitable element of modernity, but religion having a differentiated sphere from the public one does not mean religion must remain in the private sphere. Differentiation requires religion to relinquish its dominance of the public sphere and also to shape and define its own sphere. Casanova (1994) describes this as the "transformation of the church from a state-oriented to a society-oriented institution"

(p. 220). With this, religion is then able to reenter the public sphere in a new role. While he argues that democracies have "built in pressure toward the privatization" (p. 222) of religions, Casanova (1994) writes that religious institutions and groups resist being excluded to the private sphere. The deprivatization argument locates religion's public role primarily as a critique of norms and values. His forms of deprivatization outline a role for religion in the public sphere and in civil society: protection and debate of traditional values and norms, holding states and markets morally accountable (as moral commentators), and contributing to a common good.

Maintaining a common good emphasizes that religion is not only an external commentator on society but also an active contributor. Casanova (1994) writes about the common good as "normative structures" (p. 230) and religion as an actor in reinforcing those mechanisms in society. Religious ideas and communities attempt to balance individual interest against the common good by arguing for the benefit of things such as social welfare policy and services. For this research project, Casanova's work suggests that understanding the role of religion in the area of social welfare means paying attention to actions that provide moral commentary and attempt to contribute to the common good.

In the U.S., this role for religion in the public sphere is unique because of the lack of a previous history of an established, state-oriented church. The third role of religion used for this research is that of identity legitimation. Warner (1993, 2005) emphasizes the disestablishment of churches as central to understanding religion in the U.S. Religion provides a group membership with a socially legitimate identity and shared values that then provides access to the public sphere. Warner (1993) argues: "Insofar as a subordinated group requires for its emancipation access to financial and social resources, churches in the U.S. are a convenient and legitimate means of organization ..." (p. 1069). He further states that it is empowering in its voluntary social organization and its "mediation of cultural difference." This suggests that understanding the role of religion in social welfare must include attention to the way religious organizations embody and enable the participation of diverse cultural groups. This research project incorporates Warner's concept of identity legitimation by examining the

congregation as a nexus for subcommunities, both as a place to bring cultural groups together and to link these groups with the larger community.

Using the work of Casanova and Warner, three key questions arise that inform this research project: To what extent is religion serving as a moral commentator? To what extent is religion actively contributing to the common good? And to what extent is religion a means of expressing legitimate cultural differences in the larger community? While many possibilities exist, these three questions will focus this project's exploration of how religion participates in the public sphere, and specifically, how religion participates in social welfare.

Religion & Social Welfare

Congregations and other religious groups play a significant role in the history of social welfare in the U.S. The historical evolution of social welfare policy entailed a transition of responsibility for social welfare from private, often religious, groups to government agencies. Of course this shift has not happened in a clear, linear fashion. Major intersections of religion and policy in the U.S. include the changing distribution of responsibilities, subsuming religion under public policy (fitting religious activity into a constitutional structure), and religious actors as contributors to policy as an interest group (Collins, Cooney, & Garlington, 2012). The current era of devolution (transferring responsibility from the federal to the local level) arguably has shifted the onus for social welfare to communities, religious groups, and congregations. Since the welfare reform initiatives under the Clinton administration and the major faith-based services discussions of George W. Bush's administration, a subset of research in the U.S. has focused on the role and viability of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in social welfare provision.

As mentioned, religious organizations have always been involved in social welfare provision (Daly, 2009; Wineburg, 2001). The profession of social work grew out of congregations taking on an urban mission to address social problems subsequent to rural-urban and international migration. Even with the shift of social welfare to the purview of government policy, religious organizations have continued to provide services

informally and through formal government contracts, and to participate in the political process as policy advocates (Bane, Coffin, & Thiemann, 2000; Cnaan, Wineburg & Boddie, 1999; Formicola, Segers, & Weber, 2003). Large social service organizations, such as the Salvation Army and Catholic Charities, have historically provided formal extensive programs across the country supported by federal and community funds, serving millions of individuals while also managing a delicate balance of religious character and secular programming. Congregations have also historically provided support for members in crisis and organized member resources to contribute to the local community. While the current debate around FBO involvement in social welfare sometimes is framed as whether or not they should be involved, this ignores the long history of social welfare activity. When this history is taken as a given, the debate then centers on who should take responsibility for meeting social welfare needs, how we want religion to be active in the public sphere (regarding social welfare), and the suitability of faith-based programming to receive federal funds to address social welfare problems.

The picture painted by devolution includes a significant role for congregations and other religious organizations in the community as more able to meet social welfare needs because of their unique moral mission and access to the community (Cnaan et al., 1999). "It is assumed that poverty results from immoral behavior ... [and] that personal renewal is necessary in order to end poverty and welfare dependency ... [F]aith-based groups are more effective than secular programs because religion changes lives" (Formicola et al., 2003, p. 174). Also, the shift of responsibility away from federal government structures forces communities to maximize any contributions (formal or informal) available, including those of FBOs (Daly, 2009; Sager, 2010). Partly the shift towards emphasizing community organizations' (and specifically FBO's) social welfare provision is also predicated on the idea that government hinders a community's ability to care for itself (Bane et al., 2000) or weakens civil society (Glenn, 2000).

Some of this thinking about FBOs' unique access to the community is based on geographic proximity to populations in need. Increasing research at the intersection of geography

and social welfare demonstrates the significance of the geographic location of services to effectively meeting social welfare needs (Allard, 2009; Bennett & Cherlin, 2011; Coulton, 2005; Graefe, De Jong, & Irving, 2006; Mowbray et al., 2007; Murphy & Wallace, 2010; Queralto & Witte, 1998). Congregations and FBOs are assumed to be "more embedded" in needy communities (Allard, 2009, p. 42) (though other research has problematized this assumption [Ammerman, 1997b; Chaves, 2004; McRoberts, 2008]). This geographic relationship is part of the view of congregations and other FBOs as more able to serve community needs, with physical access to provide services but also proximity leading to stronger relationships of trust (Allard, 2009; Bane et al., 2000; Cnaan et al., 1999). Research shows that congregation members are not necessarily members of the congregation's geographic community, so this relationship of service provision and trust based on physical proximity is more nuanced than might be assumed (Ammerman, 1997b; Chaves, 2004).

With the devolution of social welfare responsibility to states and communities, including faith-based initiatives, more questions have been asked about the appropriate role of religion in the public sphere, in social welfare activities and beyond. The particular separation of church and state in the U.S. means that religion's role in the public sphere has been an ongoing negotiation from its founding, as seen in the functionalist discussion above. Religious organizations that utilize government funds to provide services must negotiate the placement of religious icons in public meeting places, the language in organizational missions and titles, and other aspects of the religious character of an organization that faith-based initiatives strive to protect. Beyond these regulatory questions, faith-based initiatives have also raised questions about government's role in promoting religion in the public sphere (Sager, 2010) or participating in religious organizations' missions (Formicola et al., 2003). Constitutional questions have also framed faith-based initiatives as overstepping the separation of church and state (both in terms of the establishment clause and the free exercise clause) (Davis & Hankins, 1999; Formicola et al., 2003; Sager, 2010; Sullivan, 2009; Wineburg, 2007).

Also key to understanding the involvement of FBOs in

social welfare provision is examining what role they already play. Certainly, religious organizations play a dominant role in garnering and distributing charitable resources (Cnaan et al., 1999) and are seen as having unique access to communities in need (Allard, 2009; Baker et al., 2006; Day, 2014; Dionne & Chen, 2001; Farnsley, Demerath, Diamond, Mapes, & Wedam, 2004), though other research has countered this argument (Kennedy & Bielefeld, 2006). Research shows that congregations are primarily involved in providing programming related to food, clothing, and shared resources for other organizations, such as volunteers and physical space in the local community (Allard, 2009; Ammerman, 2005; Bartkowski & Regis, 2003; Chaves, 2004; Cnaan, Boddie, Handy, Yancey, & Schneider, 2002; Day, 2014; Hasenfeld, Chen, Garrow, & Parent, 2013; Wuthnow, 2004), in addition to mission work further afield. Congregations play key roles in social welfare partnerships as gap-fillers and support formal service organizations instead of providing such programming themselves (Ammerman, 2005; Cnaan et al., 1999).

Case Study

This case study pulls together these theoretical and policy questions about the role of religion in community social welfare provision. Through multiple methods, data were gathered to understand the role specifically of congregations in this small city and the perspectives of social welfare stakeholders on religion's responsibility. None of the congregations surveyed had large scale formal social service programs, though the contribution of their informal services was certainly significant. When asked about services provided to the community, most respondents included activities like providing or contributing to a food pantry, collecting and donating used clothing, hosting classes focused on job skills or language acquisition, or seasonal activities (primarily around the winter holidays).

All of the congregations identified member donations as the primary source of funding for social welfare activities. Food and clothing donations, classes and AA meetings, and other volunteer opportunities were provided primarily through relationships with other community organizations. Some

congregations rented space to community groups who provided programs like after-school activities or classes. About a third of the congregations had multiple worship services for different language/ethnic groups, whether hosted by the congregation or through sharing/renting out the sanctuary. Some congregations focused more on providing social welfare-type support to their own members. This seemed to be true for congregations with higher concentrations of members from marginalized groups (often new immigrants).

Further research using publicly available information about congregations and content from the interviews showed congregations playing a significant role in the social welfare web of relationships and services in this city. The major areas of contribution were human services (food-related, material goods) and community benefit (volunteers and money). This aligns with the discussion below; respondents from the major social welfare organizations identified congregations as key players in social welfare provision through contributions such as collaborative food pantries, seasonal activities, and provision of volunteers (ongoing or for specific projects).

A key example of the intersection of congregation contributions was one Presbyterian church from a centrally located neighborhood. As the traditional members (white, middle class) moved to the suburbs over time, more families from new immigrant groups joined from the surrounding neighborhoods. The church included both integrated services and separate language services, recognizing the need for cultural groups to have shared time. This example is unique in that the congregation intentionally wanted to bridge the gap between serving the geographic community and making that community constitutive of the congregation. This church also rented space to a soup kitchen when the original host (a United Methodist church) closed down; this continued to be staffed by volunteers from area congregations who also provided the food. Area congregations (and a few non-religious groups) committed to serving the meal at least one day a month, sometimes more frequently.

In the discussion of the interview content below, the network of social welfare providers clearly relied on the collaboration of a range of community organizations, including

congregations, as identified in this overview of congregational social welfare activity. The theoretical work of Casanova (1994, 2009) and Warner (1993, 2005) is synthesized into a discussion of collaboration and its components.

Stakeholder Perspectives: Collaboration

Almost all respondents emphasized the need for collaboration among all types of organizations in order to insure the social welfare needs of the community were met. Collaboration is mentioned in many different forms (as discussed above): volunteering, contributing resources to another organization's program, organizational leaders sitting on boards of multiple organizations, providing physical space for programming, etc. Rebecca (04RO), from one of the major local non-profit players in the community, explains,

[W]e all play a role in working together; it would be difficult for me to say off the top of my head a particular role that one group should play over the other, I think. You know, when we look at community and building strong communities, it's everybody working together.

Respondents made reference to organizational collaborators as key to meeting service needs they cannot meet alone, to getting access to different target groups, to applying for funding that requires organizational networking, to increasing visibility, and to avoiding duplication of services. Derrick (04DO), from a local non-profit serving homeless individuals, used the language of "synergy" needed to pursue their mission. As discussed below, gaps in service provision exist for a variety of reasons. Respondents identified collaboration as one of the strategies to address these gaps and needs. Networking was useful both for bringing a variety of resources in for service recipients but also for providing information and referrals for outside resources. Collaboration allowed for formal and informal distribution of information so that multiple constituencies could be reached.

Respondents also identified collaboration as necessary to obtain funding for programs. Collaboration was seen as required by funders to demonstrate community relationships, but respondents also discussed ways that joining forces to

apply for funding expanded the range of possibilities and distributed the responsibility for applying for funds and implementing programs.

Contributions to the Common Good

As Casanova (1994) argues, one of the legitimate entries for religion into the public sphere is through contributing to the common good. Interpreting one aspect of this as concrete contributions, I collected data directly through questions to stakeholders and indirectly in analyzing the topics they chose to discuss. In asking stakeholders about whether they thought religion should contribute to the common good, frequently they responded by saying that any person or group should contribute who has the inclination and the resources. Responses varied regarding whether this should be one of religion's primary activities. Some respondents saw contributing to the common good as peripheral to the congregation's purpose for the individual.

Others emphasized concrete contributions to the community as core to congregational activity, such as feeding the poor, addressing physical needs, and, as Robert (06RC) from a local evangelical congregation put it, "spiritually, physically, socially, mentally, and intellectually" providing care. Kasey (05KCO), a leader of a religious non-profit, linked addressing poverty with self-sufficiency:

You know, I mean, when Jesus talked, you know, He talked more about money than He did about sin. He talked about taking care of the poor. He talked about taking care of people that can't take care of themselves. And He talked about teaching a man to fish rather than giving him a fish, you know; it's religion, but it's very social.

The discussion of religion contributing to the common good in concrete forms often centered on the ideas that congregations have limited resources and different organizational goals. Many respondents (representing all organizational types) specifically stated that congregations should not be held responsible for community activities beyond their resources. Other respondents also noted that pushing congregations to

provide services beyond their organizational resources was detrimental to the primary responsibility to their members. Cesar (03CC), a pastor at a local Pentecostal congregation with many new immigrant members, framed it in terms of balancing various congregational missions. As individual organizations, congregations are shaped by the membership's needs and skillsets. While some respondents identified participation in social welfare as part of religious education or worship, others emphasized the importance of prioritizing congregational members' spiritual care as the primary role.

As discussed above, the information about congregations shows two major areas of social welfare activity—human service and community benefit. Three major areas of material contribution by congregations to social welfare provision were dominant the interview findings—food, physical space, and volunteers. This reflects findings in the literature as well (Ammerman, 2005; Cnaan et al., 1999; Day, 2014). While direct contributions of money were referenced by respondents, this was not a major resource for service providers or focus of discussion for congregation stakeholders. These three areas of contribution were identified both by congregational members (as providers) as well as nonprofit organizations and state agencies (as recipients).

Using Casanova's (1994, 2009) theoretical frame of contributing to the common good was useful for drawing out specific social welfare activities respondents saw for congregations. The primary contribution respondents identified was collaboration. Beyond material contributions to collaborations, congregations were identified as having specific characteristics that made them uniquely valuable: bureaucratic flexibility and access to subcommunities.

Bureaucratic Flexibility

Respondents from all three types of organizations (congregations, non-profits, and state agencies) identified a vital role for congregations in the bureaucratic flexibility they have regarding use of funds and programming. Some gaps in services provided by non-profits and state agencies were attributed by respondents to funding or programmatic guidelines. These guidelines were designed to distribute

limited resources in equitable and targeted ways, creating purposeful restrictions that unintentionally generated service gaps. Respondents identified ways in which congregations' freedom from such structural guidelines allow them sometimes to meet individual needs in these gaps, such as providing gas cards or food boxes as needed. This flexibility was mostly identified related to funding differences. Congregational funds for social welfare activities came from member donations, which rarely have spending restrictions attached, whereas funding for state agencies and non-profits almost always is for specific programming with clear spending guidelines. This difference allowed congregations to be much more "reactive and direct" (Sheila [04SO] from a local non-profit organization oriented towards networking).

Most respondents were quick to add that congregations were rarely in positions to provide assistance in a systematic way. Congregations were recognized as a resource for informal contributions that could not be formalized, even though these contributions were necessary to meeting social welfare needs. There was a clear expectation on the part of state agency and non-profit organization respondents that these resources would be available. Katherine (05KO), a staff person from the largest non-profit represented in the sample, discussed the necessity of having congregations to reach out to for informal resources for individual clients, even though her organization represented the major provider (and recipient of state contract funds) of affordable housing and related services in the area.

The flexibility offered by congregations as opposed to social welfare organizations was discussed both as an aspect uniquely available to congregations and as a problematic flaw in social welfare organizations. Respondents identified the rationale for and necessity of programmatic guidelines in social service organizations, so the goal was not necessarily to change bureaucratic structures. Respondents also noted that, depending on funding and program involvement, non-profit organizations as well as congregations can be more flexible than state agencies.

Subcommunity Nexus

In asking questions about congregations' general role in

the community and also about identity legitimation, many respondents spoke of congregations as a point of access to target populations for service agencies, as well as a source of information about different groups in the community, serving as a subcommunity nexus. Information was seen as flowing to groups in need of service and from these groups to service providers. Service providers utilized congregations as gatherings of specific target populations to provide education about social welfare topics and services. This ranged from information about health clinics to domestic violence to community gardens. Service providers also utilized congregational members and leaders to educate themselves about cultural groups and needs in order to better design programs and services. Congregations were referenced as key organizations to identify and utilize in community needs assessment projects. While these respondents clearly saw congregations as a resource, they did not necessarily know how to go about forming relationships with congregational leaders. Often this was identified as a desirable goal that needed more attention. Sometimes the connection to a congregation was made through a staff member of the organization.

Warner (1993) writes that religion plays a unique role in the U.S. as a legitimate cultural difference. Immigrants who come to the U.S. are expected to integrate into society and adopt American values, with religious identity as an acceptable tie to the traditions of the past. The construction of identity is beyond the scope of this discussion. However, the role of religious group affiliation in providing identity legitimation through a sense of belonging, group cohesion, and access to the larger community can be examined as significant to understanding the role of religion. As such, the interview guide included a specific question about the role of religion in identity legitimation. This question had particular relevance for the community because of its history as an immigrant settlement area, and most respondents identified this immediately as a significant factor.

Respondents identified the act of gathering as a group as well as the content of the group activity within a religious context as meaningful in building community and relationship. Similarly, respondents identified that the relationships formed

in a congregational setting were significant because of the religious nature of the gathering and because of the support and community that the relationships provided. Congregational groups were compared to families in terms of the support and bonding involved for individuals.

Katherine (05KO), from one of the area's largest non-profit providers, specifically linked the participation in a congregation centered on shared ethnicity or national background to a pathway to greater relationship with the larger "majority community." She discussed the congregation as a safe place from which to then be able to move into the larger community and be accepted as part of this larger whole.

Three congregation leaders in particular spoke about seeking out opportunities to be involved in the greater community, both for the benefit of their congregation members and the community as a whole. Two of these leaders (Cesar [03CC] from a Pentecostal Hispanic church and Shane [03SC] from a local Muslim group) spoke positively of their activities with non-profit social welfare organizations and stated that the organizational network made efforts to include their congregations in needs assessments and planning. Both respondents also articulated a need for more communication with marginalized group leaders and were hopeful about increased opportunities for their congregations to be integrated into the larger community. The third congregation leader was from an African Presbyterian church, and Karl's (05KC) experience negotiating a relationship between his congregation and the larger social welfare community was negative. He discussed his attempts at representing his congregation in other organizational activities as unproductive, both in drawing attention to the members' needs and in his relationship with his congregation.

People sought help from congregations both because of the convenience of the physical location and because the congregation and its leaders were seen as trustworthy brokers of information. Respondents from all three types of organizations especially identified immigrant congregational leaders as important for transmitting information because of the particular trust relationship they have with their members (a particular subcommunity). A few respondents also noted that this meant

that congregational leaders had a responsibility to be informed about resources in the community so that they could provide this information to their members.

This use of a congregational leader as an information conduit was not without conflict. Karl (05KC) described the housing foreclosure crisis as a missed opportunity to use community resources to help his congregational members who lost their homes. He went on to describe community agencies that came to him for help in accessing the congregational members for assistance programs after the crisis had already been weathered (though many members lost their homes). Community agencies were frustrated that members were not participating in their programs, and members were angry that assistance opportunities had not been offered when they would have been useful.

The idea of trust was implicit in many of the interview questions and data, though the term "trust" was not used in the interview guide. Collaboration and information sharing, however, require elements of trust, even when this is not stated explicitly. Trust was a key element in establishing the legitimacy of an organization in relationship to its target population. This legitimacy was defined by Karl (05KC), a pastor of a congregation primarily consisting of new immigrants, as trust that a social welfare organization was giving individuals correct information. Respondents from non-profits and state agencies identified the significance of establishing trust with the community in general and target populations specifically in order to achieve this legitimacy, and establishing this trust by pursuing relationships with specific congregations. Trust played a significant role in social welfare provision generally and then more specifically with congregations as potential brokers of trust.

Moral Commentator

Casanova (1994) argued that religion and congregations have a role in holding other social institutions to a moral standard through participating in public discourse with a moral voice. The interview guide included a specific question about whether the respondent agreed with this idea of religion as a moral commentator, using as an example a religious leader

speaking out about policy issues. A frequent response was that all individuals have an equal right to speak out, regardless of affiliation, but religious leaders or figures do not have a particular responsibility to participate in political discourse. A few respondents expressed concern about a dominant conservative Christian political voice, but they were careful to be clear that everyone has a right to speak their political mind.

In answering the specific moral commentator interview question, most respondents turned more to the topic of religion as a moral compass for individuals, "to guide individuals in their moral consciousness" (Diane, 02DX). This individual focus is different from the concept Casanova discussed, but the emphasis on moral direction for individuals in the interview content is interesting in itself. Respondents seemed less able or willing to focus on a larger macro role for religion than on roles at the individual level. This could be due to the interview guide structure but certainly is an area for further research.

Respondents did identify a role for religion and congregations in the moral lives of the community and individuals, with various definitions of "moral," mostly focused on vague concepts of "doing the right thing" (Laurie, 03LC, from a local synagogue) and treating others well. In this role, religion defines the "right thing" and provides a guiding framework, "fences" (Jason, 05JC, from a local Protestant church) or "rules and structure" (Sheila, 04SO, from a local non-profit oriented towards networking) for doing the right thing. Sam (03SO), a member of a local interfaith group, specifically discussed a link between a more secular society and an increase in negative values. Both productive (providing a framework) and punitive (shaming) roles in the moral life of individuals are seen to be provided by religion and congregations. Respondents articulated these roles in the formal sense of religion but also in more informal ways, such as spirituality and beliefs, similar to the "Golden Rule Christianity" discussed by Ammerman (1997a).

Respondents also talked about the values needed to work in the area of social welfare, specifically a belief in acting in moral or ethical ways. Some respondents identified spiritual or religious aspects to these values that shaped their social welfare activities, while others separated the moral aspect of the work from any sort of religiosity. A few respondents were

careful to clarify that they believed religion or religious beliefs were not necessary for moral behavior. Jessica (07JC), a member of a local Protestant church, identified religion as a mechanism for morality but separated religion as only one possible layer of understanding human relations and the "moral grounding" needed to help us "be good."

The transmission of values was mentioned in two ways—how congregations provide continuity of values and how they negotiate values with new immigrant groups. The continuity of values is tied in with previous discussions of community cohesiveness and identity legitimation. Louise (04LO), a staff person at a local non-profit oriented towards women in crisis, used the example of people who maintained their affiliation with the Catholic Church even through the series of public sexual abuse scandals, saying: "You know, the common values were so important that they could hold onto that when it went through a crisis." Robert (06RC), an evangelical pastor, linked "moral decency" specifically with spiritual and religion education. Other respondents talked specifically about the continuity of history as the thread of shared values in this particular community, from the Revolutionary War to the shifting communities of new immigrants. Congregations were viewed as playing a role in maintaining this history and facilitating new immigrants' integration into the community values.

Conclusion

Collaboration was identified as the primary role for religious organizations (specifically congregations) in meeting the social welfare needs of this community. Through the relationships with social welfare organizations, congregations were able to make concrete contributions and act as a subcommunity nexus. This research reinforces the theoretical categories from Casanova (1994, 2009) and Warner (1993, 2005) of contributor to the common good and identity legitimation in the discussion of religion's role in the public sphere, synthesizing these into a nuanced understanding of collaboration. While the data did show some perspective on religion as a moral voice in the community, this was a much less emphasized element of the

stakeholder responses. The expectation of social welfare providers that congregations play significant, though informal, roles reflects both an ongoing engagement between religion and the public sphere as well as a welfare structure limited in its coverage of community needs. Further research is needed to understand the impact this has on communities' abilities to meet their social welfare needs, as well as how this dynamic differs in various regions of the U.S. where religion plays more or less of a public role.

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Career Development, Well-being and Coping-Strategies of Zimbabwean Immigrants in the United States: A Research Note

JOSPHINE CHAUMBA

University of North Carolina at Pembroke

This study combined quantitative and qualitative data to understand perceptions of career development, life satisfaction, and strategies for enhancing career development among Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States. Participants completed a survey on their perceptions of career development in the United States. Twelve participants selected from those who had completed the survey participated in in-depth interviews that asked about their life experiences. Spearman's rho correlations revealed inverse relationships between career development difficulties and life satisfaction and time in the United States. Qualitative results revealed specific strategies that participants used to build their careers. Implications for practice are also suggested.

Key words: career development, coping strategies, Zimbabwean immigrants

Career development is critical for successful employment integration among immigrant populations. A career results when the jobs someone holds in their life span become connected (Hansen & Leuty, 2006), such as through the transfer of previous experience and credentials. While several theories have been proposed to understand career development, such as social cognitive career theory and social learning theory of career decision making, career development among immigrant populations may not conform to these theories because of career disruptions that immigrants encounter in the new country (Hansen & Leuty, 2006). For instance, research with African immigrants in Canada suggested that career development barriers such as failure to transfer previous experience and qualifications, as well as discrimination have forced

African immigrants to take on "survival employment" or any job that is available to meet their daily needs (Creese & Wiebe, 2012, p. 61). Of particular concern is that survival jobs may negate the career development processes because these jobs do not align with one's previous work and qualifications, contributing to the problem of underemployment.

For instance, in spite of possessing work permits, highly skilled immigrants who had received their green cards in 1996 were unable to convert their prior experience and skills into comparable jobs in the United States, and more than 75% of immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean ended up in lower-skilled jobs than what they had in the country of origin (Redstone Akresh, 2006). Today, underemployment remains one of the key threats to successful career development among immigrants (Batalova, Fix, & Creticos, 2008; Lysenko & Wang, 2015; Zong & Batalova, 2016). About 1.8 million college-educated immigrants representing about 23% of college-educated immigrants were underemployed between 2012 and 2014 versus 18% of college-educated natives (Zong & Batalova, 2016). The problem of underemployment can be salient for African and Latin American immigrants. Analyses of pooled data from the 2005 and 2006 American Community Survey indicated that about 33% of skilled Africans were employed in low-skilled jobs second to Latin Americans with 44% (Batalova et al., 2008). Given the importance of employment in successful immigrant integration (Ager & Strang, 2008), amid the gloomy statistics on African immigrants, research that seeks to understand intersections of career development and mental health experiences of immigrants from particular African countries is needed (Stebbleton, 2012). Research on immigrant underemployment is needed to strengthen the social work knowledge base and to guide advocacy efforts (Valtonen, 2016).

This study examined perceptions of career development and well-being of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States. For the purposes of this research, career development was defined as experiences and activities that immigrants engaged in to achieve desired occupational goals (McDonald & Hite, 2015). There is no unitary definition of the concept of well-being, although scholars agree that well-being may entail subjective self-evaluation by an individual of whether or not

their positive emotions outweigh negative emotions and satisfaction with life (Charlemagne-Badal, Lee, Butler, & Fraser, 2015). Three research questions were central to this study:

1. How do Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States perceive their career development?
2. What is the relationship between perceptions of career development and wellbeing?
3. What strategies have Zimbabweans used to enhance career development in the new country?

An estimated 19,000 Zimbabweans were in the United States in 2013 (Gambino, Trevelyan, & Fitzwater, 2014). Drawing from American Community Survey 2009, Zimbabweans were among the most highly-educated African immigrant groups in the United States, with 58% reporting a bachelor's degree or higher (McCabe, 2011). In addition, they were also active in the labor force, with Zimbabwean women among those reporting above-average rates at 76% compared to women from other African countries (McCabe, 2011). The United States Census 2000 showed that 59.1% of Zimbabwean immigrants were employed in professional occupations, 7.9% were in service occupations and 11.8% were in production, craft and repair occupations (Marrow, 2007). Although evidence from the United States Census suggests that Zimbabweans have good educational and occupational positions, the processes which Zimbabwean immigrants use to attain continuity in their careers from the country of origin or to begin a new career path in the United States have not been explored.

Review of the Literature

The career development process among African immigrants was described by Stebelton (2012) as one that is characterized by a high level of uncertainty because of the barriers that are encountered in the new country. One of the major challenges to career development is underemployment (Batalova et al., 2008). Even though underemployment might

be viewed as a temporary situation experienced during the transition to the new country by immigrant populations, its consequences may be profound, impacting family and social relationships (Lysenko & Wang, 2015). Research has established that underemployment negatively affects mental health (Chen, Smith, & Mustard, 2010; Dean & Wilson, 2009; George, Chaze, Fuller-Thomson, & Brennenstuhl, 2012; Kennedy & Chen, 2012; Premji & Shakya, 2016). In a study of 309 internationally trained engineers, George, Chaze, Fuller-Thomson and Brennenstuhl (2012) found that 36% of participants who did not have engineering jobs reported dissatisfaction with life compared to 22% of those that had jobs in the engineering field. Even more concerning is how this negative impact also affects family members, because individual career development experiences of immigrants are sometimes enmeshed with the individual's personal and social life (Chen, 2008).

In another study, Premji and Shakya (2016) interviewed 30 immigrant women who were struggling to get stable employment that matched their education and/or experience and found that problems of underemployment and unemployment affected participants' physical and mental health, as well as that of their families. While existing research has provided useful insights into the employment-related challenges faced by immigrants in general, experiences of immigrants from specific countries is limited, as well as research on the strategies immigrants use to rebuild their careers in the new country. This study will address this gap by documenting experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States.

Studies with Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States and other destinations such as the United Kingdom and Canada reveal experiences of underemployment (Bloch, 2006; Chaumba, 2015; McGregor, 2007). In a survey of 280 Zimbabweans in Canada who were mostly refugees, 35% reported working in jobs that were not congruent with their experience and qualifications (Crush, Chikanda, & Maswikwa, 2012). Other research has documented the usefulness of social capital for career development and general integration among Zimbabwean immigrants (Chaumba, 2015; Tinarwo, 2014). Zimbabweans have also retrained and obtained certifications to further their career development. For instance, Crush

et al. (2012) found that 40% of Zimbabweans in their study had to re-train and get certified in order to advance their career options. Premji and Shakya (2016) observed that facing underemployment or unemployment led to the intensification of job search strategies among immigrant women in their study. It is important to note that instead of succumbing to hopelessness due to persistent unemployment or underemployment, some immigrants find new ways of enhancing their career development prospects. However, literature on the perceptions of career development and strategies that Zimbabweans in the United States have used to succeed is limited. This study attempted to close this gap by examining existing data on employment related experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States.

Methods

Research Design and Data Source

Data used in this study are a part of a larger study on social capital and employment outcomes of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States. The study included a triangulation mixed-methods research design with qualitative and quantitative data collected parallel to each other and merged during interpretation to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the integration experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The quantitative part was comprised of a survey that asked participants about their social capital and employment in the United States. Twelve participants selected from those who had completed the survey participated in in-depth interviews that asked about social resources that they found helpful. Following approval from the Institutional Review Board, data were collected between February to June 2009 from adult Zimbabwean immigrants. The survey asked participants about their general integration experiences, social capital, and employment-related questions.

Key Variables and Measures

Variables of interest to this research were perceptions of career development, well-being, and coping strategies. Perceptions of career development were assessed using two

main measures. The first measure was the Occupational Adjustment Subscale of the Demands of Immigration Scale by Aroian (2003). This assesses career-related stressors encountered during settlement on a Likert Scale with 1 indicating 'not at all' and 6 'very much.' The Demands of Immigration Scale has been used to understand experiences of immigrant nurses (Ma, Quinn Griffin, Capitulo, & Fitzpatrick, 2010; Victorino Beechinor, & Fitzpatrick, 2008).

A second measure of perceptions of career development was a question that asked respondents to rate 1 = not suitable, 2 = somewhat unsuitable, 3 = moderately suitable, 4 = somewhat suitable, and 5 = suitable for the question, "How suitable is your current employment situation given your educational background and previous work experience?" This question was asked for both the first job in the United States and the current job at the time of the survey.

During data analysis, job suitability was further divided into two variables, namely first job suitability and current job suitability. The second variable, well-being, was assessed with the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). The scale is widely used in national surveys of well-being (Diener, Inglehart, & Tay, 2013). The third variable, coping strategies, was explored using data from the qualitative interviews. Interview transcripts were read to identify attitudes and behaviors that were used or developed to minimize career development challenges (Swanson & Fouad, 1999).

Data Analysis

Quantitative data analysis included descriptive statistics of single variables using frequencies and percentages to understand perceptions of career development among Zimbabwean immigrants. Additional percentages were obtained from descriptive statistics computed using Wilcoxon signed-rank test to compare suitability of first job in the United States and the job at the time of the survey. Second, Spearman's Rho correlations were conducted to examine associations between a composite score of items from the occupational adjustment subscale of the Demands of Immigration Scale and satisfaction with life with current job and time in the United States as a control variable. All analyses were performed using SPSS, and

an alpha level of .05 was used as a criterion for statistical significance. In addition, qualitative data analysis was performed using inductive analysis to explore coping strategies that were used by Zimbabwean immigrants to aid with career development. Adopting the steps outlined by Thomas (2006), line-by-line coding of statements reflecting attitudes and behaviors used or developed to address career development challenges were identified. These were later grouped into main themes to capture strategies viewed as important for career development by the study sample.

Results

Participants for the survey were 103 Zimbabwean immigrants. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 75 years, with an average of 37 years. The length of time in the United States ranged from 0 to 30 years ($M = 8.9$ years) with 83% of the participants having been in the United States for more than 5 years. Regarding educational attainment, approximately 64% had earned at least a Bachelor's degree, and 11.7% had only completed high school. The gender distribution was almost equal, with 50.5% female and 49.5% male. About 88% of the participants ($n = 91$) were employed at the time of the survey. Table 1 shows a summary of perceptions of career development that were reported by the study participants.

Table 1. Participants' Perceptions of Career Development in the United States

Perception of Career Development	Percent	
	Yes	No
Lower Work Status	55	45
Disadvantaged	53	47
Qualifications not Accepted	51	49
Unsuitable First Job	53	47
Unsuitable Current Job	19	81

To compare suitability rankings for first and current jobs, descriptive statistics from a Wilcoxon signed-ranks test showed

that, whereas 14% of the participants perceived the suitability of their current job as lower than that of their first job in the United States, 49% ranked their current job as more suitable than their first job, and 36% of the participants reported the same level of suitability for current and first job. Spearman rank-order correlations were conducted to determine the relationship among composite scores of items from the occupational adjustment subscale of the Demands of Immigration Scale and satisfaction with life, and time in the United States. A two-tailed test of significance indicated there was a significant negative relationship between the occupational adjustment subscale score and satisfaction with life $r_s(90) = -.44$, $p < .05$, suggesting that individuals who perceived greater difficulty with their career adjustment reported lower satisfaction with life. However, significant negative correlation was also observed between time in the United States and the occupational adjustment subscale score $r_s(90) = -.24$, $p < 0.05$, suggesting that negative perceptions of career adjustment decreased with more time in the United States. Furthermore, a significant positive correlation was observed for time in the United States and satisfaction with life $r_s(90) = .27$, $p < 0.05$.

Overall, the quantitative results suggest that Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States are experiencing notable career development over time in spite of initial challenges. Qualitative results shed light onto some of the strategies that participants used to promote career development. Following inductive analysis of qualitative data, the main strategies that Zimbabweans have used to attain successful career development in the United States included going back to school for further education or to train in second careers, obtaining relevant certifications, and seeking information from fellow Zimbabweans that have made it in the desired profession.

The first strategy was going back to school to obtain American degrees. Of the 12 interviewees, seven had gone back to school in the United States for graduate degrees or an undergraduate or two-year degree in a new field of training. After years of working in jobs that did not match work experience and qualifications, Farai stated, "I said, how am I going to further myself? I said, let me go back to school." Because of visa limitations, Manu could not work, so he furthered his

education, and "After the school (getting an advanced degree in the United States)... I got a job and went back to the hotels (career field from country of origin)."

The second strategy was to obtain licensure certification in the field of study. After going back to start a new field in nursing, Revai reported that she went on to get certified as a registered nurse. Others were working towards getting certified; as Tau stated, "I need to have one more additional computer certification ... that will give me an edge." One participant who had already completed a bachelor's degree in the U.S. and worked for a number of years summed up the importance of going a back to school and obtaining licensure:

For me, what I have learned based on my least useful practices is ... not to take short cuts but stay on a tried and trusted path ... if you have something stable like a good education, a good bachelors, masters or PhD, or if you are in training or vocational [school], finish your certification, and keep accumulating those certifications. (Anesu)

The third strategy for career development was to consult with others who had succeeded in the desired field of practice for tips on how to transfer qualifications or for job recommendations. After several applications without securing a job, Shingai recalled how he landed his first job in his field of training. "I met another geologist whom I talked to in person ... and he helped me start working as a professional geologist."

Chipo learned about the process of seeking degree equivalency and accreditation from a fellow Zimbabwean who had successfully completed the process and was now working in the same profession she had back home without retraining: "It was when I met this lady ... she helped me to understand what you are supposed to do to teach here: take your transcripts, have them evaluated, go to Georgia Professional Standards Commission and everything."

In sum, Zimbabweans in this study reported several strategies that helped them to rebuild their careers in the new country.

Discussion and Implications

How do Zimbabwean Immigrants in the United States Perceive their Career Development?

Similar to their counterparts in Canada, Zimbabwean immigrants in this study reported experiencing underemployment, though at a higher rate of 55% versus the 35% reported in the study by Crush et al. (2012). The difference could be due to policies that guide immigrant integration in the two countries, as well as that the Canadian sample was composed of mostly refugees, while the United States sample was predominantly immigrants. In addition, whereas 53% of the study participants rated their first job as unsuitable, only 19% reported their current job as unsuitable, suggesting a possible reduction in unsuitable jobs overtime. This might be consistent with the observation by Lysenko and Wang (2015), who stated that underemployment might be a temporary situation, which is however likely to negatively affect family and social relationships.

What is the Relationship between Perceptions of Career Development and Well-being?

Consistent with findings from other immigrant populations (Dean & Wilson, 2009; George et al., 2012; Premji & Shakya, 2016), Spearman rank-order correlations revealed that individuals who perceived greater difficulty with their career adjustment reported lower satisfaction with life. However, increased time in the United States was associated with increased levels of satisfaction with life and, on the other hand, negatively associated with perceptions of difficulties with career development. A main implication from this finding relates to the need to consider mental health variables and referrals to treatment, if needed, when working with individuals that are underemployed, as suggested by Stebleton (2012). One way of promoting positive well-being is by encouraging immigrants to share their past and present career-related experiences to explore their preferred future path (Kennedy & Chen, 2012), instead of molding them into a one-size-fits-all approach or encouraging them to take up any job that is available (Creese & Wiebe, 2012).

What Strategies have Zimbabweans used to Enhance Career Development in the New Country?

Zimbabweans in this study sample used several strategies to enhance their career development. Going back to school to retrain and seeking certification were strategies that were also reported by Zimbabweans in Canada (Crush et al., 2012). The final strategy reported by this sample involved learning from others who had reestablished on how to navigate the United States system for degree evaluations and certifications. This might point to the importance of bridging social capital among Zimbabwean immigrants, as reported by Chaumba (2015) and Tinarwo (2014). Interventions that promote the building and maintenance of bridging ties might benefit Zimbabwean immigrants with their career development.

Although the study provides useful information on career development experiences of Zimbabwean immigrants, it has several limitations. A major limitation is that data from a larger study that had limited information on well-being and participants' experiences was used. Future qualitative studies may gather detailed career development narratives of study participants that may uncover additional facets of these experiences.

Conclusion

This research examined perceptions of career development, life satisfaction, and strategies for career development among Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States. Quantitative results quantified perceptions of career adjustment challenges of Zimbabwean immigrants in the United States and revealed their negative association with life satisfaction, as well as how time in the United States may moderate both perceptions and life satisfaction. Qualitative findings revealed specific strategies that could explain how Zimbabweans overcome some of the earlier challenges to build comparable careers over time that included going back to school for further education, securing relevant certifications, and developing networks with fellow Zimbabweans that had made it in the desired profession. Thus, the integration of qualitative and quantitative data unveiled the different dimensions of participants' career adjustment processes. Practitioners and researchers working with immigrant populations can play an important role in making

the interconnections of career development challenges, well-being and coping strategies known to expand the knowledge base and guide interventions.

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The Social Exclusion of Dually-Involved Youth: Toward a Sense of Belonging

JOANN S. LEE

JESSIE PATTON

George Mason University

We use an institutional life course perspective to explore the social exclusion of dually-involved youth, or those who are involved in both the juvenile justice and the child welfare systems. We begin by defining the concept of social exclusion and present one mechanism of social exclusion, the set of institutions operating in the lives of dually-involved youth. We use the social exclusion framework to extend the implications of studies of dually-involved youth, and propose three stages of social-exclusion for dually-involved youth. We conclude by emphasizing the importance of broad investments in families, schools, and communities to ensure that dually-involved youth develop a sense of belonging and the capabilities necessary to live meaningful lives.

Key words: social exclusion, dually-involved youth, child maltreatment, delinquency, life course perspective

Youth involved with the juvenile justice and child welfare systems, referred to as dually-involved youth, have received growing attention from scholars and practitioners in recent years (Herz & Ryan, 2008; Huang, Ryan, & Herz, 2012; Maschi, Hatcher, Schwalbe, & Rosato, 2008). Dually-involved youth commonly fall into one or more of several policy areas associated with high risk for social exclusion, such as struggles in the educational system and being from vulnerable families (Buchanan, 2006). For example, dually-involved youth report high rates of truancy, academic deficiencies, and special education needs, as well as high rates of school suspensions (Halemba, Siegel, Lord, & Zawacki, 2004; Herz & Ryan, 2008). These youths are also likely to be from excluded families (Mitchell & Campbell, 2011): in one study, 61% had experienced issues with housing and finances, 78% had experienced

issues with substance abuse, and 70% had experienced domestic violence (Halemba et al., 2004).

Existing literature on dually-involved youth focuses on the needs of the individual youth but fails to provide a full assessment of the social conditions that contribute to the maltreatment and delinquency experiences of the youth, thus problematizing the individual youth. Current theoretical frameworks have drawn from systems of care models (Maschi et al., 2008), social capital and social control theory (Ryan & Testa, 2005), and an ecodevelopmental framework (Jonson-Reid, 2002), which suggest improving public systems by improving the collaboration between the child welfare and juvenile justice systems (Herz, Ryan, & Bilchik, 2010; Huang et al., 2012). We introduce a social exclusion perspective, which requires a fundamental shift toward focusing on the comprehensive set of social institutions that fail to support the youth's development, and can inform the development of effective systems of care.

Defining a Social Exclusion Framework

In the simplest of terms, "[s]ocial exclusion operates to prevent people from participating in the mainstream activities of society and accessing the standards of living enjoyed by the rest of society" (Taket, Crisp, Nevill, Lamaro, Graham, & Barter-Godfrey, 2009, p. 10). Social exclusion is compatible with a capabilities-based perspective (Bynner, 2001; Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 1999; Taket et al., 2009). As Sen (1999) argues, "the freedom of agency that we individually have is inescapably qualified and constrained by the social, political and economic opportunities available to us. There is a deep complementarity between individual agency and social arrangements" (p. xii). While a social exclusion framework draws attention to the social arrangements that define the opportunity set each individual has, a capabilities approach provides specificity around the development required for an individual to exercise his or her agency. According to Sen (1999), capabilities allow "people to do things—and the freedom to lead lives—that they have reason to value" (Sen, 1999, p. 85). Similarly, Nussbaum (2000) refers to "human capabilities, that is, what people are actually able to do and to be—in a way informed by an intuitive idea of

a life that is worthy of the dignity of the human being" (p. 5). Thus, rather than simply ensuring equal opportunity, the call is to also ensure equal capabilities, since a youth with opportunity but no capability would not be able to take advantage of any available opportunities (Taket et al., 2009). Together, the social exclusion framework and capabilities perspective draw attention to the ways that social arrangements may succeed or fail to cultivate an individual's capabilities.

There are three common elements across various definitions of social exclusion: relativity, agency, and dynamics (Micklewright, 2002). First, there is an element of relativity, since social exclusion can only occur in relation to others (Micklewright, 2002). While poverty refers to a lack of resources, social exclusion refers to a "catastrophic detachment" from others (Axford, 2008, p. 738). In this way, a social exclusion framework "emphasi[zes] damage to relationships with the wider society and even family relationships" (Bynner, 2001, p. 287). Similarly, a capabilities approach characterizes poverty as more than simply low income, but also as a deprivation of elementary capabilities, since individuals in poverty are likely to experience undernourishment, high rates of morbidity, and illiteracy (Sen, 1999). The deprivation of these elementary capabilities also reduces an individual's ability to relate to others and thus live a dignified human life (Nussbaum, 2000).

Second is the element of agency, whereby someone has been prevented from participating in society (Axford, 2008; Micklewright, 2002). Thus, social exclusion refers to individuals who have not developed the necessary capabilities to participate as full members of society. While weaker versions of social exclusion lack attention to power dynamics, and thus prescribe changing individuals to address their social exclusion, stronger versions of social exclusion focus on "the role of those perpetuating the exclusion and aim to reduce their power" (Taket et al., 2009, p. 10). Those who perpetuate social exclusion can include parents, schools (through exclusionary disciplinary policies), employers, and governments (by failing to provide adequate services) (Micklewright, 2002).

Third, there is a dynamic element in that social exclusion refers to a process that unfolds over time (Micklewright, 2002). Individuals are not simply excluded or included, but rather,

there is a continuum of exclusion along multiple dimensions which are dynamic, so that a "particular individual at a particular time in a particular context can be characterized as a multiple combination of inclusion and exclusion" (Taket et al., 2009, p. 13). In this way, social exclusion is not limited to current circumstances, but also considers "dim future prospects" (Micklewright, 2002, p. 9).

Social exclusion can result from direct action, but also may come about through a lack of action (Taket et al., 2009). For example, a detained youth may be prevented from accessing normative educational opportunities, thus falling behind in school. Another youth may attend a school that may be lacking updated or otherwise sufficient educational materials. In both cases, the youth would have experienced social exclusion, since he or she has not developed the capabilities necessary to participate fully in society.

There is some disagreement as to whether self-exclusion constitutes a form of social exclusion (Micklewright, 2002). Some do not consider self-exclusion social exclusion, since there is perceived agency in the situation, such as a youth who chooses to skip school (Micklewright, 2002). However, the youth may skip school as a result of a lack of culturally relevant curriculum, whereby the youth does not see himself or herself meaningfully represented in the curriculum. Similarly, self-regulated exclusion may arise in response to stigma, which can operate powerfully so that individuals who may be included within communities, employment, or other social institutions may begin to restrict themselves from participating in those social spaces (Taket et al., 2009). The lack of culturally relevant curriculum and stigma both reflect psychological exclusion. The psychological dimension of exclusion highlights the ways in which institutional experiences and messaging impact the thoughts and feelings of youth, and shape how they see themselves in relation to the world around them. The individual's capabilities have not been fully developed due to his or her self-regulated social exclusion, a result of psychological exclusion in these critical institutions.

Taket et al. (2009) argue that the opposite of social exclusion is not social inclusion, but rather, social connectedness. In the case of inclusion, agency does not rest with the

individual. On the other hand, connectedness not only affirms the individual's positive relationships, but positions the individual to exercise agency that is crucial to countering social exclusion (Taket et al., 2009). Even so, the concept of belonging more fully addresses the three dimensions of social exclusion—relativity, agency, and dynamics—while also fitting within the capabilities-based perspective. Belonging is "feeling valued and having the opportunity to add value" (Frenk, 2016, para. 15). Involvement in the child welfare and juvenile justice system may send the message that the youth are not valued in their families, schools, and communities if they are removed. Furthermore, a youth's removal likely interrupts the development of his capabilities, and thus his ability to add value (Nussbaum, 2000).

The Social Exclusion of Children and Youth

It is important to attend to the mechanisms of social exclusion that begin in childhood, since those who are vulnerable early in life are more likely to become socially marginalized adults (Taket et al., 2009). Disrupting this process of social exclusion early is important to the development of capabilities. Nussbaum (2000) describes three types of capabilities: basic, internal, and combined. Basic capabilities refer to the potential of individuals, internal capabilities refer to the "mature conditions of readiness" (p. 84), and combined capabilities refer to an individual with internal capabilities who is able to express those capabilities.

The individual's social context plays an important role in both the development of internal capabilities and the expression of those capabilities (i.e., combined capabilities). If parents or families experience social exclusion for any reason, such as through the victim blaming that may arise from receiving cash assistance, these parents may become alienated from the wider community, which can be transferred to their child(ren) (Taket et al., 2009). The limited familial relationships that arise from the family's social exclusion may also contribute to the child's detachment from her schools, communities, and peers, which poses challenges not only to the training of her internal capabilities, but to her combined capabilities as well.

The child welfare and juvenile justice systems are

positioned to disrupt the processes of social exclusion deriving from the damaged relationships in the child and her families' social spaces, potentially enhancing her development of capabilities. At the same time, services may contribute, whether intentionally or unintentionally, to social exclusion (Axford, 2010).

What is the Usefulness of a Social Exclusion Perspective?

A social exclusion perspective draws attention to "the role of structural forces in producing disadvantage" (Axford, 2010, p. 743). Thus, this perspective can help reveal ways in which systems are effectively addressing the needs of this population of dually-involved youth, or how these institutional structures are contributing to the accumulating disadvantage. While we do not dismiss the agency that individuals have in making choices about their lives, our concern is with improving social structures to increase the likelihood that dually-involved youth will be equipped with the capabilities they need to become fully-connected, participatory adults (i.e., belong).

A social exclusion framework can be used in conjunction with other theoretical explanations, since social exclusion includes a combination of economic, social, political, psychological, and spatial dimensions (Axford, 2010; Taket et al., 2009). Social exclusion is dynamic and multidimensional, and can be experienced in a variety of ways (Taket et al., 2009). For example, Ryan and Testa's (2005) social ecology of maltreatment framework focuses on the lack of social capital that results from child maltreatment, which results in weakened attachments and relationships between the child and both family and society at large. This approach highlights processes of social exclusion that operate through the social (weakened relationships) dimension.

In another example, Lee, Courtney, Harachi and Tajima (2015) identify a process of social exclusion where foster youth aging out of care with legal system involvement are less likely to attain a high school diploma. For these youth, dual system involvement results in reduced acquisition of human capital, which limits their ability to participate in the labor market, thus operating in the economic dimension. Furthermore, removal from the home and placement in the foster care and/or

juvenile justice system reflect spatial exclusion. A social exclusion framework thus draws attention to the systemic factors that may limit an individual's developmental capacity.

A social exclusion perspective combined with a capabilities approach can highlight how groups of people may be systematically marginalized, and thus inform institutional structures that are more socially just. For example, females comprise about a third of dually-involved youth in studies with co-ed samples (Culhane et al., 2011; Halemba et al., 2004; Herz & Ryan, 2008). Attention to potential gender socialization differences is important to ensure the development of equal capabilities for females. Toward that end, Nussbaum (2000) explores the gendered nature of capabilities, focusing on the tangible ways in which women "lack support for fundamental functions of human life" (p. 1), pointing to deficits in the areas of nutrition, well-being, and cognitive functioning; vulnerabilities related to violence, abuse, discrimination, intimidation, and harassment; and inadequate opportunities for education, employment, legal recourse, and civic engagement. A capabilities "approach makes each person a bearer of value, and an end" (p. 73) rather than a "supporter of the ends of others" (pp. 5-6) as is often the case for women (Nussbaum, 2000). Understanding how institutional processes may operate differentially by marginalized identities such as gender, race, and class, as well as the intersections of multiple identities, is important to ensuring the development of equal capabilities across groups, but such an explicit examination is beyond the scope of this article.

One Mechanism of Social Exclusion

An institutional life course perspective is useful for identifying patterns of exclusion and belonging. Since individuals respond to the opportunities and constraints provided by institutions (Breen & Buchmann, 2002; Taket et al., 2009), examining aggregate patterns of behavior will reveal institutional structures. The concepts of institutional constellation, institutional alignment, and institutional integrity (Lee, 2014) are useful to understand how the institutional life course and social exclusion perspectives are compatible.

The institutional constellation refers to "the specific set

of institutions operating in an individuals' life, and also emphasizes the importance of their lived experience" (Lee, 2014, p. 716). For example, the family, school, neighborhood, and possibly religious institutions play an important role in the socialization of children and adolescents, and thus comprise an individual's institutional constellation. The institutional constellation of a dually-involved youth includes the child welfare and juvenile justice systems, which have intervened "in an attempt to redirect the socialization of a young person" who has been maltreated or delinquent (Lee, 2014, p. 723).

Institutional alignment is "the degree to which an institutional constellation is aligned to dominant values and norms," (Lee, 2014, p. 719). System intervention that detains youth risks contributing to accumulating disadvantage, since the youth is being separated from mainstream society and exposed to peers who may hold antisocial values (Axford, 2010). These institutions risk reducing the youth's sense of belonging when they prevent youth from fostering relationships with family, school, and community institutions, normative institutions which are more likely to align with dominant cultural values and social norms (Axford, 2010; Lee, 2014).

Institutional integrity refers to the coherence between institutions within an individual's institutional constellation (Clemens & Cook, 1999; Lee, 2014). The institutions of child welfare and juvenile justice reflect low institutional integrity. For example, the juvenile justice system itself faces competing mandates of child welfare and child punishment (Feld, 1999). Similarly, the child welfare system promotes the safety, permanency and well-being of children, which can be contradictory, such as when a child's safety is at direct odds with permanency (Pecora & Harrison-Jackson, 2016). The contradictory messages of these systems illustrate low institutional integrity. The addition of the juvenile justice and/or child welfare system to the dually-involved youth's institutional constellation increases the likelihood of poor institutional integrity. Consequently, the worsened state of the individual's institutional constellation can exacerbate developmental challenges and may hinder the acquisition of capabilities necessary for a successful transition into adulthood, thus representing a process of social exclusion (Lee, 2014).

System interventions often focus on the youth and do not

address poor institutional alignment and institutional integrity throughout the rest of the youth's institutional constellation. For example, caregiver factors that contribute to high risk for child welfare involvement include mental health, substance use, domestic violence, and a history of child abuse and maltreatment (Marcenko, Lyons, & Courtney, 2011; Staudt & Cherry, 2009). Many of these families are defined by their lack of resources, and thus are forced to focus on short-term survival, with serious implications for their children (Mitchell & Campbell, 2011). Children from excluded families may be socialized into a short-term survival mentality, but these skills can make it difficult to participate in the long-term (i.e., primary) labor market. Ultimately, a focus on the well-being of the youth involves a comprehensive assessment of and investment in the youth's institutional constellation.

Applying a Social Exclusion Framework to the Literature

The social exclusion framework draws attention to the processes operating within socializing institutions to exclude a youth (i.e., prevent the development of capabilities), the ways those institutions are also excluded (i.e., are disconnected and lack agency), and the ways the youth at the center of the institutional constellation is impacted by these dynamics.

Family Contexts

Dually-involved youth are commonly from disadvantaged families who may have common experiences of social exclusion, and may not have the agency to change their situation nor the capability to fully participate in society as a result of poverty and government policies. For example, a single mother working a minimum wage job may want to move to a larger apartment to provide enough space for her children, but if she works more hours in order to afford it, she may lose her eligibility for food stamps and Medicaid. The child welfare and juvenile justice systems are ill-equipped to provide sufficient support to the family system (Halemba et al., 2004; Howell, Kelly, Palmer, & Mangum, 2004; Krinsky & Liebmann, 2011; Mitchell & Campbell, 2011). Two studies provide examples of how the social exclusion framework extends study implications.

First, using data from assessment reports for dually-involved youth in Los Angeles County, Herz and Ryan (2008) sought to understand the relationship between certain factors (e.g., demographics, placement status, educational status, mental health problems, substance use issues, and juvenile justice involvement) and the outcomes of the 241.1 hearings. At the time of the study, the Los Angeles County law—Section 241.1(a) of the California Welfare and Institutions Code—required that youth who come into contact with the child welfare and juvenile justice system be placed in only one system. According to the study, "the following risk factors significantly increased the likelihood of becoming a delinquency ward: living with a relative or in a group home (versus living in a foster-care placement); having a history of running away from a placement; having previous 241.1 referrals; being detained at juvenile hall after arrest; and having a substance abuse problem" (Herz & Ryan, 2008, p. 6). The authors recommend changes to the juvenile court system, including more attention on the family to address long histories of problem behavior and damaged relationships.

Second, Ryan, Williams and Courtney (2013) hypothesized that youths with a juvenile offense and maltreatment history would have higher recidivism rates than youths without a maltreatment history. The authors analyzed administrative data and found that dually-involved youth (those with an active child welfare case) had a higher risk of delinquency recidivism than crossover youth (those with a closed child welfare case). The authors also proposed that the type of neglect adolescents experience is fundamentally different from the neglect that children experience; for older youth, parental neglect is often about outright conflict in the parent-child relationship (an act of commission) rather than inadequate supervision (an act of omission) for younger youth. The child welfare system is designed to address acts of omission on behalf of the parents rather than the acts of commission such as a parent-child relational issues that can be a byproduct of the neglect. Thus, if neglect is a parent-child relational issue for adolescents, this would imply a need for interventions that address family dynamics, rather than those that focus on individual behaviors.

Both studies highlight the lack of institutional integrity

for dually-involved youth, as reflected in the conflicting messaging that these youth receive as both a dependent and a delinquent. Services depend on whether a youth is a dependent or delinquent, so that dually-involved youth are likely to receive fractured services. This lack of integrated services will complicate the development of capabilities necessary to succeed in adulthood. Thus, the Los Angeles County 241.1 law, in ensuring that the youth retains status in one system, may be useful in eliminating the conflicting messages, thereby increasing coherence of services and institutional integrity. Yet, the law prevents dually-involved youth assigned to the juvenile justice system from retaining their status as dependents, therefore sublimating needs associated with the youth's past abuse or neglect. This policy raises questions about the youth's ability to build trusting and meaningful connections to other positive adult figures without addressing prior trauma. In other words, these roles of dependent and delinquent, and the way the system responds to a youth with these dual roles, may negatively impact the youth's development of capabilities and ultimately, sense of belonging.

Both studies usefully draw attention to the family context. Herz and Ryan (2008) highlight the failure to account for the family context when assigning youth to the jurisdiction of either the child welfare or the juvenile justice system, as well as when prescribing the interventions they receive. Ryan et al. (2013) use social capital and social control theory to hypothesize that consistent investments from parents and other key socializing agents are critical to healthy development, and thus for preventing delinquency. This perspective highlights the role these investments play in "instill[ing] a sense of attachment and commitment that tie children to family members and conventional role models" (Ryan et al., 2013, p. 4553). In other words, these investments develop important social connections for these youths and help instill a sense of belonging.

While drawing attention to the family highlights the importance of those relationships in developing a youth's capabilities, a social exclusion perspective situates the family within the larger institutional context. Many of these families experience multiple forms of social exclusion, including economic and spatial exclusion (Bynner, 2001; Marcenko, Hook,

Romich, & Lee, 2012; Mitchell & Campbell, 2011). A social exclusion framework identifies the structural forces that prevent families from accessing the requisite services, information, and time to nurture their child(ren). Thus, a social exclusion framework indicates the need to work with the family to increase their capabilities so that they can adequately care for and socialize their children.

School Contexts

Dually-involved youth require increased academic and behavioral support to meet school expectations (Gonsoulin, Darwin, & Read, 2012). One study that draws attention to the youth's school context is Ryan, Testa and Zhai's (2008) study, which examined the risk for delinquency among 287 African American male foster youth between the ages of 11 and 16 in Cook County, Illinois using measures of attachment, commitment, and permanency. The authors accessed administrative data from both the child welfare and juvenile justice system, including demographics, maltreatment reports, child welfare services, and information pertaining to delinquency petitions. They also conducted surveys, interviews, and computer-assisted self-interviews with both youth and their caregivers. The authors identified foster parent-foster child attachment and commitment to socializing institutions such as church and school as the most important protective factors. On the other hand, the authors indicated that lack of commitment to school and church as well as school suspensions were the primary risk factors associated with an increased likelihood that foster youth engage in delinquency.

A more recent study conducted by Lee and Villagrana (2015) also focused on risk and protective factors, but compared them for dually-involved and non-dually-involved youth in a large urban county. Using administrative records, the authors concluded that dually-involved youth had higher risk and lower protective factors than non-dually-involved youth, and that dually-involved youth engaged in delinquency at an earlier age than non-dually-involved youth. Lee and Villagrana (2015) also found that "poor academic achievement, patterns of truancy and suspension, disruption in school, and an absence of an educational program increased the risk of recidivism for both groups of youth" (p. 25). Thus, the authors

suggest the importance of collaboration between the education system and the dependency system in order to "interrupt the pathways into juvenile offending" (Lee & Villagrana, 2015, p. 26).

Both studies highlight the importance of the school system in preventing delinquency among dually-involved youth. Indicators of broken connections with the schools, such as a lack of commitment, suspensions, truancy, and poor academic achievement, were key factors related to delinquency. Thus, the authors recommend that child welfare professionals "facilitate and maintain youth involvement" with schools (Ryan et al., 2008, p. 136). A social exclusion framework, however, would draw attention to the dynamic ways the school environment may contribute to the youth's lack of success in school and eventual disconnection. If there were institutional integrity in the youth's institutional constellation, her experiences at school would reinforce her experiences with her families and neighborhoods, as well as the child welfare and juvenile justice systems. A lack of institutional integrity would occur if the school is aligned to pro-social norms and values but families and/or neighborhoods are not. Moreover, if the youth feels she must hide her experiences with the child welfare and juvenile justice system at school, the school can become a structural force that contributes to feelings of alienation—psychological exclusion—among dually-involved youth.

Similarly, Lee and Villagrana (2015) acknowledge the connection between the challenges that dually-involved youth face in school and their subsequent delinquent behavior. However, when youth are suspended from school, they are prevented from developing internal capabilities necessary to transition to adulthood. This may be a key, early step in the youth's eventual "catastrophic detachment from society" (Axford, 2010, p. 738). Moreover, the school's exercise of control diminishes the agency of dually-involved youth, and are often one aspect of a larger process of excluding problematic children—regardless of what has happened to them—out of the very institutions that are critical to the development of their capabilities. This process is the opposite of cultivating a sense of belonging.

Neighborhood Contexts

While the child welfare and juvenile justice systems

influence the lives of dually-involved youth during their childhoods, their neighborhoods and communities are salient institutional structures both before and after system involvement. The institutional constellations of many dually-involved youth include neighborhoods that contribute to poor institutional alignment. Two studies that highlight the neighborhood context illustrate the application and usefulness of our proposed social exclusion framework.

First, Abrams, Shannon, and Sangalang (2008) sought to understand the impact of a transitional living program as well as past child protective services involvement on recidivism rates among felony-level juvenile offenders who have reentered an urban community in the upper Midwest. The six-week program focused on promoting independent living skills through case management while the youth transitioned back to work and school environments. The authors found that the transitional living program did not make a significant difference on recidivism rates at one year post-release, but rather, program participants were slightly more likely to recidivate than non-participants. Moreover, dually-involved youth were more likely to recidivate than their corrections-only peers. The authors concluded that skills learned in the absence of critical relationships and contexts appeared to be ineffective (Abrams et al., 2008), reflecting the harm of the spatial exclusion youth experience when removed from their families and communities.

Second, a later theoretical article by Abrams and Snyder (2010) argues that patterns of juvenile crime are shaped by neighborhood disadvantages, such as lack of affordable housing and employment, incidence of community violence, and availability of alcohol and drugs. The authors emphasize neighborhood effects—the results of living in one neighborhood that those living in another neighborhood would not experience—to understand youth delinquency in general, and the poor outcomes of dually-involved youth, in particular. The authors suggest that family interventions alone might be insufficient because they fail to "target the larger neighborhood institutions and structures that affect youth and family well-being" (Abrams & Snyder, 2010, p. 1789). Rather, the authors posit that ecologically-driven juvenile reentry interventions

are needed to substantially reduce repeat offending.

Both articles recognize that the community environment powerfully influences the opportunities, or lack thereof, that dually-involved youth are able to access long before and long after their system involvement. Thus, the authors suggest that excluded communities contribute to the exclusion of youth by preventing their development of capabilities. Moreover, both studies acknowledge the unique challenges faced by dually-involved youth who experience placement instability, which contributes to their social, psychological, and spatial exclusion, and a growing lack of a sense of belonging. Thus, even the best-designed transition services that target individuals will be ineffective as long as youth return to contexts and systems that are disempowered and disempowering.

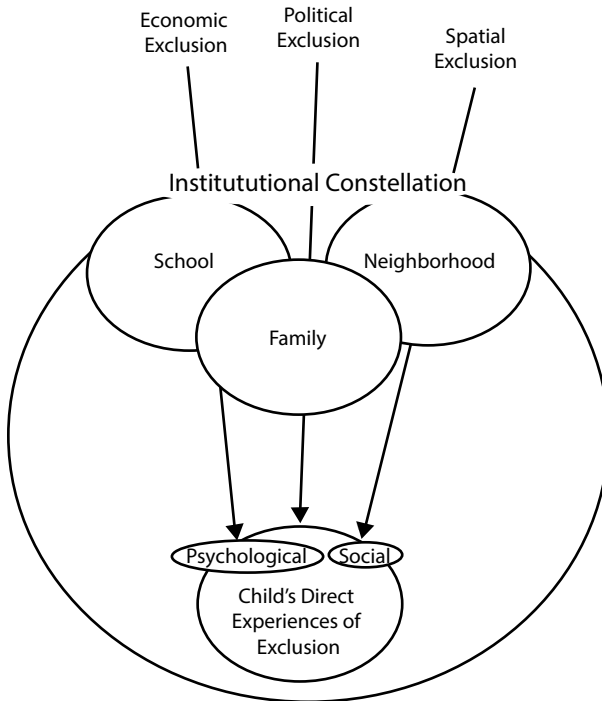
To improve the effectiveness of transitional living services for dually-involved youth Abrams et al. (2008) suggest closing the "practical and logistical gaps in reentry plans" (2008, p. 533). The authors believe the gaps result from youth returning to a largely unchanged community where they may associate with peers and influences that prevent them from reaching the goals set forth in their reentry plans (Abrams et al., 2008). Thus, prescribing reentry plans that assume the individual youth has the agency to either change their environment or abandon their community altogether may not be effective. These communities may provide the youth with a familiar source of belonging—potentially a stronger sense of belonging than other, pro-social institutions. Even if time away from the community has enabled the youth to develop internal capabilities, without a community context that allows the youth to express those capabilities, the youth has not acquired the combined capability. Therefore, instead of focusing solely on equipping dually-involved youth with internal capabilities, more needs to be done to improve opportunities in their excluded communities.

The Stages of Social Exclusion for Dually-Involved Youth

We propose three stages of social exclusion for dually-involved youth, which reflect a process of accumulating disadvantage. We propose these stages as a heuristic for

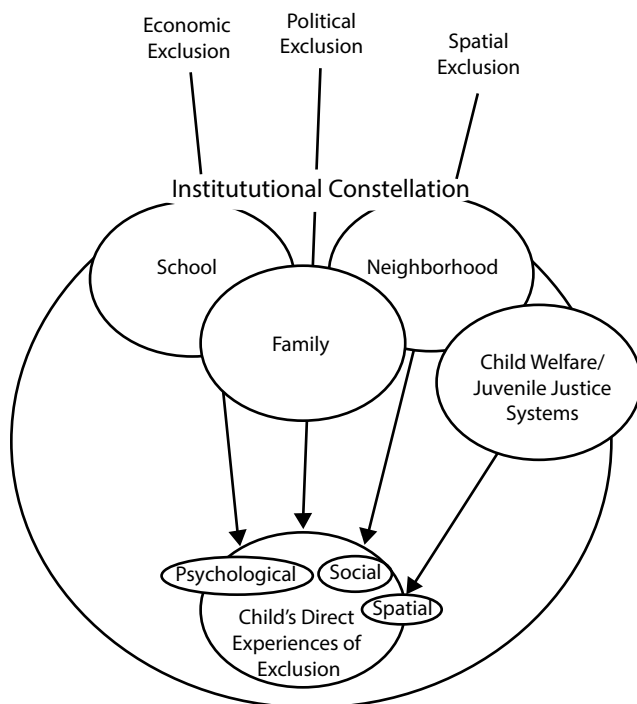
critically examining the social exclusion of youth rather than as a prescriptive or predictive set of experiences that all dualy-involved youth will experience.

Figure 1. First Stage of Social Exclusion.



The three stages, depicted in figures 1-3, are defined by a combination of the type of exclusion (psychological, social, spatial, economic, and political) and proximity of exclusion (proximal versus distal). As an individual moves from childhood, through adolescence and into adulthood, accumulating disadvantage contributes to exclusion in additional domains, reflecting the interconnected nature of developing (or failing to develop) capabilities across various domains (Sen, 1999). For example, a child who is deprived of elementary capabilities, such as malnourishment from poverty, may struggle to pay attention in school and thus fail to become literate, which may then limit her ability to read news analyses and engage in the political process with thoughtful confidence.

Figure 2. Second Stage of Social Exclusion: Public System Intervention

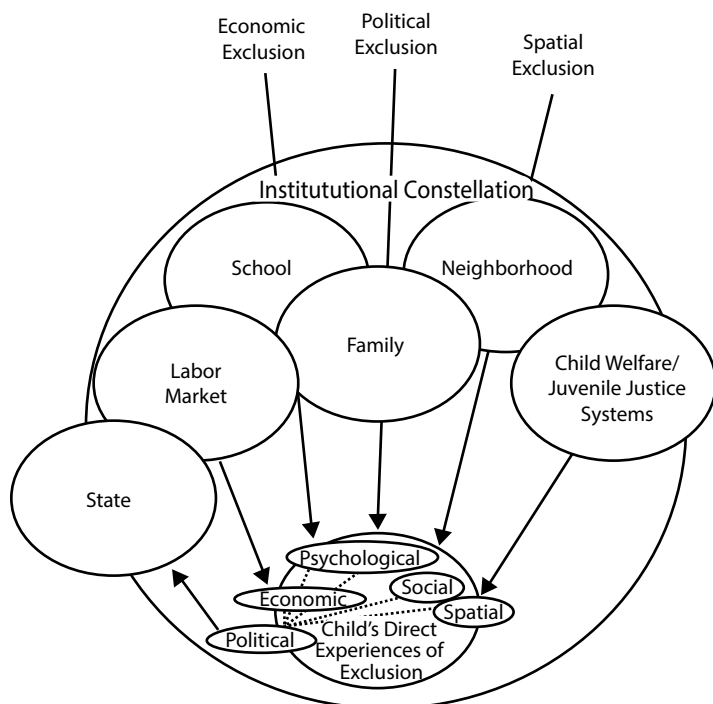


In stage one, depicted in figure 1, the youth primarily experiences psychological and social exclusion, while being affected by the spatial, economic, and/or political exclusion of his most proximal socializing institutions, the family, school and neighborhood. The development of "internal capability usually requires favorable external conditions; indeed it very often requires practicing the actual function" (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 85). Thus, the excluded family, school, and/or neighborhood are contexts that are unlikely to facilitate the development of the child's capabilities. For example, a child will experience the deprivation of elementary capabilities that accompany poverty through a family that is economically disconnected. Or, an adolescent will experience a lack of job opportunities through his neighborhood that is spatially excluded.

The second stage, depicted in figure 2, reflects the intervention of the child welfare and/or juvenile justice

systems, and may bring the direct experience of spatial exclusion to the child if she is removed from the home, school, and community. Spatial exclusion is especially likely for juvenile justice youth, especially those with a child welfare history, since they are more likely to be placed in detention than other youth (Ryan, Herz, Hernandez, & Marshall, 2007). This unstable context results in disrupted relationships and weakened attachments to normative institutions, and is not likely to facilitate the development of internal capabilities.

Figure 3. Third Stage of Social Exclusion: The Transition to Adulthood



In the third stage, depicted in figure 3, the youth begins to directly experience economic and political exclusion as he is making the transition to adulthood. In particular, youth who age out of these systems are expected to be economically independent between the ages of 18-21 (before their peers will have graduated from postsecondary school). However, their prior experiences of exclusion may have prevented them from

developing the capabilities (e.g., acquiring the necessary human capital such as high school diploma, postsecondary degree, or internships) necessary to participate in the long-term job market. Furthermore, they may experience political exclusion if they are working on the secondary labor market and may not have work schedules conducive to voting or may not have a driver's license. Additionally, these young adults may experience political exclusion as a result of their other experiences of exclusion. For example, welfare participants have been characterized as a group with low political participation, and evidence suggests that this is related to their belief that they "will not be heard because, as welfare recipients, they occupy a degraded status" (Soss, 1999, p. 371). Thus, welfare participants neither feel valued nor believe that they can make a contribution, and thus are deprived of the capability to exercise their political rights.

While young children may initially experience exclusion through their families, schools, and neighborhoods, these social contexts contribute to the prevention of their ability to develop capabilities. These youths experience accumulating disadvantage as they begin to directly experience additional types of exclusion, ultimately resulting in their own social exclusion through underdeveloped capabilities as they transition to adulthood.

Implications for Practice and Future Directions

This social exclusion framework for dually-involved youth encourages a holistic approach by focusing on the institutional constellations that are operating for each youth. By focusing interventions and services on the individual, current approaches may inadvertently employ "victim blaming" (Taket et al., 2009, p. 191). Rather, to ensure the youth's development of capabilities and a sense of belonging, the social institutions operating in the youth's life must receive broad investments and be calibrated to ensure both institutional alignment and institutional integrity. Research has found that children at high risk for social exclusion benefitted the most from in-community services rather than specialty services (Buchanan, 2006). Therefore, investments in families, schools, and neighborhoods will send

messages of value to young people at risk of becoming involved in the child welfare or juvenile justice systems, while also creating opportunities for them to develop the combined capabilities needed to thrive as adults. Such a broad approach of investments will foster belonging, which is "a consequential motivator of human behavior" (Prilleltensky, 2014, p. 152). For example, policies that create universal preschool and after-school programs represent investments in children and youth that cultivate their sense of worth and capabilities, which can replace mechanisms of social exclusion with mechanisms of social belonging (Heymann & Earle, 2011).

Future research can test this proposed framework by focusing on "the dynamic experiences of moving into and out of exclusion and connectedness, to better understand how to foster connectedness and reduce exclusion" (Taket et al., 2009, p. 192). Such studies might include efforts to operationalize the three elements of social exclusion by examining how a youth's social networks, capabilities, and sense of belonging evolve over time. Next, studies might conduct measurement work to create a measure of social exclusion, likely measured through latent constructs. Finally, studies would examine whether social exclusion is related to participatory adult outcomes. Additionally, future work should consider an intersectional lens when examining institutional processes.

A social exclusion framework is necessary to create structural transformation for both social work practice and research (Gil, 1998). It contextualizes an individual within their structural environment while acknowledging the fluidity of time. Most importantly, it provides a critical analysis of power dynamics that need to be disrupted in order to create a more socially inclusive society that cultivates equal capabilities for each youth, and convinces each youth that they belong.

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Community Partnerships for the Prevention of the Worst Forms of Child Labor among Migrant Children in Samut Sakhon, Thailand: A Policy Note

TSZ KI K. TANG

DAVID ENGSTROM
San Diego State University

SOMPONG SRAKAEW
Labor Rights Promotion Network

This policy note examines the child labor prevention model employed in Samut Sakhon, Thailand, which aims to prevent migrant children from entering the worst forms of child labor in the seafood processing industry. The model consists of transitional education and corporate social responsibility (CSR). The analysis examines the context of child labor and explores the challenges and opportunities to make anti-child labor efforts more effective.

Key words: Thailand, worst forms of child labor, education, community development, consensus organizing, corporate social responsibility, migrant children

Perspectives on Child Labor

Child labor is recognized as a global problem, but remains difficult to define. Global policy statements, such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child [UNCRC], 1989) and the International Labor Organization Convention No. 182 (1999), offer broad guidance on child labor, but leave regulation and enforcement to individual countries. Migrant child labor in Thailand illustrates these difficulties.

In highly developed countries where child labor has essentially been abolished, the term *child labor* carries a negative connotation and is often equated with the most exploitative

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situations (such as human trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation). Its troubling nature can quickly induce an all-or-nothing rhetoric among child rights advocates, who believe that all forms of child labor should be eliminated and who tend to employ reactionary strategies, such as boycotting products produced by child labor, to achieve their ends.

This rigid vision of child labor is far from the realities experienced in different societies where the concept of childhood is locally and culturally constructed (Myers, 2001). History shows that child labor has had a fluid definition that adapts to societal changes. For example, the abolition of child labor in many Western societies came about after industrialization; before then, many child workers did hazardous work in factories, fields, and mines (Jansson, 2012). Nowadays, it is not uncommon to find older children in poor, working-class families in the United States helping to supplement family income by working part-time outside of school. Similarly, in Thailand it is certainly still culturally accepted for children to help family businesses with small chores, such as exchanging money in a convenience store. These less intense forms of work are distinguished as "light work"—work that is permissible for children of minimum working age under specific circumstances that are not harmful to the child's health and safety, and that is deemed potentially beneficial to the child's development (International Labor Organization [ILO], 1973; White, 1996). However, this term may not translate between countries: in Thailand, there is no distinction between "child labor" and "light work"; children doing permissible work are just categorized as "non-child labor."

Hence, cultural specificities should be considered when conceptualizing child labor, to prevent overly simplistic reactions or initiatives. At the same time, scholars caution that cultural relativism cannot be used as a valid argument when the "labor" fundamentally violates basic human rights, as in human trafficking and sexually exploitative situations (Ballet, Bhukuth, & Radja, n.d.). Cultural differences do not invalidate the need for an international standard on child labor, but they must be taken into account when considering how child labor is experienced differently across societies (Myers, 2001).

Given the contentious nature of the subject, there is a growing recognition that it is not necessary to eliminate all

forms of child labor, but certainly the worst forms of child labor that are the most detrimental to children's rights and development (Edmonds, 2007). This pragmatic view acknowledges the reality of child labor and takes into account the complexity behind decision making in a child's family as to financial and household needs. Children may enter work intermittently when adult income in the household falls and the household becomes insecure as more resources are allocated to childrearing; this is especially true for high-fertility households (Dessy, 2000; Emerson & Knabb, 2006). Others voluntarily enter paid work, because they see domestic work as less useful and less productive (White, 1996). Households have to determine how a child's time is allocated when that time carries an economic value (Dessy, 2000). This suggests that if a family's financial need is not carefully weighed, simply removing the child from work might result in poor families suffering financially, at least in the short term (Anker, 2000; Bissell, 2001, 2005).

Hazardous Child Labor and the Worst Forms of Child Labor

According to the ILO Convention No. 182 (ILO, 1999), "hazardous work" is the largest category of the worst forms of child labor (ILO, 2013). It is defined as work in dangerous or unhealthy conditions that could result in a child's death, injury, or illness (ILO, 2013). Other worst forms of child labor are defined as all forms of slavery (such as trafficking and debt bondage), prostitution and pornography-related activities, and illicit activities (such as drug trafficking) (ILO, 1999). The Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor allows ratifying countries to define what the "worst forms" are based on the work activities (Edmonds, 2009). Additionally, the widely adopted United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989) addresses hazardous child labor in Articles 32 and 34, but does not specify what hazardous work entails; this leaves room for interpretation by individual countries.

The inconsistency and uncertainty in the definition of child labor can lead to difficulties in making policy and designing effective anti-child labor practices. While the worst forms of child labor can be easily defined, child work and hazardous work depend on more subjective perceptions. Scholars suggest using separate estimates to differentiate the various forms and level of severity of child labor, such as number of work

hours, job characteristics, and working conditions (Anker, 2000; Edmonds, 2009). Greater specificity in the definition also helps take into account work in the domestic realm, which at a high intensity can be detrimental to a child's development but is often neglected in the mainstream child labor debate, which generally focuses only on a child's economic activities (Edmonds, 2009).

On a macro level, child labor contributes to generational poverty because the human capital is not being developed in the area of education: children are at work, not in school (Anker, 2000). In general, scholars support education as a long-term strategy to combat child labor, yet making education compulsory so as to replace work completely could have worse consequences for the child and family (Anker, 2000; Basu, 1998; Dessy, 2000; Emerson & Knabb, 2006). Hence, along with mandating education, scholars suggest implementing alternative anti-child labor programs and strategies to specifically address poor children's—and their families'—financial needs and also issues concerning educational quality, such as information and awareness campaigns, flexible schooling, conditional cash transfers, educational scholarships, improving the adult labor market, and proper implementation and enforcement of laws (Anker, 2000; Basu, 1998; Edmonds, 2007; Soares, Ribas, & Osorio, 2010; Yap, Sedlacek, & Orazem, 2001).

Other issues are the unequal returns of education for the children, due to varied quality of education across regions and social groups; varied access to information about the economy; and access to different labor markets (Emerson & Knabb, 2006). When social mobility is completely restricted, especially in an environment where child labor is a generational phenomenon, the child could be trapped in child labor and low socioeconomic status (Emerson & Knabb, 2006). Hence, education alone might not have the intended positive consequences if strategies to increase the degree of opportunity (e.g., increasing quality of education and better access to higher-paying jobs) are not simultaneously put in place (Emerson & Knabb, 2006).

Child Labor in Thailand

In Thailand, domestic labor shortages for low-skilled jobs such as construction and fishery have resulted in a large population of migrant workers (between 2 and 4 million persons) from neighboring countries (Chantavanich, 2007). The few and restrictive legal channels for work migration in Thailand, however, result in a large underground labor force. Child labor is used in various industries in Thailand, including manufacturing, sex work, street begging, fisheries, and construction. Child workers can be in short-term or seasonal jobs at border areas, or long-term jobs in border provinces and big cities (Vungsiriphisal, Auasalong, & Chantavanich, 1997).

In particular, Samut Sakhon province is a major hub for low-skilled migrant workers because of its profitable shrimp export industry, which averages \$2 billion in revenue each year and processes 40% of the shrimp produced in Thailand (Solidarity Center, 2008). The province has an estimated migrant population of 400,000 to 500,000, with at least half (between 200,000 and 300,000) being unauthorized (Labor Rights Promotion Network Foundation [LRPNF], 2012b). More alarmingly, a sizeable subpopulation of the migrants are children and youth, who make up about 25% of the migrant population (IPEC Project Coordinator, personal communication, February 22, 2013; LRPNF, 2012b).

Some of these children migrated with their parents and relatives who came to Thailand to seek jobs; some came alone with a broker. However, many of the "migrant" children in Samut Sakhon were born in Thailand to migrant parents. Although born in Thailand, these children are not entitled to Thai nationality and are considered stateless persons (Committee for the Protection and Promotion of Child Rights [CPPCR], 2009). Migrant children also face long-term problems other than the immediate health issues from exposure to harmful work environments. Many lack proper documentation, which limits their access to social services (CPPCR, 2009). Another issue is low education attendance, which can be caused by many factors, including parental mobility affecting the child's school attendance, poverty leading to the need for children to work, parent separation, language barrier, and unsupportive parents (CPPCR, 2009).

Description of Samut Sakhon

To understand how different policies and strategies play out, it is important to learn how child labor takes place in the local context. Samut Sakhon province is one of the biggest seafood processing industrial areas in Thailand, with 909 seafood processing factories, according to the Labor Protection and Welfare Office (LRPNF, 2012b). The majority of factories are subcontracted, primary-processing sheds (PPs) for the larger factories, known as *longs*. PPs have existed for several decades in Samut Sakhon; initially, resident Thai families processed raw seafood materials (peeling shrimp and cleaning squid) in their own homes. However, as the industry grew significantly larger, these *longs* began processing more raw materials and needed to hire extra help, most of whom were migrant workers.

Processing jobs at the *longs* have no fixed time schedules; workers are paid by the number of kilograms of seafood (mostly shrimp) they have processed. Due to their traditionally small sizes, many of these PPs are not officially registered as businesses with the government. This remains the case for some, even when the number of employees reaches between 50 and over 200, and the nature of the work becomes industrial rather than home-based. Being unregistered makes it very difficult for the government and affiliated larger factories to regulate and monitor the production by these PPs, making them a prime venue for the use of child labor. Although a portion of the PPs have sought to upgrade their status to that of a company, most do not see any incentives to register, because they would have to pay business fees and meet regulations. Moreover, many of these PPs began as small, family-size operations, and most do not have the export business knowledge to handle the complicated documents and procedures involved in operating at that level (TFFA, personal communication, March 22, 2013). Thus, sanctions currently in place for using child labor have only a marginal effect on PPs, because they are unregistered businesses and largely invisible to government regulators.

The head of the Provincial Office of Employment estimated that the labor demand in the seafood processing industry is quite high, perhaps 300,000 workers (Field notes, May 17, 2013). With this high demand for workers, the PPs often ignore

state regulations and hire younger children (LRPNF, 2012a). An estimate of 6,000 to 8,000 children under age 15, and about 20,000 to 30,000 children between 15 and 18 years of age, are working in the PPs (LRPNF, 2012a). Quite a few of the children between 12 and 14 years of age also claim to be 18 years old or older, to meet legal requirements for work registration (Field notes, May 17, 2013).

The jobs done by children are mostly contract jobs, with pay based on the number of kilograms of shrimp peeled (Field notes, May 17, 2013). Most children work alongside family members and receive less pay; often their pay is included in the payment to the adult family members (ILO, n.d.). Most working children are unregistered, which puts them at risk for deportation even if their parents are registered workers (LRPNF, 2012a).

The work conditions of seafood processing jobs are dangerous and harmful to children. Some children who are not in school work night shifts, from 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. consecutively, with no rest period (ILO, n.d.; LRPNF, 2013). The work tasks include peeling shrimp (sometimes with a knife), washing fish, cleaning squid, and unloading heavy loads at the market, as well as drying, boiling, and peeling the seafood (ILO, n.d.). Research shows that children who work peeling shrimp and collecting fish are required to work long hours with their hands and feet soaking in filthy water (Vungsiriphisal et al., 1997). These work tasks constantly expose children to dirty water and substances that cause skin disease, respiratory infections, and stomach illnesses (Solidarity Center, 2008); the PPs also lack standard sanitation facilities, so workers are prone to developing and transmitting diseases. Children are given work tools (gloves and scissors) that offer minimal protection when used consecutively for long hours, and there are no special protections for operating machines and equipment in the plants (ILO, n.d.). Injuries and sickness are poorly managed, with store-bought drugs only, as many do not have public health insurance (Solidarity Center, 2008). Given the dangerous work and hidden work locations, working children are extremely vulnerable to accidents, labor exploitation, physical and sexual abuse, and threats (Field notes, May 17, 2013).

Anti-Child Labor Efforts in Samut Sakhon

To address the problem of child labor, with a special focus on education, a coalition of government agencies, international and local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and businesses affiliated with international corporate social responsibility organizations was created in Samut Sakhon. The lead coordinating organization was the Labor Rights Promotion Network Foundation (LRPNF), a local human rights NGO involved in promoting migrant rights and combating human trafficking. The coalition has been involved in documenting the use of child labor in the province, mitigating its use, and promoting education for migrant children.

The coalition sought to identify and remedy gaps in formal education of Burmese migrant children and youth. Many Burmese children worked and also attended informal schools that provided limited education and no transcript of attendance and graduation. Changes in Thai law allowing migrant children to attend Thai schools seemingly bolstered efforts regarding education. LRPNF reached out to Thai public schools to set up a partnership to implement transitional education centers or learning centers within schools, so that migrant children could enter the official educational system once they were proficient in the Thai language. The goal was to help migrant children integrate into mainstream Thai society and access better career opportunities, as opposed to low-paying seafood processing jobs, by helping them achieve formal education. Despite enrolling several hundred Burmese migrant children and youth in local schools, the LRPNF estimates that only 10% of the target population is presently enrolled in school (Field notes, May 17, 2013).

Challenges

Corruption and ambivalence in the governmental sector challenge efforts to address child labor. Laws and policies are in place, but implementation and enforcement are poor because businesses bribe government inspectors to avoid fines or punishments for using child labor. Government officials are seemingly indifferent to corrupt practices, which results in national policies essentially having no effect at the operational

level. The current national efforts on child labor prevention and implementation of laws are weak, largely due to the government being ignorant of the problem at hand or unengaged in problem solving.

Another major challenge is negative public attitudes toward migrants. Many local schools and Thai parents are still against enrolling migrant children, perceiving that migrant children compete with Thai students for educational resources (Field notes, May 17, 2013). Thai teachers were found to be more sympathetic toward migrant children, but they are by no means advocates; they help to maintain the status quo and often give preferential treatment to Thai students (Field notes, May 17, 2013). Observations of public life in Samut Sakhon revealed a highly segregated social space, which creates great challenges for increasing social integration and better understanding between the Thai and Burmese communities.

Other challenges arise in implementing educational policy. Only a handful of schools are willing to accept migrant children, and those schools are then overwhelmed because demand for seats greatly exceeds supply. Schools also frequently face internal personnel issues, lack of Burmese and Burmese-speaking teachers, frequent relocation of children, and lack of field staff collaboration partners who can work with migrants (Field notes, May 17, 2013).

The challenges are compounded by the many obstacles to retaining children in school. Many migrant families still do not see the value of education, because adult family members have low educational attainment and expect children to work to support the family (IPEC Project Coordinator, personal communication, February 22, 2013). Once enrolled, children are at high risk of dropping out: risk factors include frequent mobility, possible return to the home country, fear of arrest because of unauthorized status, and the need to do at least intermittent work to help support the family (Field notes, May 17, 2013; IPEC Project Coordinator, personal communication, February 22, 2013).

Last, weak policy implementation at the provincial level often leads children to enter the labor force. For example, 15- to 17-year-old children are legally permitted to work if they register with the Provincial Employment Office—but employment

office staff tend to avoid helping them, as they know that many forge documentation to pass as older (Office of Employment, personal communication, June 29, 2013). However, these employment office practices push even work-eligible children into underground jobs that expose them to abuses. Also, some local officials do not follow the national policy of allowing migrant children to attend Thai schools, and face no liability because the provincial educational office is not involved in overseeing policy implementation (Field notes, May 17, 2013).

Local experts on the education of migrant children stated that the transitional education model is promising and could be replicated to assist other schools and educators in Thailand in working with migrant children. Currently, improvement and expansion of the transitional education model are restricted, as the burden falls entirely on NGOs. Also, because the provincial education office is not involved, the national policy has no practical effect: the decision to accept migrant children is made by individual schools. This complicates the NGOs' and practitioners' tasks on the operational level. A state agency should take on more responsibility for implementing the educational provision regarding migrant children, by centralizing the model and thus expanding the capacity of many schools. Also, there are longer-term strategies: With greater business funding, the collaboration aims to increase the capacity of schools to accept migrant students by increasing the number of partner schools and staffing them with teachers experienced in the transitional education model (Field notes, May 17, 2013).

Because of the physical and psychological harms associated with shrimp/seafood processing, the schools participating in the model do not merely provide education; they are also safe spaces protecting migrant children from dangerous work environments. For example, they can serve as childcare centers, so that children of working parents are not left idle or unsupervised at home, and thus prone to joining in illicit activities. The schools are also major social bridges between migrants and local Thais (P. Nuntase, personal communication, July 9, 2013).

Conclusions

The dynamics of child labor in Samut Sakhon are those raised in the literature. Schearf notes that among migrant children, irregular school attendance or dropping out completely is common, as children choose work to help their families financially (Schearf, 2012). This echoes the concerns of other scholars that educational provision does not necessarily exclude the need to work, when poverty is still a continuous struggle for families (Bissell, 2005; Okyere, 2013). Further, scholars suggest that enforcing mandatory education without considering the families' financial struggles may only push children in poor families further into informal and unprotected work areas, as they seek work out of necessity (Basu, 1998; Dessy, 2000; Emerson & Knabb, 2006). Therefore, the Thai government should proceed with caution and assess the social environment properly before enforcing compulsory education for migrant children. Instead, it should focus on increasing migrant children's access to education—overcoming obstacles to enrollment and retention—and the quality of education in the first place.

Currently, in the Samut Sakhon model, the larger seafood export businesses supporting the educational collaborative only offer one-time financial help (such as scholarships and building schools), mainly to improve their company image and public relations with international buyers (Field notes, May 17, 2013). However, their participation is inconsistent and does not offer long-term incentives for migrant parents to enroll their children in school.

If implemented correctly and with appropriate long-term planning, corporate social responsibility initiatives can drastically reduce the child labor rate. For example, in the 1990s, for the first time an entire business industry (in this case, the Bangladeshi garment industry) signed an agreement with the international governmental organizations ILO and UNICEF (Neilsen, 2005) to address child labor use. The ILO became the external monitor of the industry's performance under that agreement. Subsequently, child labor use went from 42.8% to 4.5% in inspected garment factories and from 3.6% to 0.26% in the total Bangladeshi labor force (Neilsen, 2005). Another

Bangladeshi knitwear export association entered into a similar agreement and five-year program (2006-2011) with the ILO and a local NGO to develop and improve mid-level governance to target the lower supplier chain where child labor mostly occurs (Wise & Ali, 2008). To achieve real results, the Samut Sakhon model will have to demand stronger commitment from the seafood business associations, as well as mid-level management in the PPs, to develop and enforce similar long-term mandates on abandoning child labor use and providing more consistent financial assistance for education.

Child labor occurs in settings that are difficult to access and even find out about, which makes dependable estimates difficult to construct. Certainly the seafood processing industry illustrates this point. The international media has played a role in keeping child labor in the shadows by the enormous attention it gives to human trafficking at the expense of ignoring the more pervasive problem of child labor. Further investigation is warranted to achieve a better and separate understanding of child labor and human trafficking in the fishing and seafood processing industries, and may result in more balanced reporting.

The child labor prevention model that has been implemented in Samut Sakhon since 2004 targets migrant children who are at risk of entering exploitative labor in the seafood processing plants. The model provides those children with transitional education that leads to Thai formal education, through which they will have a better chance of integrating socially into the local area and obtaining improved career opportunities. Experts generally view the effect of these efforts on the child labor situation in Samut Sakhon as positive. Nonetheless, the experts identified common challenges, such as corruption, negative local attitude toward migrants, and lax policy implementation, that hinder program effectiveness on the operational level. Further, the study cautions against hasty enforcement of compulsory education. Rather, as shown in several other countries and industries, efforts aimed at alleviating poverty among migrant families and ensuring accessibility and quality of education would be most effective, so that the migrant children's need to work in the first place can essentially be eliminated and school enrollment and retention enhanced.

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Social Work in the Black Community: A Collective Response to Contemporary Unrest

STEPHENIE HOWARD

Howard University

The frequent outpour of civil unrest in the Black community in response to instances of social injustice is a manifestation of outrage and exhaustion with systems that perpetuate socioeconomic disparities and human rights violations in this community. Lessons learned from historical practices of social work in the Black community may enhance the potential of contemporary social workers to shepherd this social consciousness into sustained social change. Toward this goal, this paper will synthesize and juxtapose the parallel paths taken by early Black social workers and their majority counterparts. This paper will also identify strategies for integrating the legacy of early Black social workers into contemporary social work education and practice.

Key words: African Americans, social work, community development, advocacy, social welfare

The recent outpour of civil unrest in Baltimore, Maryland is a cyclical response to an over-exhaustion with systemic disparities and inequities that continue to plague the Black community. Indeed, we have witnessed this unrest erupt into violence in numerous cities throughout American history. As a few examples, we can recall the race riots in New York City in the 1960s (Biondi, 2007), the Miami riots in the 1980s (Campbell, 2015), and the riots that took place in Los Angeles in the 1990s (Lopez, 2015). Though this response to civil injustice in the Black community varies in intensity and impact, the potential of this activism to create sustained change may be dubious without access to governmental decision making.

Social workers are in an advantageous position to join with the Black community and to shepherd this unrest into social change. However, social work practice at large has not been

active at the level of political and social engagement necessary to effectuate change in the Black community (Bent-Goodley, 2015; Reid-Merritt, 2010; Reisch & Andrews, 2001). In fact, some scholars posit that macro-social work practices that have been instrumental in creating change in the Black community have been marginalized by the increasingly clinical orientation of the field (Donaldson, Hill, Ferguson, Fogel, & Erickson, 2014; McBeath, 2016; Reid-Merritt, 2010; Reisch, 2016). Still, leading organizations in the field, such as the National Association of Social Workers (2008) and the Council on Social Work Education (2015), continue to espouse a commitment to macro-practices, such as social activism and community development. To uphold these ethical and value statements, social workers may benefit from a better appreciation for and understanding of macro practices and strategies that have been instrumental in redressing socioeconomic inequities in the Black community. To this goal, this paper will outline the historical use of macro interventions by early Black social workers in the Black community. The author demonstrates how contemporary practices differ from those traditionally practiced in the Black community. This is the first paper to synthesize the welfare activities and juxtapose the parallel paths taken by early Black social workers and their majority counterparts.

The Marginalization of Black Social Workers

The development of separate paths of social welfare for early Black social workers and their majority counterparts is the product of exclusionary practices in the early professionalization of the field of social work (Leighninger, 2000). As one source of marginalization, Black social scientists were systematically denied academic appointments in major colleges and universities and opportunities to speak to the Black perspective (Ladner, 1973). Furthermore, racial segregation limited the interactions of Black social workers with the majority group (Leighninger, 1987; Reid-Merritt, 2010). In fact, Inabel Burns Lindsay, the founding dean of the School of Social Work at Howard University, admonished the National Conference of Social Work for holding its 1942 meeting in a segregated hotel, which minimized the inclusion of Black social workers in conference activities (Crewe, Brown, & Gourdine, 2008). The

segregation of Black social workers and their majority counterparts extended to the welfare networks such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) (Gordon, 1991). As a result of these exclusionary practices, Black social workers "found it difficult to make an impact on general professional development" (Leighninger, 1987, p. 10).

The marginalization of Black social workers is also attributed to restrictive educational requirements in the early development of social work. As the field of social work moved to educational requisites, Black social workers were unable to gain access to training programs for lack of funding and discriminatory enrollment practices (Leighninger, 1987). Accordingly, many Blacks who contributed to the provision of social welfare in the Black community did not possess a degree in social work. For instance, as indicated by Sandra Crewe, the dean of social work at Howard University, Dorothy Height, who is recognized by NASW as a social work pioneer, did not receive a degree in social work (personal communication, November 18, 2014). Even more, as a result of these discriminatory practices and professional standards, in 1920, research indicates that there was not a single Black social worker "south of Washington D.C. or east of St. Louis," despite evidence that Blacks were actively engaged in social welfare activities (Platt & Chandler, 1988, p. 294).

Black Social Work

To appreciate the full contribution of Black social workers to the delivery of social welfare in the Black community requires an expansion of the construct of social welfare. Traditional constructs of social welfare focus on the provision of alms to the poor; however, as explained by Gordon (1991), early Black social workers saw the cause of poverty in the Black community as stemming from systems of inequity. Accordingly, early Black social workers worked to deconstruct racist systems of inequity and to empower the Black community. Thus, an analysis of early practices in the Black community must take into account activities aimed at improving conditions for the home, community, and race (Shaw, 1991). These practices are often referenced in the literature as social work in the Black community. However, for the purpose of this paper, this author has

chosen the term: Black Social Work. The concept of Black Social Work aligns with Howard University's Black Perspective, which is a sociocultural framework for reaffirming and empowering the lives of all marginalized and oppressed people while giving primacy to the experiences of the Black community (Gourdine & Brown, 2015). Likewise, Black Social Work is the delivery of professionally guided interventions with an emphasis on practices and strategies that are responsive to the unique needs of the Black community and its inherent strengths and resiliencies. Black social workers are those who have a philosophical orientation towards the problems in the Black community as stemming from systems of inequity and a history of oppression.

The concept of Black Social Work may be likened to a movement in that it constitutes a group of individuals working in unison toward a shared goal. While the individual activities of specific players are integral to the movement, the movement as a whole is more than a series of individual efforts. The movement represents a collective response. As such, it would be remiss to minimize the study of Black Social Work to isolated narratives and profiles. An examination of Black Social Work entails the examination of the goals and ideologies shared among the collective Black social work community.

History of Black Social Work

The Freedmen's Bureau was the first federal system of welfare extended to Blacks in the United States. However, contemporary social welfare literature often marginalizes references to this historic agency. The minimization of content on the Bureau within the context of social welfare may be due to its departure from traditional constructs of social welfare. This innovative approach to welfare was driven by the unique needs of formerly enslaved persons. Previously, policymakers viewed poverty as an individual problem (Trattner, 1999). In fact, "individualism and laissez-faire" were the dominant philosophical orientations for welfare during the nineteenth century (Trattner, 1999, p. 77). The Freedmen's Bureau, in contrast, intended to use federally funded programs to ameliorate systemic causes of poverty. In addition to the provision

of direct services to include food, clothing, transportation, and the reallocation of abandoned land, the Bureau also established separate institutions and services to promote fair treatment of Blacks (Stern & Axinn, 2012). Bureau agents, concerned with discriminatory practices in legal proceedings that relegated harsh penalties to Blacks, tried cases involving Black defendants, offered legal consultation in local proceedings, and provided military intervention to overturn judgments involving gross injustice (Harrison, 2007). Additionally, concerned with the legitimacy and stability of the Black family, the Bureau formalized marriages, assisted Blacks in tracing their family lineage (Harrison, 2007), helped Blacks to secure employment, and supervised contracts with employers (Trattner, 1999). Finally, the Bureau established hospitals to provide medical care to Blacks (Trattner, 1999). In fact, Sojourner Truth, alongside a number of Black physicians, was appointed as assistant to the surgeon of the Freedmen's Hospital in Washington (Lindsay, 1956). Truth was not the only Black administrator of the Freedmen's program. While race and class precluded their full involvement, there were a number of Blacks that assisted in the management and day-to-day operations of some of these programs (Lindsay, 1956).

Because the Freedmen's Bureau was conceptualized as a temporary provision of aid, it strived for capacity building through educational programs. The Bureau founded schools and sent Northern teachers to the South to educate formerly enslaved Blacks (Beilke, 2005). Oliver Otis Howard, the commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, aligned himself with Northern ideology at the time that espoused education as an essential means of prosperity (Hansen, 2008). Likewise, Horace Mann, a legislator at the time, maintained that education was the "great equalizer of the conditions of men" (Stern & Axinn, 2012, p. 45). In regards to the formerly enslaved persons, Minister Henry Martyn Dexter maintained that "unintelligent citizens are a curse to a republic and a dead weight" upon its citizens (Dexter, 1865, p. 15). Thus, General Howard and other Northern leaders conceptualized educational programs for formerly enslaved Blacks. The curriculum focused on literacy and industrial skills. Administrators encouraged teachers to instruct on "the arts of civilized life" as well as reading and

writing (New England Freedmen's Aid Society, 1865, p. 49).

The importance of education is carried forward by Black social workers well after the dissolution of the Freedmen's Bureau. In fact, many Black social work pioneers were "educators by occupation" (Gordon, 1991, p. 563). For instance, Mary McLeod Bethune founded the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls in 1904, which later became Bethune-Cookman College (Jones, 2013). Nannie Helen Burroughs established the National Training School of Negro Women and Girls to increase their employability as "cooks, laundresses, chamber-maids, ladies' maids, nurses, housekeepers, and clerks" (Perkins, 1997, p. 234). Dorothy Height's first job after graduating from college was teaching at Little Red Schoolhouse (Height, 2009). Their penchant for education is reflected in their welfare activism in the Black community. Indeed, many Black welfare programs promoted education "ranging from basic literacy skills to advanced professional education" (Beilke, 2005, p. 10).

Education was not just a means for individual capacity building, it was also a source of community development. For instance, the program agenda for the National Urban League (NUL), one of earliest Black social work agencies (Jones, 1928), focused on generating and enhancing educational and industrial opportunities for marginalized Blacks (Martin & Martin, 1995; Reid-Merritt, 2010). The impetus behind this ideology was Black leaders such as W.E.B. Dubois and Booker T. Washington, who promulgated education as a form of self-help that would foster economic advancement in the Black community (Beilke, 2005). Further, as Congressman Ronald Dellums asserts, education was perceived as a cyclical process, whereby the educated youth would return to the communities to provide education and aid (personal communication, December 2, 2014). Thus, education functioned as a tool for community development.

Similar to education, mutual aid also played an important role in services in the Black community. Black club women, who dominated the early Black helping field (Carlton-LaNey, 2001; Shaw, 1991), and Black fraternal organizations (Dunbar, 2012; Reid-Merritt, 2010; Shaw, 1991) were instrumental in helping to establish mutual associations that provided banking,

homesteading, education, and other essential services within the Black community. Black club women, in particular, also provided mutual aid groups and Black settlement houses. These spaces provided traditional services; but, they also afforded Blacks the opportunity to come together over a shared history of oppression and to build an alliance (Hounmenou, 2012). Within these organizations, Black social workers functioned to mobilize the community towards participatory action. As such, they represent early constructs of community development (Shaw, 1991).

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, Black club women were so effective at providing social services to Blacks that they "outperformed the Black churches" that traditionally met the welfare needs of the Black community" (Martin & Martin, 2002, p. 138). Elmer P. Martin and Joanne M. Martin (2002) conducted a systematic review of the contributions of the Black churches to social welfare. They maintain that Black churches had a long history of providing social services to Blacks. Even during the enslavement of Blacks, Black churches served as "a social center, a source of social therapy and social support, [and] a form of social control" (p. 101). For runaways, the churches provided amenities that would otherwise be provided by the slaveholder. During reconstruction, W.E.B. Du Bois joined with Alexander Crummell to carry forward these ideals of spirituality and the helping tradition initiated by the Black churches. They used spirituality as a form of empowerment. Not only did spirituality give value and meaning to the Black race, but it also recognized race as a sacred concept worth fighting for. This sense of pride challenged "racist ideology that justified" the subordination of Blacks (Martin & Martin, 2002, p. 117). The centrality of the church in welfare may have been influenced by the limitations of local government to provide social services to Blacks. Thus, during the twentieth century when Black club women were actively engaged in welfare, the connection of the church to welfare diminished. However, Black social workers later revitalized the relationship between spirituality and social work practice. In fact, churches were prominent institutions in nurturing an environment that promoted social justice activism during the Civil Rights Movement (Martin & Martin,

2002).

The progressive era represented a time of philosophical change among early Black social workers in which they were optimistic about the potential of alms-based systems of social welfare to promote change in the Black community (Martin & Martin, 1995). However, this period did not last long; the Great Depression exposed Black social workers to the limits of these traditional systems of aid. During this time, social workers who had previously placed faith in the contemporary welfare agenda were disillusioned by the misappropriation of resources and the subsequent deleterious conditions of urban Blacks (Martin & Martin, 1995; Trattner, 1999). While the New Deal promoted nondiscriminatory practices in welfare and employment, states often circumvented these policies to deny Blacks equal access to social services (Barrow, 2007). Thus, the New Deal programs reinforced discriminatory practices aimed at removing Blacks from the welfare rolls and minimizing their benefits (Martin & Martin, 1995). In fact, research indicates that "racism was a potent force in the welfare systems of some states and localities" (Leighninger, 1987, p. 91).

The disconnect between the rights promised by federal laws and what Blacks experienced encouraged Black social workers to advocate for reform at higher levels of social and political action. As articulated by Dorothy Height, the Black social workers believed that "progress came through the courts; protection promised by the federal laws based on democratic principles always has meant more to Black people than to whites: it's the only hope we have" (Height, 2009, p. 134). Hence, Black social workers supported reformists in advocating for social justice. Additionally, the New Deal situated Black social workers in positions of authority as heads of some of the programming (Barrow, 2007; Martin & Martin, 1995). Mary McLeod Bethune was appointed to the Director of Minority Affairs for the National Youth Administration, where she served from 1936 to 1943 (Jones, 2013). Forrester Blanchard Washington oversaw the Negro Work in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (Barrow, 2007). He used his position to bring attention to and redress policies that promoted poverty and dependency on welfare in the Black community (Barrow, 2007). Among his cohort of Black New Deal leaders were Eugene Kinckle Jones of the National Urban

League, Robert Weaver with the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and Lawrence Oxley, an accredited social worker (Barrow, 2007). Later social work pioneers continued to maintain a commitment to social activism. For instance, Ron Dellums saw poverty and unemployment as the cause of mental instability among Blacks and fought at the local and federal levels of government to advocate for equal access to education, workforce training, and employment (Dellums & Halterman, 2000).

Historical Development of the Majority Social Work

Contrary to Black Social Work, the majority social work focused on individual pathology, or a clinical orientation to practice. The Charity Organization Societies, one of the earliest official social work agencies, began practice with a "narrow, moralistic, and individualistic attitude toward poverty" and its causes (Trattner, 1999, p. 101). They operated from an ideological perspective of poverty as the product of personal inadequacies (Leighninger, 2000; Trattner, 1999). Their primary means of social welfare was the provision of charitable goods. The Charity Organization Societies coordinated the charity agencies at the time to make both the recipients and the donors more accountable for their aid. In investigating the poor for their entitlement to aid, social workers formulated a system of service delivery referred to as casework (Leighninger, 1981; Spano, 1982; Trattner, 1999). As their practice became more organized, they discovered that there were social and economic causes of poverty (Trattner, 1999). These concerns exposed social workers to their need for an educational understanding of poverty and its causes (Trattner, 1999). They found support in psychotherapy (Leighninger, 1981; Spano, 1982).

The literature indicates that the merger of social work and psychotherapy was a productive union. For example, Mary Salter Ainsworth credits James Robertson, a psychiatric social worker, with inspiring the methodology for testing attachment theory for which social work case notes provided the empirical evidence (Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991; Ainsworth & Marvin, 1994). This was not an uncommon partnership. In return for their work, social workers received training in psychotherapy (Trattner, 1999). Psychotherapy served to validate

the experiences of social workers in the field, thereby providing a scientific basis of practice and responding to the call of critics who questioned the integrity of the profession (Spano, 1982; Trattner, 1999).

With a foundation in psychotherapy and casework, social workers were able to respond to the needs of "a new clientele" brought about by wartime activities during and after World War I (Leighninger, 1981, p. 195). Social workers were called upon to assist in the assessment of potential draftees for service in the armed forces (Trattner, 1999). Further, there was an increased need for social workers in the treatment of service-related injuries and dysfunction (Leighninger, 1981). In fact, in 1920, the U.S. government established medical services at the local and state levels to include psychiatric care for soldiers and veterans (Trattner, 1999). This initiative was followed shortly thereafter with the development of the federal Veterans Bureau and the establishment of a chain of hospitals for veterans (Trattner, 1999). These new settings called for clinically-trained social workers to assess and treat service members and their families. In fact, at the time, the demand for psychiatric social workers in war-connected agencies was so great that it depleted staffing supply among public social service agencies (Leighninger, 1981).

In 1930, clinical priorities were briefly eclipsed by the demands brought about by the depression, which exposed social workers to the systemic causes of poverty and the vulnerability of the middle class (Trattner, 1999). These concerns called for "bold new action" (Barrow, 2007, p. 202). Social workers responded to the challenge with "a professional experiment" in social activism (Leighninger, 1987, p. 89). Leighninger (1987) reports that in 1934, the American Association of Social Workers assembled on a national scale to make recommendations for the advancement of policies on behalf of impoverished persons, marking the first time a group of accredited social workers had assembled on a national platform to advocate for political action. The ensuing proposal advocated for long-term federally-funded direct relief programs (Leighninger, 1987). Social workers in the majority also testified at congressional hearings on the need for increased public relief (Leighninger, 1987; Stern & Axinn, 2012).

Many of the subsequent programs and policies created new avenues of employment for social workers in public welfare settings (Trattner, 1999).

Despite national attention, this new-found activism and promotion of public welfare services dwindled following push back from legislators, who described social workers as "meddling" and resented the imposition of their ideals on their business affairs (Leighninger, 1981, p. 159). Likewise, this new position was also contested within social work (Stern & Axinn, 2012). For instance, in her 1930 presidential address to the National Council of Social Work, Miriam Van Waters maintained that social work is distinct from the "reformer, militantly urging a program of reform" (Leighninger, 1981, p. 94). This campaign was successful in returning mainstream social work to its clinical priorities following the dissolution of the New Deal (Leighninger, 1981).

In addition to ideological and political motives in the gravitation of the majority social workers to a clinical orientation, funding was also a major force. For instance, near the end of World War I, the Red Cross funded training programs that prepared social workers to address the mental health and related needs of soldiers, returning veterans, and their families (Austin, 1997; Trattner, 1999). The Red Cross was also a major employer of clinically-oriented social workers, employing over 3,000 in war-related jobs (Leighninger, 1981). The Commonwealth Fund also provided financial support towards the preparation of social workers for medical settings and child guidance clinics (Austin, 1997; Trattner, 1999). Finally, the establishment of the National Institute of Mental Health and the passage of the 1949 National Mental Health Act established significant funding opportunities for students in the examination of issues related to mental health (Austin, 1997). These initiatives also provided federal funding to states and private institutions for the promotion of activities related to the study and practice of mental health services (Trattner, 1999). The growing emphasis of clinical work and the shrinking investment in the training of social workers for public settings is reflected in the diversion of funds away from schools of social work and social work students by the federal Bureau of Public Assistance and the Children's Bureau (Austin, 1997).

The influence of the majority ideals on the development of the profession of social work is apparent in contemporary education, practice, and policies. In practice, the clinical case-work methodology developed by the Catholic Organization Societies continues to be prevalent. In fact, contemporary mainstream social work indicates a strong preference for clinical orientations of practice (Reid-Merritt, 2010; Reisch, 2016). Concurrent with the growing focus on clinical concentrations of practice, there is a shrinking investment in community development and organization (Donaldson et al., 2014; Reisch, 2016). This trend in practice is coupled with a divestment in community organization and community development course offerings in social work education (Donaldson et al., 2014; Reisch, 2016). Strategies for teaching social activism have also been largely neglected by social work faculty (Dudziak & Profitt, 2012). Parallel to these trends in social work practice and education is social welfare reform, with an emphasis on pathology and individual causes of poverty. Indeed, contemporary social welfare, with its time limits and work requirements, harkens back to the philosophical orientation of the moralizing Charity Organization Societies (Allen-Meares & Burman, 1995; Gordon, 1991; Trattner, 1999).

Implications for Contemporary Social Work

The civil unrest exhibited in the Black community in response to social injustice is evidence of outrage and exhaustion with systems that perpetuate socioeconomic disparities and human rights violations in this community (Bent-Goodley, 2015). Social workers are in an advantageous position to enhance the potential of this social consciousness to effectuate sustained social change on behalf of this community. As posited by Bent-Goodley (2015), "there is no greater time for the reemergence of social work activism in the profession" (p. 103). Towards this goal, it is essential to integrate the legacy and traditions of Black Social Work into social work education and practice. Integral to this goal is the training and preparation of social workers invested in the advancement of the Black community. A Black Social Work-oriented curriculum would help social workers to understand their collective power and

instruct them to use such power as an agent of change. As advised by former Congressman Ron Dellums, social workers "have a unique capacity and responsibility" to organize and represent the interests of the community (personal communication, December 2, 2014). As such, social work education should not only espouse a commitment to activism, but it should also instruct on strategies and techniques and provide students with the necessary skillset (Dudziak & Profit, 2012).

In addition to their roles as advocates, it is important for social workers serving the Black community to understand the legacy of Black Social Work and to integrate this knowledge into practice. Towards this goal, there are a number of histories and anthologies of Black social welfare that may enhance social work curriculums (see Bell, 2014; Carlton-LaNey, 2001; Gasman & Sedgwick, 2005; Martin & Martin, 2002; Martin & Martin, 1995; Reid-Merritt, 2010). Social workers may also benefit from an increased representation of Black scholarship in social work texts (Carlton-LaNey, 2001). Importantly, the examination of Black Social Work in mainstream and core textbooks should be framed as a collective response to the unique needs of the Black community. This knowledge should be an integral learning objective in the preparation of social workers practicing in the Black community.

Conclusion

This article has drawn attention to two parallel paths of social welfare and provided a synthesis of the activities practiced by both early Black social workers and their majority counterparts. As demonstrated in this paper, Black Social Work practices were guided by the pejorative legacy of slavery and the cultural traditions of the Black community. Within the enslaved community, the members learned to rely on one another to meet their needs. They further bonded over a shared sense of oppression. This group consciousness promoted mutual aid and community development activities among Black club women and fraternal organizations. Additionally, social workers espoused education and spirituality as a means of capacity building. Education and work training promoted the economic advancement of Blacks, while spirituality

fostered empowerment and militancy. Furthermore, Black social workers engaged in social justice activism to advance the Black agenda.

The philosophy undergirding the social welfare activities of early Black social workers was the perspective of poverty as a systemic problem. However, as previously described, due to issues of race and class, Black social workers were marginalized in the professionalization of the field and their practice values were minimized. As a result, contemporary practice looks strikingly different from Black Social Work. Contrary to Black social work, the majority social work was founded on a moralistic perspective of poverty, and early social workers assumed the task of investigating the poor for their entitlement to aid. In doing so, majority social workers developed a method of practice known as casework. Supported by casework methodologies and psychiatric priorities in the government sector and private practice, majority social workers gravitated to a clinical orientation to practice, which is reflected in contemporary social work education, policies, and practice. The disparity between contemporary practice and that of Black Social Work calls for concerted efforts to integrate the traditions and values of Black Social Work into social work education and practice. Through continued scholarship and sensitivity to the unique needs of the Black community, social workers can be active in helping to redress the impact of oppressive and discriminatory systems that continue to plague the Black community.

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Mixed-Status Families and the Threat of Deportation

ELOISA P. HAYNES

Baylor University

This article offers a description of deportation, explores the effects of deportation in the lives of mixed-status families, and outlines the social and economic cost of deportations to American communities. This article argues that the toll imposed on U.S. citizens, both relatives of those deported and members of the community, renders deportation, in most circumstances, an unfavorable policy that does more harm than good. A policy which is intended to protect Americans and curtail unauthorized migration instead creates injustice, fragments families and communities, and creates a significant negative impact on the U.S. economy.

Key words: mixed-status families, deportation, undocumented immigrants, mental health

Ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments.

Maximilien Robespierre, Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789

Beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, one can trace a consistent past of exclusionary immigration laws in the United States, with three major periods of deportation since the First World War. During the Great Depression, Mexican immigrants were often blamed for the economic hardship experienced by some Americans, which made them targets for deportation (Hagan, Rodriguez, & Castro, 2011). The United States deported approximately one million individuals of Mexican origin, of which, some estimate, about sixty percent were American citizens ("America's Forgotten History," 2015).

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Then in 1954, Operation Wetback went into effect, and under this program more than one million Mexican immigrants were deported. The most recent wave of deportations have been under the watch of President Barack Obama (Hagan et al., 2011), who has been called by critics "the Deporter in Chief." He earned this affectionate title after the Department of Homeland Security confirmed that more than two million immigrants were deported during Obama's administration (Epstein, 2014).

Introduction

It is estimated that there are over 11 million non-citizens living in the United States without proper immigration documents (Schueths & Lawston, 2015). Reading such a statistic might mislead legislators and unapprised observers to believe that communities in the United States are neatly separated into two types of groups or families: one composed of American citizens, with full claims to all the rights and responsibilities as outlined in the United States Constitution, and another type of family composed of immigrants, whose rights are conditional and whose loyalties are ever under scrutiny. However, as Fix and Zimmerman (2001) affirm, families in the United States are multifarious. It is estimated that one in ten families is a mixed-status family. Such families can be comprised of a mixture of members who are American citizens by birth, undocumented, legal permanent residents, refugees, naturalized citizens, and so on. In addition, immigrant members of mixed-status families may obtain or lose legal status for a variety of reasons, which further complicates the implementation of immigration law (Fix & Zimmermann, 2001).

Concealed behind the contentious and fiercely debated topic of immigration are the United States citizen husbands, wives, sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters of immigrants. All of these United States citizens are unintended victims of the broken immigration system (Zayas, 2010). Under President Obama's administration, more than two million non-citizens were deported from the United States (Gonzalez-Barrera & Krogstad, 2014). Zayas (2010) estimates that for every two adult individuals deported, one American child is directly

affected. Unfortunately, there are no statistics on the number of United States citizen spouses who are adversely affected by the current immigration system. Most research and scholarly work about mixed-status families focuses on mixed-status parents and children, while overlooking married couples without children.

The Deportation Threat

The most crucial difference between a citizen and a non-citizen (documented or not) is the ever looming possibility of deportation. A deportation order is as serious and as permanent as death itself. The United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) defines deportation as "the formal removal of an alien from the United States when the alien has been found removable for violating the immigration laws" (USCIS, n.d.). However, this definition fails to paint an accurate picture of what deportation means, not only to the individual expelled from the United States, but to everyone who cares for him or her. For many non-citizens their "formal removal" often includes mandatory detention, unreasonable searches, and selective prosecution. Two-thirds of those in deportation proceedings do not have access to legal counsel, and not one of them has the right to an attorney appointed by the state. The so-called "formal removal" of non-citizens is decided in many cases by government employees and is precluded from review by an immigration judge (Kanstroom, 2007).

Non-citizens can be arrested for "looking" undocumented, overstaying a visa, or for a criminal violation. Arrest could happen after a workplace raid, an anonymous tip to the local Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) office, or a simple traffic infraction. Unlike defendants in the criminal system, non-citizens navigating the immigration system have minimal rights. Any evidence obtained in violation of the Fourth Amendment against non-citizens is likely to be used against them in immigration court. They will not be read "Miranda rights" or be told that they have the right to an attorney—they do, in fact, have the right to an attorney, but at their own expense. As mentioned earlier, the federal government will not appoint counsel to non-citizens when it comes to

immigration violations, and they do not have the right to a jury trial. The few non-citizens that have the opportunity to appear before an immigration judge will have the right to be heard, to have the evidence examined, and to receive a written decision. Non-citizens will carry the burden of proof, and if they receive a deportation order, appealing the decision often means facing incarceration during the length of the appeal—which can take years (Kanstroom, 2007).

Sadly, deportation is not the only harsh government-imposed reality that mixed-status families have to face. Besides the terrifying prospect of being torn apart from a spouse or a parent, United States citizens often unexpectedly face the inseparable companion of deportation—mandatory detention of a loved one. Detention is a euphemism for incarceration in sub-standard conditions. Most individuals in detention centers are there because they lack proper documents or while they are awaiting the review of an asylum application. Some of them are there for minor non-violent infractions, such as possession of marijuana for personal use or traffic violations. The detention system in the United States is robust and is made up of about 250 detention facilities (Snyder, Bell, & Busch-Armendariz, 2015).

The American Civil Liberties Union and the National Immigration Law Center report that oftentimes the conditions in detention centers are "appalling and reveal substantial and pervasive violations of government standards" (Snyder et al., 2015, p. 165). For individuals detained and their American relatives, detention means unfathomable isolation and a state of uncertainty. The American spouse or child of the detainee is often unable to visit, due to the geographical location of detention centers. It is common for immigrant mothers and fathers to be detained hundreds of miles away from their families. Immigrant spouses are arbitrarily transferred to detention centers across the country, further precluding legal counsel and visits from family members. At times, relatives have no knowledge of where their loved one is being held (Snyder et al., 2015).

Furthermore, detention centers charge as much as five dollars per minute for telephone calls, which makes calling an attorney or a loved one price prohibitive for many families.

Solitary confinement is frequently used to discipline individuals in detention, and it is not uncommon for them to be isolated for more than fifteen days at a time. Punishing individuals in detention in this manner is particularly concerning, since serious mental health issues occur with prolonged isolation. Members of the LGBTQ community are usually targeted for solitary confinement for what authorities claim is "their own protection." Reports of verbal, physical and sexual abuse are widespread in detention facilities (Snyder et al., 2015).

Between 2003 and 2011, 107 individuals died in immigration detention. Such a number might seem small, considering the hundreds of thousands of people that go through the detention system. However, each and every death highlights that detention and deportation are systems with little oversight and accountability. For example, lack of public record has made it exceedingly difficult to obtain information on those who have perished in detention—in the past, it has required the joint efforts of *The New York Times*, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Freedom of Information Act to acquire such data (Wong, 2015).

Due to the increased number of individuals being processed for deportation, incarcerated immigrants have become the fastest growing people group in federal custody. In turn, the incarceration of immigrants creates a profitable and growing market for prison corporations. The partnership between the federal government and private corporations creates what Doty and Wheatley (2013) call the "privatization of sovereign functions." This phenomenon does not equate to a reduction of power of the federal government, but rather to a lack of transparency and reduced oversight that enables the state to work in a concealed manner. Lack of transparency leaves non-citizens in detention in an utterly vulnerable situation and at the mercy of private for-profit businesses with delegated power from the state (Doty & Wheatley, 2013).

In addition, private companies which directly benefit from the incarceration of non-citizens heavily lobby at the federal and state levels in order to create policies that benefit their financial interests. In 2006, prison corporations played an important role in influencing the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to begin prosecuting unauthorized immigrants

for infractions that once were considered misdemeanors. The federal government agreed in a contract to have at least 34,000 persons in detention at any given time (Doty & Wheatley, 2013). In short, the combination of politicians scoring political points for being tough on "illegals," and the enticing profit that the incarceration of non-citizens creates for corporations have become the breeding ground for a detention-industrial complex in the United States (Bernstein, 2011).

However, scoring political points is not the only driving force behind politicians' tough stand on immigration. Prison companies spend millions of dollars in campaign contributions supporting politicians who adopt stringent immigration laws. Arizona's SB 1070, the infamous anti-immigrant law, is an example of the unethical relationship between elected officials and prison corporations. More than thirty legislators who co-sponsored the bill received campaign contributions from Corrections Corporation of America, Management and Training Corporation, The Geo Group, and prison lobbyists. The governor of Arizona, Jan Brewer, who signed SB 1070 into law, also has ties to prison corporations. Brewer's principal consultants, Paul Senseman and her campaign manager, Chuck Coughlin, are both former lobbyists for prison corporations ("Prison Economics," 2010).

Becoming One Flesh: U.S. Citizen Spouses Forced to Live the Undocumented Immigrant Life

They've been shocked. Every single person who has heard: their eyes get big, their mouths drop open. They're absolutely shocked. ... When I say deported, they all look at me funny and say, "But you're American. Shouldn't he have just been switched over?" So it's a common misconception that everybody has, that it's just fine and fancy free for these noncitizens to become citizens if they marry a U.S. citizen.

Camille, American wife of an undocumented Guatemalan (López, 2015, p. 94)

The majority of people in the United States erroneously believe that once a United States citizen marries a foreigner

almost immediately and in a seamless manner the foreign partner becomes an American citizen. Misleading media reports and Hollywood movies, such as *The Proposal*, play a part in further misinforming the average American (Schueths, 2012). Navigating the immigration system is a complex, expensive, and laborious process for anyone who undertakes it. However, it is particularly challenging for United States citizen spouses, who in a manner of speaking are required to walk the immigrant journey. Besides paying fees for applications and attorneys, and providing official documents such as a marriage license and identity papers, American citizens are required to prove that their marriage relationship is legitimate. The American spouse has to provide pictures, personal letters, journals, sworn affidavits of friends and relatives, and financial statements in order to prove that the marriage is genuine. Tacitly, the state requires the American citizen to prove his or her allegiance and commitment to the country itself—and so begins the slow but very real stripping of rights of the American citizen spouse. Mixed-status couples undergo scrutiny by the state in a manner that American citizen couples never do (López, 2015).

Since the 1990s, exclusionary immigration policies intended to decrease and discourage unauthorized immigration have had deep and terrible consequences on United States citizens who are partnered with immigrants (Farina, 2013). The process of adjusting a spouse's immigration status is further complicated if he or she entered the United States without authorization. First, the foreign partner must return to his or her home country to attend a consular interview and apply for re-entry. In the mid-1990s, the United States Congress imposed immigration bars on foreigners lacking proper documents. Anyone who has lived in the United States without a valid permit for more than 180 days is barred from adjusting their immigration status and from re-entering the country for three years; any individual who has lived without a permit in the United States for a year or more is barred from adjusting status and re-entering the country for ten years. The law is clear—any non-citizen living in the United States without proper documents is subject to the bar. This is regardless of who they are married to, how

long they have lived in the United States, whether they have close family ties to United States citizens, the circumstances that brought them to the United States, the conditions in their home country, or the assets they possess in the United States (Schueths, 2012).

The only recourse these couples have in order to adjust the immigrant partner's immigration status is to apply for a waiver to overcome the bar by proving that should the couple be separated, the United States citizen spouse would suffer "extreme hardship" (Schueths, 2012). The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA) defines extreme hardship ambiguously, and the decision-making of granting a waiver is discretionary in nature.

[T]he alien must provide evidence of harm to his spouse, parent or child substantially beyond that which ordinarily would be expected to result from the alien's deportation ... Similarly, showing that an alien's United States citizen child would fare less well in the alien's country of nationality than in the United States does not establish "exceptional" or "extremely unusual" hardship and thus would not support a grant of relief under this provision. (Farina, 2013, p. 160)

Proving "extreme hardship" is exceptionally difficult and particularly risky. If the couple is denied the waiver, the decision is final—the couple has no option for an appeal. As could be expected, many mixed-status couples simply desist in trying to adjust status. The denial of a waiver can only mean one of two things to a family: (1) the United States citizen becomes an exile in the spouse's home country (or any other country where they can live together); or (2) they have to live apart from each other (Schueths, 2012).

United States citizen spouses who are forced to leave the United States in order to keep their marriages intact express feelings of deep isolation and betrayal from the country that is supposed to be home to them. Many feel as if they do not belong in the United States because their own country has made them exiles or forced migrants. Others consider the value of American citizenship as null, since the most important thing to them—the ability to live in their country with those they

love—is denied by federal immigration law (López, 2015).

Mixed-status couples who choose to remain in the United States while one partner is undocumented face serious challenges. The United States citizen partner begins to live the undocumented life (López, 2015). The life a United States citizen partner must face is marked with fear and anxiety over the ever present threat of detention and deportation, social isolation in order to protect the undocumented partner, economic restrictions due to the undocumented partner's lack of labor mobility, inability to travel freely, and social marginalization due to the stigma attached to being undocumented (Brabeck, Lykes, & Hunter, 2014). An American citizen husband describes his feelings this way:

Despite being a U.S. citizen, I am not free. I cannot live the American Dream. It is difficult to describe, but try to imagine if you can. Though we try our best to live normal lives, the fear and threat of separation and deportation constantly hangs over our heads ... when she is deported I will be deported as well. That means no more holidays with family. We may lose our house, our jobs, and everything we hold dear, except each other. (Haynes, 2015, para. 6)

Unfortunately, United States citizen spouses are not the only ones who suffer greatly due to the current immigration system. United States born citizen children who belong to mixed-status families face challenges that children of native parents never have to encounter.

Challenges Faced by United States Citizen Children in Mixed-Status Families

According to the United States Constitution, anyone born within the country's boundaries is a United States citizen. The right to citizenship applies to children of immigrants born in the United States—regardless of the parents' immigration status (Colvin, 2008). However, these soon-to-be community members face serious challenges before they are born due to their mothers' limited access to healthcare. Undocumented women in the United States are more likely than citizens to

delay seeking prenatal care, that is, if they are able to seek care at all. Undocumented mothers are more likely to develop complications during delivery. However, research shows that most of these complications could easily be prevented through basic prenatal care—care that their mothers cannot access because of their immigration status (Reed, Westfall, Bublit, Battaglia, & Fickenscher, 2005). Once the non-citizen mother gives birth to her baby, the child is born an American citizen.

Unfortunately, that does not mean that the child will enjoy the same privileges and rights as the children of native parents. For example, in 2015, Texas created new identification requirements to obtain birth certificates, making it very difficult for undocumented parents to obtain necessary documents for their American children (Sakuma, 2015). A birth certificate serves two important purposes: the first one is to function as legal proof of the individual's nationality and citizenship. The second purpose is to serve as legal proof that the individual is indeed the child of the parent(s) mentioned in the birth certificate. However, Texas will not accept consular ID cards or foreign passports without a valid visa—the only two documents that most undocumented parents could provide as identification. Several undocumented parents filed a lawsuit against the state of Texas. In October 2015, U.S. district Judge Robert Pitman argued that "while the Court is very troubled at the prospect of Texas-born children, and their parents, being denied issuance of a birth certificate ... a birth certificate is a vital and important document. As such, Texas has a clear interest in protecting access to that document" (Sakuma, 2015, para. 4). As of the summer of 2016, American children of undocumented parents in Texas can be denied the one document that proves their United States citizenship. Without a birth certificate, American children in mixed-status families become second-class citizens and begin experiencing the same limitations as their undocumented parents.

The Mental Health of American Children in Mixed-Status Families

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines mental health not as the absence of a mental illness but rather a "state

of well-being in which an individual realizes his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and is able to make a contribution to his or her community" (WHO, 2016, para. 2). The WHO argues that good mental health is essential to humanity's individual and collective capacity to reason, feel, interact with one another, make a living, and appreciate life. Therefore, protecting individuals' mental health and advocating for policies that protect and restore mental health should be considered of major concern to individuals and society at large (WHO, 2016).

Research indicates that children with an undocumented parent are subject to daily stressors that shape their mental health. Such children are highly cognizant of their families' legal condition and experience anxiety, fear of separation, and confusion about their ethnic and cultural heritage. Although the existing research is limited, some studies indicate that ten to fifteen percent of children in mixed-status families suffer from depression (Gulbas et al., 2016).

United States citizen children who have gone through the traumatic experience of parental deportation display depression, anxiety, rule-breaking conduct, attention problems, and social withdrawal. These children are collateral damage of the deportation machine in the United States. Some of these young Americans suffer the trauma of parental deportation on United States soil, while others are uprooted from their homes in order to keep the family together. Research shows that American children who are reunited with a deported parent have a painful transition. Besides experiencing a culture and language shock, many see their parents' relationship deteriorate for a variety of reasons, including working long hours to meet the most basic needs and blaming the deportee for the family's current situation. At times, due to the violence in the home country, families are unable to engage in recreational activities together, such as going to the park or other public places (Gulbas et al., 2016).

In some cases, the entire family is so preoccupied with the immigration issues and possible deportation of the undocumented parent or sibling, that the American child feels neglected. The result is that children engage in risky behaviors, neglect school work, and lose interest in everyday activities.

Most recently, researchers have begun to consider immigration status as an important contributing factor of health (Gulbas et al., 2016).

Arguably, the most tragic situation for an American child is to be placed in the foster care system due to the deportation of his or her caregiver(s). In some cases, once the parent is detained by immigration enforcement agents, the detainee has little recourse to make arrangements for his or her children to be looked after. The current system creates the environment for undocumented parents to lose parental rights permanently. Many young Americans are torn from loving parents and channeled into foster care (Oliviero, 2013).

In recent years, it has become increasingly common for undocumented parents to lose parental rights. Sadly, loving and committed parents are forced to prove in court and before welfare agencies that it is in the best interest of their child for them to resume or keep custody. This is particularly concerning, because decisions based on best interest are by nature highly subjective. Determinations on custody are often based on the assessor's biased impression of the parents' ethnic background and socioeconomic status. Those with the power of making such decisions may perceive immigrant parents as a negative influence on the child, or may misguidedly place higher value on raising a child in the American culture than keeping the parent and child together. This perception has disastrous consequences for mixed-status families. A pattern has developed in the way state agencies and family courts rule; more often than not they conclude that allowing a parent in deportation proceedings to keep parental rights and possibly "condemn" the American child to forfeit an American upbringing is against the child's long-term well-being (Yablon-Zug, 2012).

The Economic Cost of Deportation

The media has been efficient at portraying undocumented individuals as the source of many ills in American society. Politicians and media outlets alike assert that unauthorized migrants enter the United States for calculated economic gains such as taking advantage of American social services, stealing

jobs from the native population, and to unashamedly commit other crimes (Browning, 2009).

Often, those who call for the deportation of all deportable "aliens" argue that it is vital for the survival and well-being of any democratic nation to obey, uphold, and enforce the law of the land, period. Such an argument implies that immigration laws are impartial, fair, and for the benefit of the citizenry. The problem with this argument is that, as described in this paper, immigration laws are not fair, impartial or for the benefit of United States citizens. Deportation has been discussed in inflammatory ways during the 2016 presidential election cycle. Then Republican presidential nominee, Donald J. Trump, fervently promised that should he be elected the next president of the United States, he would deport every single one of the 11 million unauthorized non-citizens living in the country (BBC News, 2015).

The current deportation system, which enabled former President Obama to deport more than two million non-citizens in less than eight years, is described by scholars as a "formidable machinery" consisting of a "complex cross-agency system that is interconnected in an unprecedented fashion" (Kanstroom, 2015, p. 466). In fiscal year 2012, the Department of Homeland security spent approximately \$18 billion on immigration enforcement. The costs associated with mass deportation (as the one for which Mr. Trump advocated) is calculated in the billions of dollars, which would be used to locate, apprehend, detain, and transport non-citizens to their countries of origin. The effects of mass deportation would be felt long after the last unauthorized non-citizen is expelled. Just as families are composed of a mixture of citizens and non-citizens, so the United States economy is comprised of an integration of citizens and non-citizens. Immigrants are interwoven into the American social and economic fabric.

For example, one in twenty workers is undocumented (Pew Research Center, 2015a). This means that individuals without proper documents build our stadiums, clean our offices, cook our meals at local restaurants, grow the fruits and vegetables we ate for lunch today, and even brew our cup of Starbucks. Furthermore, approximately 2.8 million, or 19%, of the nation's 14.6 million self-employed workers are immigrants. Contrary

to popular belief, research affirms that "immigrants are also responsible for a good share of the jobs created by self-employed workers, hiring workers at virtually the same rate as the U.S. born" (Pew Research Center, 2015b). In the case of a massive wave of deportation, the United States construction and agricultural industries would suffer significantly due to the vital role that immigrants play in those two areas of the economy (Passel & Cohn, 2015).

In August 2015, Texas A&M AgriLife Research, in collaboration with the Center for North American Studies, released a report outlining the extent to which immigrant labor sustains the dairy industry. In their study, they concluded that if dairy producers were to lose access to one-half of the immigrant labor they currently have, it

... would reduce U.S. dairy herd size by 1.04 million cows, leading to a 24.2 billion pound decline in milk production and 3,506 fewer farms. As a result, retail milk prices would rise by nearly one-third. Total elimination of immigrant labor would reduce herd size by 2.08 million cows, lower milk production by 48.4 billion pounds, and result in 7,011 fewer farms. As a result, retail milk prices would increase by 90 percent. (Adcock, Anderson, Rosson, & Hanselka, 2015, p. 20)

The construction sector of the economy would also be adversely affected by mass deportations. California's and Texas' construction workforce consists of 41 and 39 percent immigrant workers respectively (National Association of Home Builders, 2015). Associated Builders and Contractors Inc. contends that the construction industry is a powerful driver of the United States economy. It cites as an example that overbuilding in the early to mid-2000s played an important role in bringing about the Great Recession. Furthermore, the slow increase of business and residential construction has played a part in the slower-than-usual economic recovery ("The Importance of Construction," n.d.). The consistent and relentless deportation efforts by the Obama administration led to labor shortages in the construction industry. In recent years, the National Association of Home Builders has expressed concern about

workers shortage, especially in states which heavily rely on non-citizens to fill vacancies (National Association of Home Builders, 2015).

A detailed account of the effects of deportation in every area of the economy is outside the scope of this paper. However, one can infer from the examples above that mass deportation of immigrants would have a negative domino effect in the United States economy. If the price of milk were to increase by 90 percent, everyone in the nation who consumes milk and milk products would feel the economic impact of such a price increase. If construction companies cannot find enough workers to meet demand, then projects would take longer to be completed and would be more costly. It is difficult to see the economic argument for spending billions of taxpayer dollars to tear families apart and deport those who, in great part, do the agricultural work necessary to feed the nation.

Conclusion

As discussed earlier, the marital union of a United States citizen and an immigrant does not automatically confer rights and privileges to the non-citizen partner. On the contrary, the United States citizen shares the burdens of the immigrant journey and the limitations of the undocumented life. United States citizen children born with one or two immigrant parents also share in the threats and restrictions imposed by the immigration system. With more than 16 million individuals belonging to mixed-status families, the current immigration system and the detention/deportation regime effectively results in multigenerational punishment—the reproduction of inequality and injustice (Enriquez, 2015).

Deportation, being by far the most common and severe consequence for violating immigration law, is harmful to individuals and families. Fear of deportation creates marginalization for the entire family. Spouses, parents, and children in mixed-status families enter a never-ending, constant state of hypervigilance and fright. Scholars Cecilia Menjivar and Leisy Abrego named this process "legal violence" or "the suffering that results from and is made possible through the implementation of the body of laws that delimit and shape individuals'

lives on a routine basis" (Enriquez, 2015, p. 940). Such legal violence has become normal and acceptable in our society, because it is viewed as rooted in appropriate and reasonable laws.

If immigration laws do not change soon, American communities will have to suffer the long-term consequences of a broken system. Research shows that American infants and children in mixed-status families already demonstrate delayed cognitive development due to their parents' immigration status. Citizen children in mixed-status families usually fare worse educationally and economically than children with native parents. Detention and deportation have detrimental effects on the mental health of mixed-status families including anxiety, withdrawal from society, depression, changes in eating and sleep habits, and disdain for their immigrant background. The limitations and violence imposed by the current immigration system is creating members of our communities who are neither allowed to achieve their highest potential nor are able to socially and economically contribute to the best of their abilities (Enriquez, 2015).

The United States is in dire need of overhauling the existing immigration system. The first step in creating sound policies to address the immigration conundrum is to internalize what research proves—that immigrants are intricately woven into the social and economic fabric of American society. Second, legislators must create policies that protect family unity and preserve the rights of United States citizens in mixed-status families. If necessary, Republican legislators could refer to their own 2016 party platform on the importance of family, which reads:

It has been proven by both experience and endless social science studies that ... children raised in intact married families are more likely to attend college, are physically and emotionally healthier, are less likely to use drugs or alcohol, engage in crime, or get pregnant outside of marriage. The success of marriage directly impacts the economic well-being of individuals ... The lack of family formation not only leads to more government costs, but also to more government control

over the lives of its citizens in all aspects ... we believe that marriage, the union of one man and one woman must be upheld as the national standard, a goal to stand for, encourage, and promote through laws governing marriage. ("Republican Platform," 2016)

Few laws affect marriages and families in such a direct and all-encompassing manner as immigration laws. Research and evidence confirm that deportation leads to family fragmentation or family exile, which in turn creates social, economic, and emotional vulnerabilities for mixed-status families (Oliviero, 2013). It is unwise and expensive for the wide-spread, indiscriminate detention and deportation regime to continue to expand. The cost is too high for American husbands, wives, children, brothers, sisters, and American communities to bear.

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Blurring Professional Borders in Service of Anti-Poverty Collaboration: Combining Social Work Skills and an Anti-Oppressive Feminist Lens with Legal Aid

ANDREW C. SCHOENEMAN

University of Richmond

The history of legal aid is contested and gendered. Like social work, since the late 1800s professionalization and broader political forces have pushed legal aid toward greater focus on individual-level interventions to alleviate poverty. As a result, the capacity of contemporary legal aid programs to work collaboratively with low-income communities to address their legal and non-legal concerns is limited. This article traces the shared histories and commitments of legal aid and social work, calls for an increased collaboration between legal aid programs and social workers, and proposes an anti-oppressive, feminist theoretical perspective to guide this collaboration. By embracing collaboration across professions and using this theoretical lens, both legal aid programs and social workers can more effectively and more inclusively address the broader needs and concerns of low-income communities. Specific recommendations for practice and education are discussed.

Key words: legal aid, social work, poverty, collaboration, inter-professional, anti-oppressive, feminist

The history of legal aid is a contested one. Competing narratives about how free legal assistance for low-income persons originated and developed reflect broader tension points around professionalization, individualized intervention, and gendered understandings of expertise, collaboration, and impact. The contours of these narratives are unique to legal aid, but similar dynamics are on display in the history of social work. Should helping professionals stand alongside the targets of their assistance in seeking change, or should they wield power as experts and surrogates from a safe physical

and emotional distance? If the latter, do helping professionals contribute as much to maintaining systems of inequality and oppression as to improving the well-being of those who rely on their assistance? As social workers and legal aid attorneys have achieved legitimacy as professions, sacrifices have been made in having an accompanying presence in the lives of poor Americans. This paper brings to bear feminist and anti-oppressive theoretical lenses to argue that both professions stand to gain from blurring and even erasing professional boundaries. Specifically, through an analysis of the ongoing movement toward individualized outcomes in the human service sector environment, this paper calls for a rekindled alliance among social workers, legal aid attorneys, and the economically marginalized communities both of these professions attempt to serve.

Legal aid programs are nonprofit organizations that provide free civil legal assistance to low-income Americans. According to Reginald Heber Smith's (1919) seminal account of the early years of legal aid, The German Society was established in 1876 in New York City and became the first organization to offer such assistance formally in the United States. The entity's primary purpose was to resolve unpaid wage claims and domestic disputes for recent German immigrants with no access to legal representation. Within five years, The German Society, which had changed its name to The German Legal Aid Society, expanded its purpose to the provision of legal assistance to "all who may appear worthy thereof and who, from poverty, are unable to procure it" (as quoted in Smith, 1919, p. 137).

The scope of Smith's conceptualization of legal aid, and arguably the dominant conceptualization that persists today, is that it entails the systematic representation of poor Americans by qualified legal counsel. Smith describes the origins of legal aid in Chicago as rooted in the work of the Protective Agency of Women and Children (PAWC), but goes on to assert that the first "true" legal aid program in Chicago was the Bureau of Justice. The fundamental distinction between these organizations was not their attention to legal matters, but rather their scope of activities (Jordan, 2015). Whereas PAWC provided a range of services that included helping people find shelter and

protection, as well as providing legal aid and policy advocacy (Valentine, Roberts, & Burgess, 1998), the Bureau of Justice focused solely on legal problems and legal outcomes.

Legal scholars Felice Batlan (2015) and Gwen Jordan (2015) provide nuanced alternatives to Smith's account of legal aid's origins. Batlan (2015) argues that Smith's narrow definition of legal aid supports the goal of legitimacy from the perspective of the legal establishment, but in doing so it erases the powerful role of "lay lawyers," many of whom were women serving on the front lines to address the complicated web of problems people living in poverty faced every day. Many of these women would be called social workers today. They worked in settlement houses, as well as in PAWC and similar organizations, to combat poverty through a combination of social reform and individualized intervention (Jordan, 2015). By removing these stories from the annals of legal aid, these scholars argue, Smith implies that provision of legal assistance to the poor is restricted to the classical understanding of how an attorney helps clients gain access to the justice system.

At issue in the writing of legal aid's history is the degree to which its purpose and aim are narrowly or broadly construed. In subsequent sections of this article, it is argued that the narrow view of legal aid's history has pivotal implications for how legal aid programs function today, and specifically for the light in which legal aid attorneys see the possibilities and merits of collaboration with their clients and with other professionals. Further, the shared historical and philosophical commitments of legal aid and social work suggest a compatibility of skills that, if fully recognized and harnessed, will lead to enhanced interprofessional capacity in the struggle against poverty.

Legal Aid and Community

Critical scholars have encouraged legal aid attorneys to embrace a political model of law practice that fuses the skill set of an attorney with the mindset of a community organizer (Cummings & Eagly, 2001). This "community lawyering" model depicts the law as one of many tools and avenues by which to create meaningful change (Tokarz, Cook, Brooks,

& Blom, 2008). The law is, furthermore, a highly imperfect conduit for addressing deep-seated inequalities, since it tends to reinforce existing power differentials between professional experts and the economically marginalized (Ashar, 2008; Cummings & Eagly, 2001). Attorneys adopting a community lawyering approach help mobilize poor communities, facilitate problem identification, and work behind the scenes to build pressure and momentum for change, only deploying their litigation skills if deemed appropriate and necessary to advance the community's cause.

Advocacy for this community-lawyering model of legal aid is largely based on conceptual arguments. Empirical evidence supporting community lawyering as preferable to other approaches, as well as practical recommendations to guide the implementation of community lawyering on the ground, are scarce. Consequently, arguments in favor of community lawyering have gained limited traction. Legal aid scholar Corey Shdaimah (2009), among others, has noted that large-system change is often the province of the privileged, who have the luxury of working toward long-term solutions, while the daily problems affecting those experiencing poverty remain unaddressed. Others, including Sharpless (2012), suggest that bias in favor of macro-level interventions is linked to a dismissive and male-centric attitude toward individualized legal assistance. Community engagement and individual intervention are, moreover, not mutually exclusive. Individual legal assistance and grassroots empowerment can occur in tandem. For example, the former can serve as a recruitment tool for the latter (Cummings & Eagly, 2001), and legal aid client communities are regularly engaged for the purpose of identifying priorities that guide how an agency deploys its individual assistance resources (Sharpless, 2012).

Taken as a whole, the evidence and commentary indicate that neither a large system, community-level approach, nor an individual assistance approach sufficiently addresses the varied concerns of legal aid client communities (Lieberman, 2011). It is, therefore, necessary to find cohesive, complementary ways to combine micro, mezzo, and macro legal aid interventions. Before considering how this might be achieved, the funding history of legal aid is explored next as a step toward understanding how federal restrictions shape the ability of

legal aid programs to engage in individual, community, and policy interventions.

Legal Aid Funding History

The funding history of legal aid was first tied closely to its legitimacy as part of the legal profession and later associated with the shifting political landscape of the late twentieth century. In the early 1900s, financial support was locally based and inconsistent. Over time, attorneys in support of legal aid saw opportunities to ally with bar associations under the banner of fair and equal access to the legal system. Much as social work sought legitimacy by proclaiming itself a profession, proponents of legal aid positioned this category of practice under the larger tent of the legal profession, and in so doing enhanced the stability of legal aid funding while at the same time moving it one step further from the lay lawyering model of the late 1800s (Batlan, 2015; Huber, 1976).

By the middle of the twentieth century, legal aid was a well-established and legitimized, yet woefully inadequate, means of assisting poor Americans with individual legal concerns. The constellation of legal aid organizations could satisfy only a small percentage of unmet legal needs, and the needs of able-bodied, working-age "undeserving" poor were almost entirely excluded from access. In isolated cases, mid-century legal aid attorneys joined forces with settlement houses and social workers to implement multi-system interventions such as Henry Street Settlement's Mobilization for Youth program, but these interprofessional alliances were more the exception than the rule (Cantrell, 2003).

The funding and scope of legal aid shifted dramatically in the 1960s as the War on Poverty brought a renewed emphasis on government-led social change. Public funding for regional legal aid programs came through the newly created Office for Economic Opportunity, which did not restrict these programs to helping poor individuals in legal binds (Houseman & Perle, 2007). Indeed, in short order these newly minted and federally-funded legal aid programs sought systemic change through impact litigation and collaboration with grassroots organizations. Not surprisingly, the pushback from conservative political forces was swift and fierce (Cantrell, 2003).

In order to preserve federal funding, in 1975 legal aid proponents struck a political compromise with detractors that led to establishment of the Legal Services Corporation (LSC), a permanent federal funding mechanism for legal aid, while also resulting in the prohibition of certain politically charged activities. These restrictions proscribed the use of federal funding for political organizing, abortion-related litigation, lobbying, and efforts to advance school desegregation (LSC, 2015). Despite this compromise, legal aid remained highly contested political terrain (Cantrell, 2003). In 1996, a strong conservative majority in Congress called for and won passage of expanded restrictions on LSC funding. This new legislation included the "poison pill" doctrine, whereby restrictions would apply not only to the funding provided by LSC but to the entire budget of the recipient organization (Diller & Savner, 2009). As a result, legal aid organizations in numerous states reorganized operations to allow restricted, LSC-funded organizations and unrestricted, non-LSC organizations to operate in the same geographic locations (Udell, 1998). These costly and cumbersome arrangements remain in place today in certain areas. Unrestricted organizations must rely on private funders as well as state and local government funding that is not constrained by the LSC restrictions.

Problematizing Individually-focused Legal Aid

More accurately represented, the problem under examination here is not with individualized legal aid but rather with legal aid that veers toward one-dimensionality. Legal aid practice that is focused predominantly on large system change would carry other risks, such as the callous disregard for dire and immediate legal concerns faced by individuals in poverty on a daily basis. However, in light of the political climate and funding restrictions, it so happens that the risk of overly political or overly community-based legal aid practice is implausible to the point of irrelevance. By contrast, the potential negative impact of highly individualized legal aid practice is both severe and observable in the current historical moment.

The risk of disproportionate emphasis on personal legal concerns is threefold. First, it suggests that access to the legal system, or lack thereof, is the primary barrier facing those in

poverty. To the contrary, intractable structures and institutions resist solutions grounded in downstream accessibility. For example, the racialized and retrenched welfare state acts to reproduce and reinforce patterns of inequality, despite the availability of modest, individually-targeted supplements and services (Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2011; Wacquant, 2009). Second, emphasis on individualized legal aid presumes that civil legal representation by qualified attorneys for all poor individuals is even a remote possibility. As Bellow and Kettleson (1978/2005) and later Hadfield (2012) have argued, scarcity of individually-focused attorneys serving legal aid clients is not a feasible problem to solve. Lack of sufficient political will, funding, law school capacity, court system infrastructure, and prospective interested law students are but several of the prohibitive factors keeping visions of equal access to justice from becoming reality. Third, it overlooks the questionable moral basis for overwhelmingly placing poor individuals in the position of the disempowered client seeking assistance from the professional expert. As in other domains of human services, those concerned with equity, empowerment, and promotion of robust democratic participation have urged caution regarding the "clientization" of marginalized communities (Gubrium & Järvinen, 2014; Piomelli, 2006).

For these reasons, legal scholars have called for the reimagining of clinical education in law schools to increase the capacity of future legal aid and public interest attorneys to engage in collective mobilization and political advocacy (Ashar, 2008). Models of lawyering have been put forward that focus on how to establish and sustain collaborative relationships with underresourced communities while addressing their broader (not just legal) needs. Enhanced skills and commitment to models of community lawyering among attorneys would advance the goals and empowerment of communities (Lopez, 2005; Perelman & White, 2011). Still, these gains would be and are encumbered by an external environment that leads to high-volume caseloads and the prevailing notion that an attorney's primary responsibility is to address specific legal claims. Partnerships with social workers, who are trained specifically in the art and science of brokering relationships, can help amplify the benefits of community lawyering skills among attorneys while making community lawyering models

more practicable in the current environment. First, however, social work as a profession must embrace anew an expansive and interprofessional scope of practice.

Professionalization and Individualization in Social Work

The trend toward professionalized and individualized services reverberates in the history of social work and in the recent human services landscape as well. Since the early divide between the community-based settlement house branch of social work and the more individual-oriented charity organization societies, the field of social work has encompassed many views of risks and benefits of professionalization (Jennissen & Lundy, 2011; Specht & Courtney, 1994). Early twentieth century social work scholar and educator Porter Lee (1928, as cited in Jennissen & Lundy, 2011), for one, expressed concern that "there seems to be fewer prophetic voices, less evidence of the quickened spirit, greater interest in social work as a career than as a cause" (p. 229). Despite such ambivalence, over the course of the twentieth century a dominant interpretation of social work as a professional endeavor designed to serve individual clients, often through the practice of psychotherapy, took hold (Specht & Courtney, 1994).

Social work also bears a legacy of social control tied to professionalization (Margolin, 1997; Bar-On, 1999; Reisch & Andrews, 2001) that mirrors similar links between legal aid and status quo maintenance (Piomelli, 2006). These developments in social work and legal aid reflect conditions in the human services landscape writ large, as private foundations and public funding streams have increasingly funneled support to programs that alleviate the conditions associated with poverty but do little to promote social rights or challenge root causes of economic injustice (Arnove & Pinede, 2007; Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012). The performance accountability movement further intensified the pressure to efficiently generate short-term outcomes to the exclusion of programming geared toward longer timelines and "upstream" solutions (Martin & Kettner, 2010).

Despite the impact of professionalization and individualization in social work and human services generally, the core

skills and ethical principles of social work suggest the potential to reverse that impact and chart a new course. A commitment to collaboration across lines of difference indicates that social work continues to be well-suited to identify and execute multi-faceted solutions to social problems. Graduates of social work education programs should know how to form alliances that honor the self-determination of clients and communities and maximize the skills and expertise of different professions in pursuit of social justice (Council on Social Work Education [CSWE], 2015). Social workers are expected to possess skills in interprofessional collaboration and in facilitating the empowerment of those often excluded from decisions that affect their lives.

Yet, as others have argued, social work's record of emphasizing and achieving multi-system change in the face of pressure to achieve immediate, quantifiable outcomes is mixed (Reisch & Jani, 2012; Specht & Courtney, 1994). Like legal aid, large subsets of the social work profession rely on public funding sources. Publicly-funded programming is particularly constrained with regard to community mobilization and political advocacy, since these activities do not enjoy widespread public approval (Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012). Practices associated with state social work licensure and the accreditation of social work education programs exacerbate limits on the capacity of social workers to promote change across systems (Donaldson, Hill, Ferguson, Fogel, & Erickson, 2014). For these and other reasons, social work students pursue macro courses of study at a rate of approximately ten percent (CSWE, 2013). The constraints on legal aid and social work normalize professional silos and individualized practice. New thinking is needed to increase partnerships between legal aid and social work, while amplifying the voices of the clients they serve.

An Anti-Oppressive, Feminist Framework

Funding restrictions, professionalization, and the performance accountability movement have drastically compromised the capacity of legal aid programs to serve alongside low-income communities. Social workers' willingness and capacity to embed their work in the needs of communities has

been similarly undercut. Against the backdrop of this assault on self-determination, a clear opportunity exists for a conscious rethinking of how legal aid attorneys, social workers, and low-income communities combine together in examination and execution of their collective purpose.

Anti-oppressive theory holds that patterns of subjugation are institutionalized at the structural level and also reinforced—often unwittingly by well-intentioned professionals—at the interpersonal level (Dominelli, 2002). In order to unsettle and ultimately dismantle these oppressive patterns, oppressed people and communities need to actively reject the status quo rather than passively accepting it or even pragmatically accommodating to it. Similarly, professionals and others with access to privilege must affirmatively embrace egalitarian modes of interaction. They must avoid actions that further demarcate power differences, and resist individualistic liberal temptations to focus energy on absorbing subaltern groups into existing power structures (Moosa-Mitha, 2005).

The roots of anti-oppressive theory are traced to class-based critiques of late capitalist social welfare systems (Sakamoto & Pitner, 2005). In recent years, however, proponents of anti-oppressive practice (AOP) have increasingly asserted that anti-oppressive interventions are animated by intersectionality and other micro-level contextual factors, in addition to structural economic concerns (Mattsson, 2014). That is, recent critics have laid groundwork for a deeply subjective interpretation of AOP, which can be combined with and further clarified through feminist readings of lived interpersonal experience as a site of exploitation and domination.

Feminist approaches to social work and other helping professions encourage the blurring of identities and the honoring of local context (Gutierrez, 1999; Hyde, 1996, 2006). In these ways, AOP is aligned with feminist practice, but an explicit emphasis on feminist practice principles helps distinguish the framework proposed here from more structural interpretations of AOP. Feminist scholars emphasize the importance of attending to lived experience and subjectivity, even when systems of oppression heavily influence those individual experiences (Feldman & Stall, 2004; Hyde, 2006). Conversely, by glossing over subjective needs and concerns and failing to recognize

the strength of marginalized people and women, in particular, practitioners reinforce and reify oppressive patterns of interaction. Similarly, legal aid scholar Piomelli (2006) argues that collaborative lawyering requires attorneys to reduce power differentials with clients and engage clients as experts in their own lives. This call for professional humility and egalitarianism may pose challenges for attorneys, not least because they are ethically bound to "zealously" advocate on behalf of clients to their highest level of ability. This conundrum leads to the question of how professionals relate to clients and communities, and the extent to which professional identity acts as a barrier to the kind of collaboration envisioned here.

Merging Professional Identities through Feminist, Anti-Oppressive Practice

The nature of professional expertise creates lines of demarcation between fields and sub-fields. Physicians, attorneys, nurses, social workers, and other professionals possess knowledge and skills that define their respective identities. Durkheim (1893/2014) and many subsequent scholars have demonstrated that specialties and sub-specialties delineate divisions of labor and rationalize the deployment of one person and one skill set over another to serve a client's or community's particular needs. Specialized bases of knowledge create efficiencies in matching needs with expertise. However, they also engender a less contextualized and more narrowly defined mode of practice, while creating social distance among professionals and between professionals and those they serve (Korazim-Korosy, Mizrahi, Bayne-Smith, & Garcia, 2014). It is therefore relevant to consider the impact of professional identity on the ability of legal aid attorneys and social workers to engage collaboratively with each other and with low-income constituencies.

Batlan's (2015) analysis of professionalization within legal aid leads to the conclusion that the male-centric legal community was more likely to bestow legitimacy on legal aid when it conformed to the traditional model of legal aid practice. By pursuing that professional legitimacy in the early twentieth century, legal aid proponents essentially chose a less

collaborative and more expert-driven approach to practice than the lay lawyer model prevalent in settlement houses and other community spaces in previous decades. The social work profession sought legitimacy through professionalization as well, with concomitant impact to the relationship between social workers and those they serve. Unlike the legal profession, however, social work maintained a core ethical commitment, at least in theory, to collaboration, self-determination, and social justice. In this way, from a professional identity standpoint, social workers may be less constrained than attorneys when enacting collaboration with clients and communities. Social workers, in other words, can invoke their professionalism in the pursuit of increased participation, collaboration, and interprofessional synergy, without conflicting with "professional standards and ethics."

Separate and apart from their unique roles in society, professions and the work they do are valued differently according to societal norms and biases. Professions practiced by women are historically valued less than professions perceived as the dominion of men (Hall, 2005). Practitioners engaged in interprofessional collaboration feel the effects of these social and political forces. Research indicates that social workers experience having a devalued role in settings of interprofessional collaboration, whereas physicians and attorneys do not (Korazim-Korosy et al., 2014).

While professional status differential may pose challenges in interprofessional contexts, it represents a comparative advantage for social workers in building trust with clients and communities. Further, the commitment to relational skill development in social work degree programs leaves social workers well positioned to broker collaboration with low-income communities in legal aid settings. Social work students complete coursework that emphasizes interpersonal communication, human behavior in the social environment, and social justice.

Professional and educational commitments are not the same as action in practice, however, and the relationship between professional status and ability to engage across difference is not always negative. As one example, Charles and Bentley (2016) find the need for more work to eliminate stigmatization of persons with mental illness by social workers. To be sure, social

workers wield power oppressively over clients, just as attorneys and physicians practice humanely and equitably. Additional research would help ascertain to what degree desired educational outcomes are evident in practice, both in social work and across professions. Nonetheless, relational skills of the kind espoused by the social work profession, regardless of who exhibits them, can be of use in technical domains like the legal system. Given that social workers possess and practice these skills to any significant degree, working interprofessionally to maximize their impact is critical.

By embracing feminist, anti-oppressive practice and merging the knowledge bases and skill sets of legal aid attorneys and social workers, a powerful alliance is possible. Attorneys possess technical expertise and credentials in the domain of the law and legislative advocacy; social workers contribute an ability to build coalitions, bridge difference, and design interventions across legal and non-legal domains. Organizations that combine these two professional perspectives would allow more seamless integration of individual-, group-, and community-level strategies to address individual concerns, as well as policy claims. Through this joint approach, legal aid programs would enact the commitment to advancing social and economic justice shared by both professions.

Moving Toward Feminist, Anti-Oppressive Legal Aid Practice

Proposals to further integrate social work with legal aid and emphasize feminist, anti-oppressive practice can be grouped in three domains: (1) increasing social work staff capacity in legal aid; (2) expanding social work practice sites perceived by students as viable future employment opportunities; and (3) encouraging further dialogue about the scope and purpose of legal aid. While the empirical literature on the topic is limited, one repeated finding is that social work skills can be helpful in bridging communication gaps between communities and legal aid programs (Lieberman, 2011; Schoeneman, 2015). These gaps include outreach to identify community concerns, facilitation of diverse coalitions to address those concerns, and maintaining and strengthening relationships between the organization and its client stakeholders. By hiring

dedicated community engagement staff in the form of trained social workers, legal aid organizations can stay more fully apprised of client community interests while allowing staff attorneys to focus energy on their primary role as legal advocates. Schoeneman (2015) found that legal aid attorneys have ethical concerns about straying beyond their professional purview. Social workers can help expand the capacity of legal aid programs to engage clients meaningfully in the activities of the organization without diverting resources away from assisting clients with individual legal concerns.

While increased outreach is a positive step, fostering anti-oppressive practice requires attention to the quality and quantity of client involvement in core aspects of the organization's mission. These include the programming itself, as well as the governance of the organization. Social workers could assist in integrating client involvement in programming by facilitating coalitions comprised of directly affected low-income participants in addition to attorneys and other professionals. Lieberman (2011) found that legal aid programs can effectively advance their missions by engaging low-income youth and other subsets of their client communities in policy advocacy and community education. These activities would create opportunities for empowerment among clients, while building relationships outside the attorney-client dyad. Since political organizing and lobbying are prohibited under the federal restrictions, social workers employed by LSC-funded organizations would need professional development to avoid violations.

A third avenue through which social workers can contribute toward bridging difference and equalizing power relates to governance. Many legal aid organizations reserve slots on their boards for client-eligible individuals. Social workers could enhance the practice of engaging clients on boards of directors and advisory boards by ensuring that participants communicate effectively and in the spirit of partnership. Schoeneman (2015) found, for example, that while these inclusively constituted governing bodies have potential to generate productive long-term relationships between clients and attorneys, they can also serve to replicate power dynamics that marginalize low-income voices in society as a whole. Social workers have technical skills in recognizing when communication patterns

undercut power sharing and in providing professional development for staff, board members, and clients in strengths-based communication, and cultural humility.

Before making these contributions, social workers must first see legal aid organizations as legitimate sites for practice. Legal aid is considered a "host setting" for social work practice, since social workers are in the minority and do not represent the dominant professional perspective (Furman & Gibelman, 2013). The concept of the host setting raises questions about the identity of social work as a profession and the extent to which interprofessional practice is considered central to social work values and ethics. Many schools of social work offer dual degree programs and require students to engage with students and professionals from other disciplines, but barriers to interprofessional education remain, and it is unclear to what extent social workers actively consider, let alone seek, law-related careers in host settings (Krase, 2014).

Many factors could shape individual decisions about whether to pursue job opportunities outside the social work mainstream, three of which are particularly relevant here. First, the professional status of social work may deter some from entering interprofessional careers. Korazim-Korosy and colleagues' (2014) finding regarding perceived negative attitudes held by other professionals regarding the abilities of social workers bears further investigation. Social workers may also consider differences in the professional approaches to helping between social work and law to be irreconcilable (Galowitz, 1999). Specifically, social workers may view their holistic person-in-environment lens to be incompatible with the more technical legal perspective. Third, differences in ethical principles may deter social workers. Practitioners and scholars often cite perceived and real tensions between a social worker's commitment to social justice on the one hand, and the legal doctrine of zealous advocacy on the other as cause for concern in interprofessional collaboration contexts (Anderson, Barenburg, & Tremblay, 2007; Cole, 2012).

Social workers are wise to take the above concerns into consideration before seeking opportunities for interprofessional practice. In the author's view, however, concerns about navigating complicated ethical terrain are outweighed, especially for those committed to anti-oppressive practice, by the

potential for an expanded role and greater impact in poverty alleviation. When addressed forthrightly, the ethical discrepancies between law and social work are neither grave nor insurmountable (Anderson et al., 2007). Furthermore, social work skills are precisely suited to difficult conversations across disparate perspectives, and these skills are essential in advancing the approach discussed in this article. Law students receive little training in countering and dismantling intersecting systems of oppression (Ashar, 2008), whereas social workers are equipped professionally to initiate dialogue and connect micro interventions to macro system change.

Social work educators have important roles to play as well. Students should be encouraged to expand common understanding of where social workers can translate egalitarianism and other anti-oppressive principles into practice. Requirements and procedures enacted by state social work licensing bodies may narrow student perceptions of career options (Donaldson et al., 2014). It is the responsibility of faculty to help ensure that the dialogue about social workers' career options remains robust. For example, faculty members might point out that if an opportunity arises to leverage social work skills in service of solutions to poverty and other entrenched social problems, then professional ethics support taking an expansive view on the boundaries of the profession.

Before moving toward implementation of an anti-oppressive and interprofessional model of legal aid, at the organizational level it is necessary to explore the mission and purpose of the legal aid programs from different stakeholder perspectives. What is the scope and purpose of specific programs and of legal aid more broadly? Empirical evidence suggests that while legal aid attorneys are highly committed to promoting social justice (Shdaimah, 2009), a wide range of political commitments and theories of change are held among attorneys (Schoeneman, 2015). Some view legal aid as a mechanism for providing equal individual access to the legal system, while others seek to empower individuals and communities in relation to oppressive state welfare bureaucracies and other political systems that wield control over their lives. This individual-level variation among attorneys is reflected at the

organizational level in the form of agency cultures (Schoeneman, 2015).

One crucial area in need of scrutiny at the organizational level is the degree to which individual cases drive annual reporting of organizational impact. Schoeneman (2015) found that funding pressures impact how organizations approach strategic planning and the relative emphasis on individual cases versus other activities. Participants in the same study reported that some organizations overestimate the need to close individual cases in order to maintain funding. That is, funding pressure can lead to an inflated sense of urgency about producing individual outcomes. Regardless of the specific views represented in a particular agency, a thorough accounting of the relative commitment to change across systems is recommended before beginning implementation of an anti-oppressive model.

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued that the histories of legal aid and social work suggest a common genetic commitment to addressing poverty by collaborative means alongside directly affected individuals and communities. Over the course of the twentieth century, these commitments narrowed as a consequence of professionalization as well as external pressures in favor of individual, expert-driven approaches to poverty. By leveraging the ethical principles and collaborative skills of social work, in conjunction with the expertise of attorneys and the communities they serve, the potential exists to reclaim a broad vision of legal aid's model of change. By utilizing feminist and anti-oppressive theoretical perspectives, social workers and legal aid attorneys can find common language for prioritizing the role of clients and their communities in not only identifying concerns related to poverty, but designing and implementing solutions as well.

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Power, Deviance, Stigma, and Control: A Sociological Reconceptualization of Sexuality within Social Work Services

RICHARD A. BRANDON-FRIEDMAN

Indiana University
School of Social Work

Despite shared societal and historical origins, sociology and social work have had a contentious relationship, leading some to suggest the two disciplines are inherently incompatible. This article challenges that assertion by examining how sociological conceptions of deviance, power, stigma, and control can contribute to more just social work services, particularly in the contentious area of adolescent sexuality. As respected social agents, social workers can play a role in counteracting the forces that alienate outsiders. By understanding how sociological theories contribute to their ability to contest the social discourse regarding sexuality, social workers can challenge social norms and work with clients in a more socially just manner.

Key words: Social work theories, sociological theories, adolescent sexuality, alternative sexualities

Despite shared societal and historical origins, sociology and social work have had a contentious relationship, as seen in the eventual division between the Chicago School of sociology and the social work pioneers of the settlement and charity houses of the late 19th century (Dominelli, 1997). While Deegan (1988) suggested that conflicts surrounding gender and race partially led to the division of these fields, others have stated that the social change-driven focus of social work practice became incompatible with the academic and scientific focus of sociology (Dominelli, 1997; Leonard, 1966). Several attempts have been made to merge aspects of sociology and social work (e.g.,

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Dominelli, 1997; Heraud, 1970; Leonard, 1966), yet a significant divide still separates the two disciplines. In fact, Ahmed-Mohamed (2011) recently suggested that the two fields may be inherently incompatible due to their divergent foci.

In many ways, this contemporary debate mirrors that of the early 1970s and even the 1930s. In a seminal work that examined the apparent divide between sociology and social work, Leighninger, Leighninger, and Pankin (1974) revisited dialogue from the early to mid-1900s that posited that sociology is more a science and social work more an art form. In their view, while there was some merit to these distinctions in terms of methodology and historical underpinnings, shifts in disciplinary epistemologies (i.e., interpretative veins of sociology had begun to [re]question the discipline's essentialist ontology while social workers were beginning to recognize that their impetus to action was at least partially dependent upon larger scale social factors that require attention as well) had opened the possibility of a more cooperative interface between the two. Yet, in a seemingly prophetic observation, they noted that pressures toward disciplinary specialization might hamper further conciliation.

Nearly thirty years later, questions regarding the value of grand theories to social work practice were again brought to the fore, as the drive toward evidence-based social work practice led to a debate about the heart of social work itself. For some, social work is inherently practice-based and they believe social work students' educations should be focused on alleviating suffering through the application of research-validated best practices, forgoing the need for social workers to engage in theoretical inquiry (e.g., Thyer, 2001a, 2001b). On the other side are those who view theories as essential guiding tools without which social work would become not only mechanistic, but also lose its ability to understand clients' lives in a holistic manner (e.g., Gomory, 2001a, 2001b). Following the latter, this article seeks to further the dialogue about how sociology and social work can mutually enhance each other by examining how increased awareness of key sociological theories and concepts can improve social workers' understandings of contentious contemporary issues and how public opinion and social movements affect not only social work practice, but

the foundations upon which that work is built.

The first section of this article reviews contemporary understandings of how social problems are defined through an exploration of power, deviance, stigma, and control. A second section will utilize the covered concepts to guide an inquiry into contemporary discourse surrounding sexuality, while the third and final section will apply the material to a social work practice scenario. Ultimately, the article suggests that a sociologically-informed version of social work practice will benefit practitioners and service recipients alike.

Defining Social "Problems"

According to the Code of Ethics of the National Association of Social Workers (2008, p. 3), "Fundamental to social work is attention to the environmental forces that create, contribute to, and address problems in living." Yet, social work texts pay scant attention to how social problems are defined, leading to gaps in social workers' knowledge. To address this, a review of the history of contemporary sociological inquiry into social problem formation is necessary.

Building upon Durkheim's investigations into the development of unique moral codes within a society, Blumer (1971) detailed a manner through which social problems are "created" by codifying collective (majority) behavior. In explicating five stages through which problems come to be recognized and then addressed, he endeavored to demonstrate the weaknesses of objectivist attempts to study problems as if they existed independent of their historical and social circumstances. Building on Blumer's work, Cohen (1972) considered not only how problems are recognized, but how reactions to them are developed and sustained. In doing so, he furthered the sociological conception of a "moral panic," defining it as,

a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people; socially-accredited experts announce their diagnoses and solutions; ways

of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to...
(Cohen, 1972, p. 1)

Cohen (1972) declared that those who are the subjects of the moral panics become "folk devils" in the eyes of society, or deviant individuals in need of control. More recently, Goode and Ben-Yehuda (2009) suggested that "panics" evolve from modern society's fearfulness and insecurity relating myriad arenas of concern about the actions of others; as individuals are confronted with social change that suggests that social problem definitions are not absolute but in continual flux, they feel their values are vulnerable and seek control over the dialogue. As this occurs, those in the majority define themselves against the "others," ostracizing the others while simultaneously normalizing their own behaviors (Cohen, 1972; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 2009).

To be successful, this process requires the exertion of significant social power. While philosophers have debated the nature of power since ancient times, post-structuralist conceptualizations of power by Foucault and Bourdieu are particularly instructive when considering social problem development. Foucault's (1980, 1983) conception of power emphasized that power only exists when the will(s) of a person or group is/are imposed on others, creating reactions and responses. He highlighted how this imposition is intricately intertwined with the production of knowledge, articulating that exertions of power "create" reality and allow for the development of types of knowledge, knowledge which then serves to engender common understandings of those realities.

Through a process of socialization and majority power imposition, this "knowledge" becomes solidified as social "norms." These norms then regulate the actions and thoughts of those subsisting under them, and through a panopticon of societal discipline, the actions of individuals become regulated both externally and internally (individual morality/self-discipline), a hierarchy of propriety is created, and those who transgress norms are punished (Foucault, 1995/1975). While there is an opportunity for the development of alternative interpretations of reality, Foucault suggested that the strength of the current social discourse is such that it limits investigations outside the bounds of current patterns of thought. In

other words, the majority creates norms and is able to govern the actions of others not only through direct control, but also through the management of knowledge of and inquiry into the phenomenon in question.

Bourdieu (1984, 1999) suggested that symbolic powers develop and impose a sense of natural order onto society, an order that seeks to dominate alternate forms of knowledge that would subvert its hegemonic place. Actions and beliefs are inherently based upon self-interest, and individuals seek to mediate social practices and norms to place themselves and those like them at the top of the hierarchy. While those at the lower end of the hierarchy could theoretically resist the majority position, a process of "misrecognition" occurs through which individuals become unaware of their subordination to the norms of others, thereby remaining unable to challenge their position or attempt to establish alternate conceptualizations of social phenomena.

This subrogation is further enhanced by the imposition of labels of deviance. In an analysis of the function of societal labeling, Derrida (2016/1967) suggested that normality can only be defined through the imposition of its opposite—deviance; in doing so, he asserted that deviance is more a relational definition than an essential feature of individuals or acts. Going further, he noted that the primary always has priority over the secondary; in this case, those who are "normal" take precedence over those who are "deviant." Sociologically, the result is that the label of deviant is generally reserved for those who lack social, political, and/or economic power. Understood in this way, deviance is the violation of majority societal rules by those who lacked the power necessary to have input in the establishment of those norms (Lofland, 1969).

While individual regulation of some desires is essential to a productive society (e.g., proscriptions against assault on self or property), deviance typing moves beyond what is essential for social cooperation by attempting to impose moralistic standards through the exertion of power. As a majority begins to view itself as having the authority to manage others, it imposes labels and enacts societal repercussions toward "outsiders" who do not adhere to socially prescribed norms (Becker, 1963). Certain acts and actors become problematized, and new classifications and labels are developed and disseminated. These

constructions eventually become commonplace, becoming so ingrained within the cultural fabric that some acts come to be seen as self-evidently "wrong" and some actors inherently "deviant." Once this occurs, changing societal definitions is difficult, as that requires a reanalysis of the bases of the original construction of the established "knowledge," a task sometimes not even recognized as possible.

In summary, this method of understanding social problems suggests three things. First, it wholly rejects the objectivist conception that social problems are self-evidently aberrant, instead emphasizing how power dynamics and control mechanisms create and maintain definitions of social problems. Second, it describes how social problem formation and subsequent labeling of individuals based on their relationship to these social problems exist in a self-perpetuating cycle, leading to a false impression that some occurrences are axiomatically problematic. Third, it connects the societal definition of social problems to the social and personal labeling of individuals, emphasizing that society determines which individuals and actions are deviant.

When considering individuals and their actions within this framework, one final question must be answered—how does the social environment influence individuals' beliefs about themselves and their actions? Presented with social norms, individuals can either adhere to them or contradict them in words or actions. Adherence to norms is enforced through the social process of stigmatization, in which individuals come to see themselves as socially devalued based upon their difference from the majority (Goffman, 1963). Literature on the effects of stigma on psychosocial and even biomedical functioning is prevalent, with the bulk of it indicating clear relationships between the reception of negative psychosocial messaging and difficulties in many aspects of functioning (Bos, Pryor, Reeder, & Stutterheim, 2013).

Building upon work on stigmatization, labeling theory suggests that individuals sometime begin to embody their labels, adopting an identity based on their socially prescribed typing (Link & Phelan, 2010). Thus, antisocial labeling has been linked to further antisocial behaviors among those branded as criminals or deviants (Restivo & Lanier, 2013).

Within modified labeling theory, an individual who is given a label as victim can experience internalized stigma based upon their previous understanding of people that have that label, becoming more disabled by the negative label than by their actual condition (Link & Phelan, 2010). These labels can also have negative effects on service provision, as professionals may develop negative beliefs about clients based upon their labels (Horsfall, Cleary, & Hunt, 2010; Jung, Jamieson, Buro, & DeCesare, 2012). Ultimately, the most important aspect of labeling theory for this discussion is that socially-designated labels have can have concrete effects on the beliefs and actions of the labeled individuals, both positively and negatively.

At the same time, it must be recognized that individuals are not merely passive recipients of societal labeling. Symbolic interactionism focuses on the ways in which individuals make meaning of social occurrences. In a circuitous cycle, individuals act toward objects and others in ways that have meaning for them, meanings that are themselves derived from other social interactions and interpretations (Blumer, 1969). As individuals interact, their interpretations of events and the meanings attached to them are constantly reappraised through a process that incorporates both the individuals' beliefs and others' responses to their actions. Throughout the process, individuals have agency to determine which of the myriad possible interpretations are most salient to their experience. Society, in turn, reacts to the individuals' interpretations and actions, providing further messaging that can guide the individuals' future actions and meaning-making processes. Thus, in order to understand individuals' actions, their experiences of their actions, and the effects of those actions, it is essential to focus on the meanings that the individuals make throughout the situation, meanings that reflect the individuals' acceptance or rejection of social definitions.

Thus, a discursive circle has been completed. After an event occurs, the meaning of the event is construed by individuals in different ways. Some will inevitably perceive the event in a similar manner, leading to a slowly coalescing societal definition of that type of event. This definition will come to be viewed by many as self-evident and will affect later interpretations of similar occurrences and provide labels for those

involved. This is not universal, however, as some interpret the event differently. These individuals may attempt to reject majority interpretations, but social forces counteract these re-interpretations and may even repress new knowledge. These limitations and social definitions affect the "re-interpreters," as they must not only take into account their own meaning of the event, but also societal reactions to the event and their own "deviant" meaning-making. If the individuals revert to the accepted social definition, no external change occurs and the societal interpretation patterns remain stagnant.

If the individuals' challenge the social proscription, however, there can be an attempt to redefine or counter-define their selves and their experiences, each of which have implications for the future beliefs and actions of the individuals and others. If proclaimed publicly and in a way that garners positive attention, a movement to redefine the event may occur. At some point, this redefinition may become the "new" social norm, usurping the place of the previous discourse. Subsequent rejection or acceptance of this new discourse then proceeds in a similar pattern, as individuals come to define themselves with or against the new discourse, while that discourse simultaneously exerts power over the production of knowledge that opposes it, completing a cycle of social construction and reconstruction. If the new definition is rejected, however, the individuals seeking the redefinition may become ostracized by society, not only for their deviant beliefs, but also for their "misguided" efforts to enact social change.

Connections to Social Work

While some social workers may find this theoretical inquiry interesting, many might question its relevance to social work practice. Answering this question requires an examination of the historical progression of social work. Social work pioneers working in settlement houses viewed their work as an integral part of achieving social change, yet over time a perception grew that social work had become entrenched in the modern bureaucratic system, forgoing its "radical roots" in search of a professional identity (Jones, 2014; Reisch & Andrews, 2002). There also arose questions about the personal impact of social work services, as social workers' "treatment" of individuals

who have transgressed against social norms forces label imposition, sets up power differentials, and reinforces socially-constructed norms (Grichting, 1983). In many cases, such as severe neglect or abuse, few would argue the State's responsibility to become involved and enforce (contemporary) socially agreed-upon standards, but in other cases, the line may not be as clear. In recognition of the complexity of many aspects of social work, Siporin (1985) stated that social workers need to recognize they are often placed into a position of mediating between the interests of individuals and the mores of society. Proclaiming that social work is inherently a moral effort, he recommended open discussion of the place of normative discourses and how these mores are foisted upon individuals during the provision of social work services.

These concerns have continued as advocates for "radical," "critical," or "deviant" forms of social work have lamented the perception that social workers have become agents of social control whose actions serve to maintain the status quo, imploring social workers to return to their roots as advocates for social change (Rogowski, 2008; Woodward, 2013). There also has been a renewed sentiment that social work practice must be recognized as a political endeavor, due to its position at the intersection between public and personal social systems; it serves to both control and empower individuals, groups, and institutions (Nissen, 2013). Following these impetuses, some social workers and other theorists have actively challenged societal attitudes toward poverty, the welfare state, oppression, social work marketization, and the "troubled child" industry (e.g., Ferguson & Woodward, 2009; Giroux, 2009; O'Connor, 2001). These actions have had many positive results, but the movements have largely avoided more controversial issues.

Sexuality is one area largely neglected within this more provocative form of social work. While it is necessary to recognize the rapid progression in support for individuals who identify as sexual and/or gender minorities and the decriminalization of consensual sexual acts between members of the same sex, little social work literature has focused on challenging the status quo regarding the criminalization of other sex acts and the unjust imposition of life-long sex offender labels. The next section will begin to remedy this omission by

exploring sociological understandings of sexuality and sexual expression and their effects on individuals' lives.

Contemporary Inquiry into Sexuality

A contemporary re-evaluation of how individuals' sexual actions come to be perceived as problematic is imperative, as sexual identities and sexual acts have become one of the most contested areas of social discourse (Levine, 2003). Recently Weinberg and Williams (2015) stated that no society has been indifferent to the sexuality of its members, and sexuality has always been subject to attempts to control it. Tracing the sociology of sexuality back to the interwar period, they noted that early views of sexuality were functionalist and sought to label and control individuals and their sexual actions. While the Kinsey reports (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953) challenged conventional beliefs about "normal" individuals' sexual activities, the emergence of McCarthyism and the Lavender Scare in the mid-1950s led to investigations and prosecutions of individuals engaged in "subversive" and "perverse" sexual acts (D'Emilio, 1998; Johnson, 2009). Through this process, "proper" sexuality was publicly defined and sexual actions regulated to ensure adherence to proscribed social norms.

Built upon the same ideas expressed by Becker (1963) in his analysis of the medicalization of social problems, Foucault's (1990/1976) work is particularly instructive to theoretical inquiry in the process through which certain sexual acts and actors came to be seen as deviant. Foucault contradicted the traditional belief that Victorian sensibilities had limited sexual discourse, instead suggesting that Victorian times led to an explosion and dispersion of sexual discourse. At that time, medicalization movements were leading physicians to seek new areas of control and sexual acts became a prime target. By defining sexuality as problematic and labeling individuals according to their sexual perversities, doctors carved out a niche for themselves as providers of "treatment" for sexual "illnesses." Afterwards, a process of reification occurred and what was once a behavior came to define a type of person.

Once this social evolution began, classes of "deviant" individuals, such as those described by Krafft-Ebing (1999/1886),

were created, many of which remain in the current Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). The rapid advances in medical sciences in the early to mid-1900s accelerated this process, as medical professionals became revered for their knowledge and their ability to cure individuals with sexual maladies (Brandt & Gardner, 2013). These "illness" labels could then be applied to people and used to justify their subrogation.

With the emergence of social constructionism in the 1960s, challenges to the medical model of sexual classification arose. In a pivotal work, Gagnon and Simon (2005/1973) suggested that sexual actions are simply the enactment of sexual scripts, or sets of possible actions inherited from society that provide individuals with a range of possible sexual actions, and therefore have no essential basis. Queer theorists such as Rich (1980) built on this work, emphasizing that sexual categorization is an exertion of majority power. Going further, Rubin (1984) suggested that Western societies developed a hierarchy of sex that differentiates between "good" sex, or that which is normal, natural, healthy, and holy, and "bad" sex, which is abnormal, unnatural, sick, and sinful, with those engaging in "bad" sex being demeaned and labeled. She further noted that society allows state regulation of sex and sexuality to a degree not permitted for any other topic, and that the penalties for violations are amongst some of the most punitive—a situation largely unchanged today (Valverde, 2014).

Later work by Sedgwick (1991) and Butler (1993) problematized sexual categorization further by proclaiming that sexual categories are indelibly tied to the historical and societal times in which they emerge. Based on their interpretations of history, they suggested that mainstream labeling of individuals based on sexual actions is a thinly veiled attempt to reassert hegemonic control over individuals to ensure that their actions match societal standards. More recently, Irvine (2006) noted that the dominant contemporary sexual discourse centers on emotional enhancement and narratives of depravity, shame, and disgust, all of which lead to a labeling of and distancing from others. Thus, society has returned to a state of moral panic regarding sexual expression and has once again enacted Humphreys' (1975) "breastplate of righteousness," through which those who can exercise social control utilize

defensive mechanisms to label others in response to their own feelings of guilt or shame regarding their sexuality.

Despite these academic critiques, public discussion around sexuality remains mostly essentialist, as individuals are castigated, prosecuted heavily, and sometimes labeled for the rest of their lives in a manner that suggests sexual variations continue to be interpreted as representative of intrinsic moral deficiencies and sexual deviants as unredeemable continuous threats (Selvog, 2001). As a case in point, despite studies that have demonstrated that the increased incarcerations and public shaming that have occurred as a result of toughening sex offense crimes and the creation of sex offender registries have had little to no positive impact on crime reductions and may lead to iatrogenic outcomes (Maguire & Singer, 2011), the public continues to clamor to "know" everything about these individuals. As a result, these individuals are branded publicly for the rest of their lives, often preventing them from reestablishing themselves as functional members of society.

The exertion of social power over sexuality is also manifested through attempts to limit the production and dissemination of knowledge. As detailed by Levine (2003), social movements inspired by the Religious Right have resulted in limitations to sexual health education content, restrictions in access to birth control, and increases in attempts to "protect" children from the "negative" influence of a liberalized sexual discourse. While advocates for abstinence-only sexual education or the exclusion of discussions of non-procreative forms of sexual expression suggest this helps youth develop a healthier understanding of sexuality, data demonstrate both are ineffective and often counterproductive (Fisher, 2009; Santelli et al., 2006). Sociologically speaking, an undercurrent of power is attempting to control sexual behaviors, as only one sexual script is acknowledged and alternate knowledge is suppressed, even as the results are antithetical.

At the same time, history offers numerous examples of changing societal opinions toward various sexual acts. Steeped in a religious moralistic tradition, masturbation, fellatio, and sodomy were considered to be mortal sins and to cause a number of physical and psychosocial difficulties (Ellis, 1942/1897-1928; Ølstein Endsjø, 2011). Such were the proscriptions against these forms of sexual expression that in some

places engaging in them was punishable by death. In contemporary times, however, masturbation is recognized as possibly beneficial to health and both fellatio and sodomy are acknowledged as relatively commonplace (Laqueur, 2003; Leichliter, Chandra, Liddon, Fenton, & Aral, 2007), highlighting that advancement is possible.

These concurrent yet contradictory shifts in social understanding of sexuality demonstrate that sexual discourse is in a state of flux. Biology mandates certain actions for procreation, but does not limit manners of sexual expression. Rather, limits that impinge on people's rights and subjugate "deviants" are imposed through culturally- and historically-based social proscriptions. As respected social agents, social workers can play a role in counteracting forces that seek to stigmatize and label sexual "deviants." While it is prudent for professionals to intervene when individuals' rights are violated (e.g., sexual abuse) and assist individuals who seek to alleviate concerns about their sexual activities (or lack thereof), they should not automatically seek to "treat" "non-normative" manifestations of sexuality unless there is a clear, demonstrable harm. Instead they must examine the dynamics that create and sustain negative labeling and use their skills to enact positive change. To demonstrate the potential of such a shift, the following scenario has been constructed to illustrate how a liberalized, sociological conception of sexuality can enhance social work practice.

A Social Work Practice Scenario

In writing this scenario, considerable thought was given to the creation of a situation that is both practical and controversial. Lest this discussion be seen as somehow encouraging unlawful activities, it must be stated that the author clearly recognizes that the scenario in question is unlawful under current law in the United States and that social workers confronted with this type of situation in practice would be legally bound to report it to the appropriate authorities. That being said, the intention here is to go beyond legalistic judgment and subject the scenario to a more in-depth sociological evaluation.

In this scenario, a social worker becomes aware of situation in which a post-pubescent 14-year-old has willingly engaged

in sexual activities with a 21-year-old. When discussing the relationship, the 14-year-old reports the two met at an event and the younger individual pursued a relationship with the older one. Despite the older individual's initial reservations due to the other's age, a relationship developed and they had been dating for ten months before becoming sexually active.

When crafting this scenario, the age of 14 was purposefully chosen due to being below the legal age of consent throughout the United States (Age of Consent by State, 2015), but the age at or before which 20% of teens become sexually active (Finer & Philbin, 2013). It is also an age at which many adults consider younger individuals to still be youth, and in need of "protection" from sexual dialogue (Levine, 2003). The age of 21 was chosen because it is above the legal age of majority in all states in the United States (National Conference of State Legislators, 2015), and is the age for legal consumption of alcohol in the United States (which some see as a final mark of achieving adulthood). Additionally, the 7-year age gap exceeds the legal standards that permit sexual activities by individuals above the age of consent with individuals below it, as long as both parties are within a defined "gap," most often 3 or 4 years (Olszewski, 2006).

While sexual activity between adults and pre-pubescent children is clearly regarded as a crime in modern society, the legal and moral line between post-pubescent adolescents and adults is less clear (Horvath & Giner-Sorolla, 2007; Rind, 2010; Yuill, 2010). Graupner and Bullough (2004) examined this in depth, suggesting that while these actions are criminal in contemporary society, this was not always true and may not relate directly to any negative effects, particularly if the criterion of judgment is harm to the adolescent. Further, Bullough (2004), Olszewski (2006), and James (2009) noted continual shifts in the ages at which an individual is legally allowed to consent to sex in the United States and abroad, with legal ages of consent ranging from 14 to 21 in Europe. While one might expect ages of consent to be continuously rising, there have been some recent movements to reduce the age of consent (BBC News, 2013).

For this situation, context is especially important, as legal practices are culturally-based. Within the United States, respondents to a survey of legislators suggested five general

reasons for statutory rape laws, all of which had clear judgmental, moralistic, classist, and heterosexist undercurrents that sought out maximum control of others. The reasons given indicated that teens need to be protected from sex (not just with older individuals), that they cannot be trusted to make their own sexual choices, and that the primary outcome of their sexual expression is not only pregnancy, but pregnancy resulting in mothers receiving social welfare benefits (Davis & Twombly, 2000). The underlying implication is that only irresponsible adolescents from lower socio-economic classes engage in sexual activities with older individuals, that these sexual activities are inherently heterosexual in nature, and that legal proscriptions against them will moderate individuals' behaviors. They also belie a double standard, as pregnancy can just as easily result from intercourse between adolescents, which is a legal activity.

Another consideration is the current discourse surrounding childhood sexuality. Within contemporary sexual discourse, individuals are generally divided into categories of child versus adult (Graupner & Bullough, 2004), and many adults resist suggestions that humans are sexual from birth and youthful sexual exploration and experimentation is normal (Thigpen, 2009). Further, the contemporary extension of childhood through adolescence and into emerging adulthood has lengthened the time between sexual development and lifestyle changes such as marriage, leading to an expanded gap between biological impetuses toward sexual expression (which initiate around ages 11-12 [Fortenberry, 2013]) and when socially-sanctioned sexual activities within a marital relationship can occur. Thus, despite some acceptance that adolescents are sexual beings, there are continuing efforts to push "burgeoning" sexuality until later ages and to support this movement through a veil of morality (Levine, 2003; Steutel, 2009; Waites, 2005).

It is also worth noting that in the initial description of the scenario, the individuals' genders were purposely not included—a decision directly related to how adolescent sexuality is framed in contemporary society. For instance, one study found that participants believed sexual activities between a younger female and an older male were more damaging emotionally and to the younger individual's reputation than when

the genders were reversed, and should therefore be punished more severely (Sahl & Keene, 2010). Further, Dollar, Perry, Fromuth, and Holt (2004) examined a hypothetical sexual relationship between a teacher and student and found similar results, including a view among male respondents that the younger male, older female scenario might be beneficial to the youth. These differences also operate within the legal system, as research has shown that cases involving the sexual abuse of males are prosecuted less than those involving females, especially when the offenses against the males are made by a female (Edelson, 2013; Smith, 2012). Taken together, this research demonstrates the power of gendered social constructions of sexuality and their impact on perceptions of sexual relationships.

In situations such as these, it is also essential to recognize the strength of deviance typing and labeling. During discussions for the latest revision of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders there was a significant push for a new diagnostic category of hebephilia (sexual attraction to youth beyond puberty but not yet adults). Proponents framed their arguments in terms of victimology and the need to diagnosis dangerous "individuals" (note: individuals, not actions, a reification of "sex offenders"), while opponents argued the normality and commonality of this sexual attraction (note the expansive pornographic industry focus on individuals who are "barely legal"), not to mention the inherent quandary of determining who is an "adult" other than through arbitrary legalistic definitions that are in constant flux. Ultimately, the new diagnosis was not adopted, but the debate demonstrated the mutability in social questions about the propriety of sexual activities and how some seek to control others through imposition of social authorities.

In terms of knowledge suppression, one need not look beyond the controversy that erupted around Rind, Tromovitch, and Bauserman's (1998) article that suggested that not all forms of child "sexual abuse" are harmful in the long-term and that a differentiation is needed between adolescent sexual abuse, which causes harm, and adult-adolescent sex, which may be a non-harmful variant of sexual activity. While the aftermath of this publication has been documented elsewhere (e.g.,

Lilienfeld, 2002; Mirkin, 2000), the general message was clear—the public was not ready to reevaluate common perceptions about sexual activity between adolescents and adults such that the topic was considered too taboo to even research; in other words, we already "know" sexual activity between an adult and an adolescent is harmful, so attempts to challenge this assertion with new knowledge are inherently misguided and should be punished, even if based upon empirical evidence.

Finally, there arise perhaps the most significant questions, those related to harm to the individuals involved. While some have suggested that any sexual interactions between youth and adults are inherently exploitive, abusive, or immoral regardless of the age of the youth (e.g., Grover, 2007; Ondersma, Chaffin, Berliner, Cordon, & Goodman, 2001; Steutel, 2009), others have stated it is not the age of the youth that is most significant, but the individuals' perceptions of the experience or the dynamics of the interaction that are important (Arreola, Neilands, Pollack, Paul, & Catania, 2008; Rind, 2004; Stanley, Bartholomew, & Oram, 2004). Within this line of thought, attention should be paid to coercion, power differentials, and the developmental maturity of the individuals involved. Pressing further, and perhaps more controversially, some research has even suggested that sexual interactions between consenting adolescents and adults may be beneficial to adolescent sexual development and may predict lower levels of future sex-risk behavior (Bruce, Harper, Fernandez, Jamil, & Adolescent Medicine Trials Network for HIV/AIDS Interventions, 2012; Rind, 2004; Rind & Welter, 2014, 2016; Yuill & Durber, 2008). It should be noted that much of this research has been done with males who identify as gay or bisexual, itself an artifact of cultural stereotypes of male homosexuals being predisposed to attraction to young boys.

This situation also invokes questions relating to stigma, labeling, and possible iatrogenic effects. Negative societal beliefs about individuals labeled as sex offenders have been well documented, especially when youth are involved and a label of "pedophile" is assigned to an individual. Research by Imhoff (2015) found social desirability effects on punitive attitudes toward pedophiles, indicating that participants felt it socially desirable to express more punitive attitudes toward those

individuals. Negative professional attitudes toward sex offenders have also been documented, which can limit appropriate service provision (Jung et al., 2012). While some may feel the older individual deserves a label of assailant, sex offender, or pedophile, it must be recognized that labels have intense connotations that may counteract the purported legal principle of rehabilitation.

Additionally, there are also implications of the labeling process for the younger individual, as that person becomes a victim in the eyes of many. There is scant literature on the effects of being labeled as a victim of sexual abuse, but a study by Holguin (2003) found that being noted as a victim of childhood sexual abuse negatively impacted professionals' beliefs about the youth's later social and emotional functioning. Other research found a sizable portion of youth legally categorized as victims of statutory violations viewed the relationships as reciprocal, felt professional intervention was intrusive and demeaning, felt the victimization narrative was more problematic than the relationship, and expressed confusion about being labeled as victims of voluntary actions (Tener, Walsh, Jones, & Kinnish, 2014). While some in the study also felt the experience was exploitive and experienced significant emotional trauma (and their experiences certainly should not be disregarded), what is important is the recognition that the younger individual can and will make their own meaning of the situation. This needs to be explored, as the impositions of others' interpretations and labels can be counterproductive.

How then would social workers attuned to sociological constructs discussed above respond to the above situation? First, it must be reiterated that it would be incumbent upon the social worker to fulfill legal and professional obligations to report the situation to the appropriate authorities. Yet, social workers also have an obligation to work with the younger individual to examine how the individual has interpreted the situation. Did the individual view the situation as abusive, coercive, or traumatic, or is the individual indifferent to the event or perhaps does the individual view it positively? If the former, there are well established therapeutic protocols that can and should be utilized in treatment. If it is the latter, the social workers should be willing to explore this with the

individual to understand these feelings. This should not be done in a way that re-enforces a traumatological discourse, rooting around in the individual's psyche for maladjustments or previous trauma that has "led" the individual to accept this type of "trauma," but rather to help the individual explore the situation for what it was and to understand the bases of the societal reaction, just as social workers are trained to do with other life occurrences. Doing so reduces the possibility of iatrogenic effects and ensures the younger individual's voice is heard and view respected. This is, after all, the heart of social work's core tenet of client self-determination.

Returning to the roots of social work practice, the social workers should further consider their responsibility toward advocacy and social change. In contemporary times, the 21-year-old will be subject to intense legal scrutiny, prosecution, and possibly life-long sanctions. In the case of a non-coercive, willing, and non-traumatic sexual interaction, social workers focused on social justice and client self-determination would have a responsibility to ensure the voice of the younger individual is recognized, advocate for a more just judgment of the older individuals, and refute the predatory narrative that is all but certain to develop. Further, they would seek to engage the local and greater society in discussion about the ways in which the actions were portrayed versus how they were perceived by the individuals involved. Doing so would fulfill social work's proclamation of being attuned to social justice and the rights of all by helping the older individual, as well as providing a sense of assurance and justice to the younger, who might otherwise have a neutral or positive experience turned into a negative one based solely on others' social judgements. It would also help society move toward Weeks' (1997) nearly twenty-year old call for a professional ethics of relationships, not a morality of sexual acts.

Conclusion

Returning to a more general examination of the current discourse surrounding sexuality, it is clear that society remains in a state of moral panic around sexuality, especially when youth are involved. Not only are there heightened levels of

claims-making that rely on questionable data, but there are explicit attempts to limit the production of knowledge related to sexuality and to silence certain discussions. Whether fortunately or unfortunately, social work practitioners are often thrust into the role of moderating these conflicts as publicly recognized experts and treatment providers, and therefore they need to be aware of the consequences of their actions.

To be more effective and client-driven, social workers must be open to considering the meaning of a sexual (or, really, any) situation/experience as construed by the individuals, even if reevaluating our current "knowledge" is required. Attention still must be directed toward the harmful effects of interpersonal exertions of power and control, but there also needs to be a focus on how societally-constructed perceptions of propriety can similarly harm individuals. In this way, social workers can understand which aspects of sexuality are more objectively harmful (i.e., sexual coercion, sexual assault and rape, to name a few) and those that are merely non-normative. Further, by exploring sociological considerations such as the social status assigned to certain "categories" of people, power dynamics between groups, degrees of authority provided to individuals and groups, roles assigned to individuals and groups, and the legitimacy or illegitimacy of certain ways of thinking, social workers can move closer to being able to help the most oppressed.

Doing so will involve introspection and self-examination, as social workers have been acculturated in a society dominated by normative views of sexuality. Making change will involve reconsidering sexual values and recognizing their situatedness within a culture. Certain norms and values, like the protection of children and the rightful prosecution of those who do harm to others, must be upheld, but this may not extend to all actions viewed currently as problematic. Ultimately, in an often-oppressive society subject to a cultural hegemony that seeks to define normative actions and sanction transgressors, social workers need to become further attuned to the ways in which social discourse affects their work. Wading into contentious discussion around difficult topics, questioning seemingly "settled" social problem definitions such as sexual offenses, advocating for reductions in power differentials between those

who are "normal" and those who are "deviant," and advocating for systematic change to assist "deviants" will not be easy, but it will benefit social workers, their clients, and the social work profession as a whole.

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Book Reviews

Anthony Christian Ocampo, *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipino Americans Break the Rules of Race*. Stanford University Press (2016), 257 pages, \$22.95 (paperback).

In this book, Anthony Christian Ocampo aims to probe into Filipino Americans' self-identification about ethnicity and how they fit themselves within the American racial hierarchy. It is also a thought-provoking book on racial dilemmas and the pan-ethnic possibilities of minorities in the United States. In order to obtain first-hand material, the author interviewed eighty-five Filipino American adults between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, who were second generation Filipino immigrants and currently living in two middle-class, multi-ethnic neighborhoods in Los Angeles, namely, Eagle Rock and Carson.

The book begins with the puzzling case of Filipino Americans' racial identity. The U. S. Census classifies Filipinos as Asian, but all of the interviewees disapprove of the classification, which seems to them only a geographic coincidence. On the contrary, they assume that because of Spanish colonialism in the Philippines they share more traits with Latinos than with Asians, including last names, religion, language and culture. Though they feel torn encountering the racial identification question on a form, they sing the praises of the hybridity of their ethnic culture because of the historical influences from Spain and the United States. Unlike other Asians, who reside as ethnic cliques, Filipinos think of themselves as "racial chameleons," capable of adaptation to the multiethnic neighborhood environment.

Thus race is not merely about the color of one's skin; it depends on one's social context. Filipino "color" changes depending on where they live, where they go to school, and whom they befriend. In neighborhood communities, there is little ethnic estrangement between Filipinos, the "Mexicans of the Asians," and Latinos. However, in schools, especially in public schools, academic tracks are almost always

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stratified by race. In the absence of other Asian American students, Filipinos are stereotyped as "typical" Asians, expected to excel in academics and supposed to be on the honors track, while Latinos are assumed to be less academically ambitious and expected to stay on the regular track, even if they have the ability to excel. As a result, students are inclined to self-segregate by race, and racial tensions at times erupt into physical conflicts.

After they enter universities, Filipinos find themselves underrepresented minorities, changing from model students in high schools to at-risk undergraduates. "In both Eagle Rock and Carson, Filipinos account for more than 80 percent of the total Asian population, and they are the predominant Asian group in their high schools" (p. 46). However, within the racial context of college, the overwhelming majority of whites and East Asians cause Filipinos to encounter an unprecedented cultural shock during freshmen orientation. This results from the fact that they had little or no practice interacting with whites and Asians, since, according to the author, "Even among Filipinos from Eagle Rock, where a third of residents are white, interactions with whites were minimal" (p. 154). Racial integration doesn't necessarily mean actual social incorporation. With a sense of both cultural and academic marginalization and isolation, Filipinos exclude themselves from "real" Asians while promoting "a shared sense of peoplehood" with other minorities, and Latinos in particular. Meanwhile, they are more eager than before to embrace their ethnic heritage. Filipino Culture Nights, for instance, are annual showcases sponsored by Filipino student organizations throughout the United States to help people learn about Filipino history and culture.

Filipino racial ambivalence is the product of post-colonialism and cultural imperialism. By means of disseminating in colonies a discourse that assumed the normality and preeminence of everything occidental, cultural imperialism effectively imposed its power on the oriental, an exotic and inferior Other. With their native cultural heritage eroded, the colonial Other is subordinated and marginalized, and the hybridization of colonial languages and cultures leaves them perplexed about their ethnic identity. Unlike other Asian Americans,

who have more "pure" cultural heritage, Filipino Americans find it awkward to fall into these same racial categories.

On the other hand, certain cultural and linguistic advantages inherited from the Spanish and U.S. colonial period enable Filipinos to integrate in multi-ethnic social contexts with greater adaptability than other Asian Americans. In addition, it facilitates Filipino American ability to straddle Latino and Asian racial categories. How they negotiate panethnic boundaries, in turn, brings to light the flexibility and inclusiveness of race.

Developing more intimate ties with Latinos than with other Asians, Filipinos can only think of chopsticks, Japanese mountains, pho noodles and so on when talking about Asian Americans. They distance themselves from each other for lack of cultural recognition and social interaction. At the same time, "their status as racial minorities still hinders some whites from regarding them as full-fledged Americans" (p. 33).

Accordingly, it is a tough job to balance being Filipino and being American. Whether and how to maintain ethnicity in immigrant countries is a common racial dilemma for all ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, in the present age of economic globalization and cultural integration, we should discard minority stereotypes, increase understanding and celebrate differences through mutual respect and equal exchange. As no culture flourishes in isolation, every culture needs to absorb foreign cultural elements to renew itself, and one's cultural identity must be forged out of the co-existence of multiple cultures.

Yin Liu, Nanjing Normal University

Michael C. Gizzi and R. Craig Curtis, *The Fourth Amendment in Flux: The Roberts Court, Crime Control, and Digital Privacy*. University of Kansas (2016), 188 pages, \$19.95 (paperback).

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. (4th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution)

While most of the public attention in civil liberties focuses on First Amendment and perhaps Second Amendment issues, other amendments of the Bill of Rights are also fundamental to our consciousness as Americans. I will admit that before reading this book, I myself would have been a little shaky as to exactly what is contained in the Fourth Amendment. Oh yes, the "Search and Seizure" amendment, right.

Even so, the images that ran through my head in immediate reaction to those words was one of Colonial soldiers barging into a house and taking whatever they wanted. Obviously, this book has been a real education for me, as I know it will be for many others of the readers of this journal. Furthermore, far beyond simply becoming better and more informed American citizens for reading this book, the cases in point pertaining to illegal search and seizure impact our research and service delivery in the social services very directly. As we move from a world of "persons, houses, papers and effects," into a world of email, smart phones, laptops, electronic records-keeping and the ability of governments, as well as large private institutions, to vacuum up and reconstruct bits of information like never before, what is the current thinking about the balance between public need and privacy, the parameters of professional confidentiality, and the limits of legitimate investigation?

In laying out the common issues currently enveloped by the Fourth Amendment, Gizzi and Curtis take a loosely historical approach, guiding us through the discussions of the past in order to bring us into the discussions of the present. Following some previous scholars, they adopt a framework that looks at the balance of "due process" versus "crime control" as a way of understanding and evaluating this history of how the courts view Fourth Amendment issues. A court that highly values due process is likely to return decisions on Fourth Amendment issues that favor individuals and defendants, while a court that values crime control is more likely to return decisions that favor the state and law enforcement.

The Fourth Amendment played only a minor role in the minds of Americans before the 1960s. The reason for this is that it applied only to situations in which federal law enforcement officials were involved. Local law enforcement more or less functioned according to the general mores of the communities

in which they existed, and even state-level law enforcement was rarely impeded by federal rules. This changed radically in the years in which Earl Warren served as the chief justice of the supreme court (1953-1969). Especially during the latter years of the Warren Court, the court leaned heavily in the direction of "due process," and handed down decisions that were aimed very clearly at letting law enforcement know there were Fourth Amendment limits to their authority and the means of their investigations.

All who have ever watched a film or TV crime drama are well aware of some of those decisions, such as the requirement to read a suspect his or her "Miranda" rights upon arrest, and the need to have a warrant signed by a judge before searches can take place. This seems so bedrock to our current understanding of the American system now that it is rather jarring to remember that such "exclusionary" laws (excluding evidence from trial that was gained outside of the parameters of proper search and seizure) did not even apply to state and local cases before 1961. It was really in a few short years, during the decade of the 1960s that the Warren Court handed down decisions that largely upended many of the common practices of the legal system up to that time.

As some of us can still remember from those years, while there were many who appreciated the logic of the Warren Court, guided by its sense that Constitutional Rights were primary, underlining the notion that law enforcement could not simply violate those rights and justify themselves later by the results, there were many others (Nixon thought of them as his "silent majority") who felt that the Warren Court had gone way too far in establishing protection of the rights of criminals even above the rights of law-abiding citizens. Whether or not that is a fair assessment (and at least initially, there were a good number of highly profiled cases of those likely guilty of crimes for which they were accused who got off on the basis of legal technicalities pertaining to the investigation process), a skilled politician like Richard Nixon immediately smelled an opportunity and began to drum up resentment against both President Johnson and Earl Warren for this elevation of civil liberties in their governing philosophies.

Nixon's rhetoric during the elections of both 1968 and 1972

(which I remember well) was chock full of bluster about "coddling criminals" and the need for reestablishment of law and order. Though he eventually had to resign in disgrace to escape impeachment for his own crimes against the U.S. Constitution, Nixon had opportunity to name four new Supreme Court justices, including a new Chief Justice, and in doing so made good on his promise to reverse the direction of the court. The subsequent Burger Court (1969-1983) spent its tenure handing down rulings in areas of exclusion, probable cause and privacy expectation that firmly favored the state and law enforcement. Due process considerations were subordinated to what Gizzi and Curtis call the "jurisprudence of crime control."

This general direction was solidified through the 80s and 90s by the Rehnquist Court (1986-2005), to the point that it is fair to assume that a jurisprudence of crime control has been the overarching philosophy of the American supreme court over all, with the Warren "due process revolution" representing but a late 60s blip on the screen for a few short years, though an important one at that. As Gizzi and Curtis maintain, in a situation in which a jurisprudence of crime control represents the guiding philosophy, we find about three quarters of court decisions favoring the state and law enforcement, and even those decided against the state and law enforcement are much more likely to be narrowly aimed at specific excesses, rather than to represent precedent-setting new understandings of personal and constitutional rights.

This brings us finally to the Roberts Court, 2005 and into the present. While initially it seemed as if the Roberts Court would simply continue in the mode of Rehnquist, Gizzi and Curtis notice some variables and variation that they see as suggesting we may be "in flux" in relation to at least some of the salient issues. One major of those variables (the unpredictability of Antonin Scalia on some issues) has been taken off the table—and as of this writing, President Trump has not yet named a replacement. Some of those variables are rather subtle, for example, the incremental difference that Obama appointments (Sotomayor replacing Souter and Kagan replacing Stevens) have made in the overall mix of the court. But the most important variable is simply that we have now entered the digital era, and the old liberal/conservative

divisions are up for grabs in terms of how cases of digital privacy are viewed. Furthermore, these are issues in which the general public, as well as well-healed private corporations, have enormous interest. Gizzi and Curtis end their book with an outline of future cases, the issues involved, and the competing dynamics that will impact the decisions ahead.

This is a very well written and engaging book. As said, if I did not think so before reading this book, I certainly do now think that Fourth Amendment issues are very important for researchers and service providers in the social services. It is a real treat to have guidance for these issues by writers who are not jargon-laden constitutional lawyers, but rather a pair (a criminal justice and a political science professor) who speak much more closely the language of our own discipline. I highly recommend this book for personal background reading, and also as a possible text for graduate-level courses in policy studies.

Daniel Liechty, Illinois State University

Michael T. Maly and Heather M. Dalmage, *Vanishing Eden: White Construction of Memory, Meaning, and Identity in a Racially Changing City*. Temple University Press (2016), 170 pages, \$74.50 (hardcover), \$28.95 (paperback).

Privilege and power have long been discussed in scholarly efforts. Whiteness remains as an important construct in the context of privilege and power over time. American history is filled with examples on how the system is set up for white people to gain access to resources and power and withhold those from others. The tension portrayed between European Americans and African Americans in mass media reminds us that racism is still prevalent and persistent in American society, despite the social movements and efforts to end racial segregation and discrimination and their vastly different influences on the lives of both the privileged and the unprivileged. Prejudice and discrimination against people of color in housing, education, health care, work place, and the legal systems is manifest. However, white privilege is a challenging topic to talk about because often times white people do not recognize their privilege and power in relation to others. This book strengthens

understanding of how white people construct meaning, identity, and memories in relation to whiteness, even as they experience racial changes in their daily life, neighborhoods, communities, and across the nation.

The book centers on the answers to the following questions: What does racial change represent to whites? What does it threaten? How do whites make sense of the Civil Rights Movement vis-à-vis the potential for integration in their neighborhoods? How do whites organize themselves and their identities, roles, and emotions as racial change begins to threaten their neighborhoods?

Race in this book is understood as a social construction through discourse and action and its intersection with class within social institutions including religion, housing, education, and employment. Socioeconomic backdrop is Chicago's lower middle-class and working-class neighborhoods from the 1960s to 1980s, which are first introduced to contextualize racial change. Historical documents are employed to reveal the perception, emotion, and resistance of whites towards racial integration. The term "white ethnics" was coined to make a racialized group identity in efforts to mask the racialized nature of the integration process. Whiteness is influenced by physical and ideological racial borders, both tangible and intangible. Whites turn to engagement in more explicit racialized discourse and action as a response to changes in racial borders. Through the nostalgia narratives of whites, whites perceive themselves as victimized and try to regain white ownership, white privilege, and social position. Racial knowledge as the "what" and "how" whites understand the "Others" influences empathy of whites towards the racialized experience of people of color. The authors stress that socialization plays an important role in the construction of whiteness and racial knowledge. Exposure to other racial groups and education could help increase empathy of whites. More difficult, yet crucial, structural actions and cultural shifts need to happen in order to create solidarity and equality across racial boundaries.

This book is informative and dense in terms of the discussion of whiteness and racism, and it extends the discussion by incorporating the time dimension. Understanding whiteness and its consequences has important theoretical and practical implications. This book provides extensive and in-depth

discussions on whiteness and racism within a specific context and helps improve one's understanding of how and why whites react to desegregation efforts differently than others. This book moves from the past to the present and weaves in archival and qualitative data. The use of historical examples and individual narratives demonstrate the changing meaning of whiteness. Discussion on intersectionality between race, gender, and social class is supported by rich data. This book helps inspire one to learn more about the racial changes in American society over time and to search for a solution to end the endemic racism.

There is also evidence to support methodological rigor for the qualitative approach such as triangulation of data, consistency between data and findings, recognition of the potential influences of the thinking and theoretical perspectives of the researcher on the researched, and concrete action plans to minimize such influences. It would have been good if excerpts or highlights were provided at the beginning of each chapter to facilitate the understanding of the dense chapters. Additionally, there are places in which intersectionality of the subject matter could have been highlighted more explicitly.

Weiyu Mao, University of Nevada, Reno

Els de Graauw, *Making Immigrant Rights Real: Non-Profits and the Politics of Integration in San Francisco*. Cornell University Press (2016), 238 pages, \$22.95 (paperback).

Immigrant rights have received unprecedented attention during the recent presidential campaign. In this book, Els De Graauw cuts through this topic by focusing on the roles and strategies adopted by those immigrants serving nonprofits organizations in order to facilitate immigrant integration in San Francisco. Literature on nonprofits has well recognized the disadvantages that restrict their bargaining power to promote the integration policies that benefit immigrants and challenge the status quo. These disadvantages include the restrictions on lobbying and electioneering, limited political resources and dependence on government funding. The author innovatively demonstrates a tripartite model of advocacy strategies that nonprofits in San Francisco have used to tackle these

limitations and explains how they benefit immigrants through enactment and implementation of immigrant-friendly policies. These strategies include administrative advocacy, cross-sectoral and cross-organizational collaborations, and strategic issue framing. Three case studies are presented in this book to elaborate further how these strategies have been applied by nonprofits to benefit the promotion of immigrant advancement.

First, through the case of the enactment, implementation and enforcement of Equal Access to Service Ordinance, the author shows how nonprofits interact with legislative and administrative city officials despite their lobbying restrictions. In this case, nonprofits and city officials choose to embrace a collaborative and mutually beneficial style. On one hand, city officials need the help of nonprofits, who have deep understanding of the needs of immigrant groups, to engage and serve with immigrant communities. On the other hand, such collaboration made the advocacy activities of nonprofits less likely to be criticized as lobbying.

The next advocate strategy that nonprofits have adopted is the coalition with organizations that have more political resources, such as labor unions. The case of raising living and minimum wage in San Francisco was presented to explain this strategy, as immigrant-serving nonprofits and unions both "shared a progressive ideology and were interested in economic justice for all low-wage workers in the city" (p. 140). With shared interests and mutual trust, as well as the disparity of organizational structure and resources, a division of labor emerged during this collaboration. Labor unions, which have more freedom and resources in political activities, engaged more in pushing for ordinances that raise the living standards and minimum wage in San Francisco. The nonprofits, on the other hand, played more active roles in the enforcement and implementation of these ordinances.

Lastly, in the case of Municipal ID ordinance, nonprofits serving immigrant communities employed an advocate strategy that downplayed the benefits going to undocumented immigrants, but featured the ordinance as a policy benefitting all citizens in San Francisco. Thus they framed their advocacy as making the ordinance more like a universal program that promotes the advancement of all disadvantaged groups. As

the author argued, the best strategy to help undocumented immigrants is "not talking about them" and remaining "silent on the fact that undocumented immigrants are among the key beneficiaries" (pp. 164-165). By adopting these strategies, immigrant-serving nonprofits continue to play an important role in shaping current discourse on the common image of disadvantaged immigrants and greatly enhance their civic integration through the enactment, implementation and enforcement of related ordinances.

A significant body of literature exists on the integration of immigrants, yet most of it reflects an approach that is focused on immigrant groups, or a macro-level approach mainly focused on policies and political and institutional structures. This book is unique in employing an approach that emphasizes the mediating role of immigrant-serving nonprofits, and in offering three typical case studies that demonstrate how nonprofits can function to bridge the gap between immigrants and legislative officials. The author seems downplay the conflicts among nonprofits, labor unions and city officials in the process of collaboration. This book perhaps places excessive emphasis on the successful cases. Perhaps another chapter could have at least briefly discussed cases of unsuccessful advocacy strategies that nonprofits have adopted. In that way, the reader would be able to grasp more clearly the larger picture of nonprofit advocacy activities. Nonetheless, this book is a must read for those who are interested in immigrant rights and the process of integration of immigrants into the larger social environment.

Sizhe Liu, University of Hawaii at Manoa

Janice Wood Wetzel, *Sorrows and Songs: One Lifetime—Many Lives*. Fullarton Press (2015), 255 pages, \$14.95 (paperback).

I was intrigued to learn of Jan Wetzel's memoir, *Sorrows and Songs*, as I have long considered Wetzel, former Dean and Professor Emeritus of my MSW and PhD alma mater, a revered mentor. I suspected *Sorrows and Songs* would offer a unique contribution to understanding the human condition, and most surely, in its chronicling of her life journey through

the decades and the social movements that defined them, it does. Consistent with Wetzel's scholarship, her memoir uses a psychosocial context for understanding and treating depression in women. *Sorrows and Songs* begins in the early 1900s, the time of Wetzel's parents' lives, and moves through the decades that framed her own life, providing a deeply nuanced appreciation of the sociological and relational gifts and tragedies that shaped Wetzel's character and ultimately built her resilience. It also offers a broad-stroke view of how resolve can be realized within the lives and personal impacts of family of origin, for better and for worse.

Part I is replete with the writer's cherished relational and attachment memories of the "songs" of her early childhood years: her father's nighttime storytelling; cherished father-daughter beach outings; and her mother's tender loving care when she was sick. It is also packed with the ravage "sorrows" of mental illness and alcoholism, secrecy, and domestic violence; her mother's repetitive black-outs; physical abuse behind closed doors; and a pervasive sense of alienation which resulted from living in a home that was defined as "ordinary" but could more realistically be deemed a "house of cards."

In Part II, sorrows emerge in the patterns of intergenerational transmission depicted in a relational dynamic, defined largely by the domination, power and exploitation that colored Wetzel's twenty-year marriage. Through the decades of the 50s and 60s, Wetzel's honest accounts of her battle with depression, portrayed within the context of the deleterious effects of sexism and patriarchy, present a birds-eye view of the mental health system at the time. Wetzel's subsequent entry into the workforce and her return to school, both in the 1960s, exemplify the songs that emerged out of the civil rights movement—renewed hope and new possibilities. Throughout her narrative of these decades, her poignant personal illustrations of a painful and often gut-wrenching struggle parallel the emergence of the women's movement of the 1960s.

As Wetzel charts her life through the 70s and 80s, she claims it could be that the women's movement validated her and saved her life. But again, her songs are juxtaposed with sorrows, as she rises through the ranks as a social work scholar and educator, while simultaneously struggling for

genuineness and meaning in areas of intimacy and connection. As the 1980s bleed into the 90s and beyond, the reader journeys with Wetzel as she recalls her movement into global social work, her discoveries and accomplishments, both in her position as the International Association of Schools of Social Work representative to the United Nations, and in her study of women's issues and social service programs abroad.

Wetzel remarks that her daughter marveled that she was the only woman she knew who looked forward to getting older, and as the reader arrives at the end of the memoir and Wetzel's entry into her ninth decade of life, there is a sense that with this stage comes relief from the struggle and a genuine and general sense of wholeness and peace. Perhaps Wetzel intuitively knew at a young age that this late stage of life would bring at last many more songs—of work, travel, photography, rich friendships and close family ties—and far fewer of life's sorrows.

Wetzel's personal history demonstrates a resilience that is a thought provoking read for anyone interested in the human condition. It is a useful literary tool for social work education, particularly as a resource for teaching human behavior for social work practice. Reflecting transcendent wisdom, insight and self-awareness, *Sorrows and Songs* exemplifies the struggle for women's rights in America through the twentieth century.

Marilyn S. Paul, Adelphi University School of Social Work

Corresponding Authors

Sarah B. Garlington
garlingt@ohio.edu

Josphine Chaumba
josphine.chaumba@uncp.edu

JoAnn S. Lee
jlee120@gmu.edu

Tsz Ki K. Tang
katietangtk@gmail.com

Stephenie Howard
stephenie.howard@bison.howard.edu

Eloisa P. Haynes
Eloisa_Haynes@baylor.edu

Andrew C. Schoeneman
aschoene@richmond.edu

Richard A. Brandon-Friedman
rifriedm@iupui.edu

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