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# JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

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ERRATUM: Edward R. Canda reviewed the book, *The Moral Purposes of Social Work* in the June, 1993 Issue. His name was misspelled and we regret the error.

## EDITORIAL

### THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS

My first reaction upon confronting the fact that *JSSW* is twenty years old was disbelief. This is a hard time for social welfare, for higher education, and for libraries. Who would have thought that a journal without an organizational base to bring in dues and without a corporate manager would survive 20 years of deteriorating faculty purchasing power and library budget cuts? But when I began listing all the people who have donated time, energy, ideas, and faith, it wasn't too incredible. This is a cooperative endeavor of many talented and dedicated people. How could we not survive and flourish?

The first list of luminaries, which unfortunately I don't have, are those people who provided the operating capital for the first few issues. In August of 1973, Editor Ralph Segalman and Publisher Norman Goroff asked members of the Society for the Study of Social Problems' Division of Sociology and Social Welfare to contribute \$100 each to the founding of a new journal. The purpose of the Division was to bridge the gap between two fields of scholarship, and a journal seemed a likely way to extend this mission. The Society already had a journal, *Social Problems*, so this would have to be a separate enterprise. I don't know how many of us were on the list of investors, but it was enough to get started and within two years there were enough subscribers to allow Norm to repay us.

Ralph and Norm published the first issue from papers read at SSSP meetings. For the second issue, Associate Editors were recruited to review new submissions: A.K. Basu, Harris Chaiklin, Ivor Echols, Charles Guzzetta, and Joan Wallace. By the third issue (Spring, 1974), they were joined by Joan Acker, Herbert Bisno, Tom Briggs, John Brotman, David Gil, Shimon Gottschalk, Joe Hudson, Hubert Kelly, Stuart Kirk, Jordan Kosberg, Florence Kaslow, Elaine Norman, Al Pierce, and John Williamson.

The appearance of the journal evolved from a simple stack 8 1/2 x 11" paper with a flat, stapled cover, to folded 11 x 16" paper with a wrap-around, "saddle stitched" cover, to an 8 1/2 x

6 3/4" saddle-stitched model, and finally to a more traditional package in what printers call "perfect binding." Charlotte Goroff designed the covers. Each author prepared his or her own copy and sent it to the publisher "printer ready." There was no uniformity to the type faces or reference formats. Some manuscripts had right-justified margins, some did not. Some authors were good proof readers, some had never heard of proofreading.

This scruffy, ad hoc, bargain-basement format kept costs down. So did the agreement with the printer that he would produce an issue when it suited his schedule. This may have something to do with our irregular arrival in libraries. When the printer had an overstock of a certain kind of paper, Norm agreed to help him out in exchange for not raising printing prices. Now you know why Vol. V (1978) was printed in pink.

Norm's economical management was for the benefit of authors and subscribers, not profits. It allowed a move from four to six issues with Vol. III and to eight in Vol. IV. He returned to six with Vol. V, a practice maintained until Vol. VII. Cost increases finally caught up with him. Norm was able to publish six issues that year only by combining them into two mega-issues, which saved money on binding and mailing (and probably gave librarians fits). After that he had to return to a quarterly schedule.

With Vol. V, volume numbers began to correspond to calendar years. Librarians must have appreciated this, though the continuing practice of giving each issue a different colored cover kept them on their toes.

The Editorial Board continued to expand. Pranab Chatterjee, Jeffery Galper, Barry Gordon, Margaret Hartford and John Tropman came aboard for Vol. III. Paul Adams, Patricia Ann Brown, John Cardwell, John Else, Alejandro Garcia, Gale Goldberg, Bob Green, Dave Hollister, Jim Hudson, Beth Huttman, Larry Jordan, Leslie Leighninger, Henry Meyer, Larry Northwood, Dan Rubenstein, Len Rutman, Eunice Shatz, Art Shostak, and Samuel P. Wong joined with Vol. IV. Vol. V brought Michael Borrero, Charles F. Jones, Terry Jones, Dee Morgan Kirkpatrick, Bob Kronick, Phil Lichtenberg, Joe Miller, and Dave Simon. I was asked to join in Vol. VI along with Frank Kastelic, Salima Omer, Diana Pearce, and Murray Meld. These people constituted a wonderful mixture of disciplines and interests, some already



well along in scholarly careers, others just beginning. Many of them are still with us; others have asked to be excused. The role of Editorial Board Member gets little recognition when tenure, promotion, or merit pay are considered. You're much better off getting yourself published than helping others. Fortunately, these people did the work anyway. Without them, *JSSW* and all other scholarly journals could not exist.

Ralph resigned as Editor after Vol. III, and Norm took over both editorial and publishing functions. This, as I was to find out later, was an enormous amount of work. He kept it up for four more volumes. In 1979 he asked me to assume the duties of Editor. The Board approved, and I took over with Vol. VII. Norm continued to manage publication in Connecticut. We became a two campus operation.

Both the School of Social Work and the Department of Sociology at Western Michigan University agreed to help support the Journal. I had offices in both places and they shared the costs of mailing manuscripts to reviewers and making occasional phone calls to authors and reviewers. Colleagues in both places were willing to serve as emergency substitute reviewers and providers of third (or fourth) opinions. This list includes: John Flynn, Dave Joslyn, Ron Kramer, Nat McCaslin, Jim Petersen, Linda Reeser, Stanley Robin, Linda Rouse, Lew Walker, Marion Wijnberg, and Jim Wolk.

New members of the Editorial Board were recruited to replace those who wanted a rest. Vol. VII: Mary Jo Deegan, Elfriede Schlesinger. Vol. X: Mimi Abramovitz, Ben Carniol, Susan Chandler, John Herrick, Kristine Nelson, Dennis Peck, Jonathan Rabinowitz, and Jim Wolk. Vol. XI: Tim Lause, Felice Perlmutter, Jennifer Schirmer, and Bruce Thyer. Vol. XII: Ed Pawlak and Danny Thompson. Though her name never appeared on the masthead, Jane Pfouts served briefly during this period before her untimely death.

We decided to have a Book Review Editor. Paul Adams assumed that role for Vol. X (1983). Shimon Gottschalk and Bruce Thyer took over for Vol. XII and Shimon continued solo for Vols. XV–XVIII.

Periodically, members of the Board would express desires for a more "professional" appearance for the journal. I talked

with a number of publishing companies which managed journals. It was clear that in exchange for the management and advertising power they could offer, we would have to raise subscription rates and publish fewer articles in order for it to be profitable for them. My own estimate was that we would have to cut acceptances by more than half. Even then, we were getting plenty of good quality material. So, I resisted this change.

In 1986, Norm finally decided that doing the work of both Editor and Publisher, sometimes without even student help, was madness. He was on the road a lot, serving an Extension program in New Hampshire. Relations with the printer were more difficult. He didn't have time to send out subscription renewal reminders and circulation was dropping. He asked me to consider taking over both operations.

I was willing despite total ignorance of what I was getting into. Fortunately, the cavalry arrived. Danny Thompson and Ed Pawlak from the WMU School of Social Work had served as Editors for a year while I was in England. They agreed to show me how to bring the journal to WMU. They also persuaded me that it was time to transform the appearance of the journal. We drew up a budget, which included for the first time partial compensation for my time and for travel to Editorial Board meetings. We included some money for marketing. Then we went to our WMU administrators to persuade them to provide a short-term capital infusion which would allow us to produce the journal in set type, carefully copy-edited, with a new cover. With the new look and a marketing strategy, we estimated we could boost circulation enough to be self-supporting again in three years.

Phil Kramer, Director of the School of Social Work; Dave Chaplin, Chair of Sociology; Bill Burian, former Dean of the College of Health and Human Services; and Bruce Clarke, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences all agreed to make a contribution from their lean budgets. Associate Vice President for Research Don Thompson asked President Diether Haenicke to make up the difference. He agreed and we went to work.

It took more than three years to get back into the black. Don Thompson agreed to continue backstopping us, but his aid was required only for an additional year. The Dean of Health

and Human services, Janet Pisaneschi, has now taken on that responsibility, but we have not needed to call on her and I trust we never will. These administrators, in addition to providing financial and moral support, actually read the journal. While at WMU, I used to get notes from President Haenicke commenting on particular articles.

The Editorial Board had numbered between 45 and 50 for some years. Through work experience rather than policy, this has proved a comfortable number, so members are now added only when others retire. Some are volunteers and some are recruits. We try to keep a balance of interests appropriate to the kinds of manuscripts we are receiving. For Vol. XIV, we added Ken Branco, Padi Galati, Nick Mazza and John Pardeck. Vol. XV: Bill Buffum and Julius Roth. Vol. XVI: Maureen Kelleher. Vol. XVII: Pallasana Balgopal and Ed Gumz. Vol. XVIII: Sonia Ables, Bob Newby, Wilma Peebles-Wilkins, Marcia Patchers, and Raju Ramakrishnan. Vol. XIX: Jim Midgley. Vol. XX: Katherine Tyson and Iris Carlton-LaNey.

The death of Norm Goroff in November of 1989 was a serious blow to us all. His philosophy of nurturing rather than gate-keeping made *JSSW*, and I hope continues to make it, a special kind of academic enterprise. Our June, 1990 issue is dedicated to him and contains articles which he had collected for a future Special Issue, supplemented by others on topics dear to him. The journal itself is a memorial to him, and I like to think he would be pleased by its current form. For all who worked with him, he will be with us in our twentieth anniversary celebration.

In the Fall of 1991, midway through Vol. 18, we became a two campus operation again. I moved to Louisiana State University. The wonders of electronic mail have made this much easier. The transition was more difficult than expected because of organizational upheaval at WMU which I described in an editorial last year and won't repeat. We lost Ed and Danny as Associate Editors but we survived. Gary Mathews is now doing the job of both of them, but with a much better support structure than we've ever had before.

Louisiana State University has also been very supportive of *JSSW*. Though our original arrangement was for the Journal to pay LSU for the postage and phone costs of maintaining



the editorial office, Dean Jim Midgley has refused to present a bill. Nor has he asked that the school get recognition on the masthead, though the Board decided at its last meeting that it was time to give some.

Dean Midgley's association with *JSSW* began long before we moved to LSU. I met him while selling subscriptions at a conference. He subscribed. He sent us an article. We rejected it (it happens to us all, folks). He sent us another, which we published. He then put together a fine Special Issue for us on The Reagan Legacy and now serves as our Book Review Editor. Another LSU colleague, Steven Rose, has joined us as Associate Editor. We now have excellent facilities and support at both LSU and WMU.

Circulation continues to grow slowly even though libraries are constantly cutting their serials. We continue to get more good work than we can publish, and it pains me greatly to reject so much of it. Nonetheless, we continue to try to provide authors with useful comments, so that their experience with us is not entirely negative. Our subscription rates are still lower than most and we still publish more articles than most. We are about as secure as anything which runs on love, faith, and donated time can be. We, all the people on the lists above, may not last another twenty years, but I expect *JSSW* will.

You are hereby invited to an Invitational Session at the next Annual Program Meeting of the Council on Social Work Education (March, 1994 in Atlanta) in honor of our twentieth year and to a party sometime thereafter. The session will be called "Interdisciplinary Research on Class, Race, and Poverty" and the speaker will be Paula Dressel. If you are regular *JSSW* readers, Paula's work will be familiar to you. I hope to see all of you, even if you're too cheap to subscribe, even if you just want to kick me in the shins for an unkind comment in a rejection letter. You are all part of this great cooperative enterprise. You're why we are still going after twenty years.

Robert D. Leighninger, Jr.  
Editor

# African-American Males in Prison: Are they Doing Time or is the Time Doing Them?

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*African-American males comprise a disproportionate percentage of the individuals imprisoned in State correctional institutions across the United States. The purpose of this paper is to describe how incarceration affects African-American males. The author recommends more rigorous and systematic analysis of the prison experience, and how it affects the mental, physical, and social well-being of African-American males. Given this nation's commitment to using imprisonment as the principal means for punishing convicted felons, it is imperative that society ascertain the social, psychological, and economic effects of such confinement on millions of African-American males.*

I will never forget the strange feeling I experienced when I first entered the yard of a large medium/maximum State prison facility approximately four years ago. I had never seen so many African-American men in one place in my entire life, which includes over 18 years of military service. For the first time, I truly understood why there is a shortage of males in the African-American community.

After serving as a clinical social work consultant in a State prison system in the Southeast, and working with hundreds of African-American inmates, it became clear to me that thousands of these young males were spending their late adolescent and early adult years confined to State correctional institutions that breed crime, despair, anger, and frustration. It also was obvious that prisons are a threat to their psychological, social, economic, and physical well-being. More importantly, I realized that most, if not all of these men ultimately would be returned to their communities more confused, angry, and frustrated than they were before their incarceration. Furthermore, it became equally

clear that the African-American communities to which these men would eventually return suffer tremendously for the price they paid for "doing time".

This paper examines the potentially lethal effects imprisonment can have on African-American males. I describe how social, psychological, and health-related problems that many African-American males enter prison with are exacerbated by the prison experience. Finally, I recommend a more rigorous and systematic analysis of the prison experience, and how it affects the mental, physical, psychological, and social well-being of African-American males, particularly those who enter prison with specific economic, social, and psychological problems.

### The Problem

The United States of America has the highest incarceration rate in the world, because it incarcerates more men of African ancestry than any other country on the planet (Hawkins & Jones, 1989). African-American males are incarcerated at a rate (3,109 per 100,000) four times higher than the rate (729 per 100,000) for indigenous South African males (Brazaitis, 1991). Over 48% of all males confined to State prisons in the United States are African-American, even though these males comprise less than 6% of the U.S. population (U.S. Department of Justice, *Correctional Populations in the United States*, 1989, 1991).

African-American male adolescents and teenagers also are over represented in correctional facilities. For example, African-Americans comprise 15% of the 11 to 17 year old males in the United States, but are approximately 40% of the 11 to 17 year-old males incarcerated in State-operated, long-term juvenile facilities (Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1990; U. S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, 1988). African-American male adolescents age 11 to 14 comprise 46.7% of the children confined to State-operated long-term facilities even though African-American males comprise approximately 16% of the males in this age group nationally (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, 1988; Statistical Abstracts of the U.S., 1990). There are more African-American men confined to jails, State or Federal prisons than there are walking the college and university campuses of this nation (King, 1992). It is not surprising,



therefore, that 60% of all African-American college students are females (Evangelauf, 1992).

### Who really cares?

In the last decade, a significant amount of data have been published and presented at conferences and workshops throughout the United States in an attempt to raise public awareness about the plight of a significant percentage of African-American males (Gary, 1981; Gibbs, 1988; Madhubuti, 1990; Staples, 1987, 1982). African-American scholars have warned that "the Black man is an endangered species," (Gibbs, 1988) and rapidly becoming "obsolete, single, and dangerous" (Madhubuti, 1990). Yet, few social scientists have openly discussed or examined the impact incarceration continues to have on African-American males. Surprisingly, the nation has not heard much protest from the African-American community regarding the disproportionate incarceration of African-American males.

I believe that there are at least three reasons why most African-Americans refuse to discuss this problem publicly. First, some feel that their complaints would draw more negative attention to the African-American community. The media and mainstream social scientists focus so much attention on the weaknesses, problems, and pathologies-real and imagined-of the African-American community, that African-Americans are often overwhelmed by the negative light cast upon their community. Thus, they frequently turn away from additional reports of doom and gloom.

Secondly, African-American men have been overly represented in this nation's State correctional systems for so long that it no longer appears to be unusual for an African-American male teenager or young adult to go to prison. Malcom X once stated that going to prison is what America means to African-American men (Burns, 1971). George Jackson (1970), a former inmate at Soledad prison, wrote that "Black men born in the U.S. and fortunate to live past the age of eighteen are conditioned to accept the inevitability of prison. For most of us, it simply looms as the next phase in a sequence of humiliations" (p. 9).

Finally, many African-Americans do not complain about the disproportionate incarceration of their males because the African experience in this nation has taught them that their complaints frequently fall on deaf ears. There is a strong belief among African-Americans that social problems have to affect large segments of the non-African-American community before the nation responds in any meaningful way.

Human service agencies and professionals also have ignored the plight of incarcerated African-American males. Most social service and mental health agencies do not offer services and programs that address the unique needs of inmates, former inmates, or their families (King, 1992). Even child welfare advocates have been conspicuous in their silence about this matter, even though a disproportionate number of the children whose interests they claim to represent have fathers, brothers, uncles, and cousins warehoused in State prisons from one end of this nation to the other.

Few schools of social work offer courses or concentrations on social work practice in correctional settings. Professional human service associations also have failed to challenge the necessity of incarcerating hundreds of thousands of African-American males from the most impoverished cities and rural communities in this nation. Social work researchers and scholars have completely ignored this problem and its impact on African-American males and their communities.

Nevertheless, there are several reasons why *everyone* in this nation needs to be concerned about the impact of incarceration on African-American males. First, the cost of incarcerating more people per capita than any other nation in the world is staggering. The United States spends nearly 20 billion dollars a year to incarcerate almost 800,000 citizens (Butterfield, 1992). These funds could be better spent rebuilding the nation's infrastructure, improving education, and providing preventive health care for those individuals who can't afford to purchase their own.

Secondly, social work practitioners and scholars who are genuinely concerned about African-American children and senior citizens must be equally concerned about this problem because of its deleterious effect on African-American family

life. The African-American family will never be able to improve the environment in which it nurtures, educates, and raises it's children, or cares for it's aged without the contributions of both African-American women and men. If a significant percentage of African-American males continue to be subjected to the emotional, psychological, and health-related risks associated with the prison environment then the supply of able-bodied African-American males will continue to dwindle. In turn, the quality of African-American family life also will continue to deteriorate.

Increases in public aid, child care services, or health programs are inadequate replacements for healthy and socially functional males. No group of people can achieve and maintain a relatively stable family life when a significant percentage of it's citizenry is handicapped by the lingering and often devastating effects of incarceration.

Most Americans, including professional social workers have no idea what it is like to be in prison. Moreover, few understand the dangers and difficulties that await individuals sentenced to prison in the United States. In order to contribute to the amelioration of this knowledge gap, this paper identifies and describes some of the most obvious effects of imprisonment on African-American males. It also argues the need for additional research to ascertain a greater understanding of these effects on the well-being of African-American males.

### Paying the price

From the beginning, prisons in the United States were designed to punish the incarcerated individual (Sellin, 1976), and this philosophy has not changed much over the last 200 years. Politicians, a wide variety of citizens groups, and even correctional administrators frequently claim that rehabilitation is one of the principal goals of imprisonment. Few people in this country either believe this or desire prisons to make rehabilitation their number one priority. A recent Gallop Report, for example, revealed that less than half of the people polled felt that the purpose of prisons was to rehabilitate the offender (U.S. Department of Justice, Sourcebook of Criminal Statistics 1989, 1990).



In the past, incarcerated individuals were often subjected to brutal physical torture, such as whippings, paddlings, beatings, long hours of meaningless physical labor, and hours running on a treadmill. Even the gainful work inmates were forced to perform in an effort to teach them valuable skills and trades was structured in such a manner that the more obvious goal of punishment seemed more important than any effort to equip a poor illiterate individual with the resources necessary to thrive in a competitive society (Adamson, 1983 & 1984; Sellin, 1976).

Although most forms of physical punishment, other than capital punishment, have been ruled unconstitutional. The goal of imprisonment is still to inflict punishment on the convicted felon. During the latter half of the 20th century, the principal penalty for being convicted of a felony in the United States has been imprisonment for an indeterminate period of time. African-American males have suffered disproportionately as a result of this policy.

#### *Separation from family and community*

The abrogation of an African-American male's freedom, by physically isolating him from familiar surroundings, primarily family, friends, and community, is worse than the treadmill, lash or whip. Social scientists have argued that being separated from family, friends, and community, is probably the most devastating social and psychological experience an African-American person can encounter (Gutman, 1976; Houston, 1990; Lester, 1968; Mellon, 1988; Nobles, 1976). In order to understand this assertion, one has to first understand the general world-view and ethos of African-American people. Although the focus of this paper is not on African-American culture, a brief description of this cultural perspective is imperative to fully comprehend the punishment African-American males experience as a result of being separated from family, friends, and community.

At the center of the African world-view is the group and interpersonal relationships (Baldwin & Bell, 1985; Houston, 1990; Nobles, 1976, 1982; Mbiti, 1990; Richardson, 1989). In other words, African-American people value, above all else, the social relationships they enjoy with other human beings, particularly

family members and friends. These relationships provide people of African ancestry with the emotional, psychological, and spiritual energy needed to maintain intrapersonal harmony and balance, or what mainstream mental health professionals often refer to as a healthy mental outlook.

African-American males have been taught to value and depend upon their social, family, and community relationships for sustenance and strength during good and bad times. Moreover, their identity within the community is tied to the family and extended social relationships they share with a number of African-Americans. This ethos is best expressed in the African proverb, "I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am," (Mbiti, 1990: 106). Thus, when African-American males are incarcerated, they are being separated from the source of their identity and reason for being.

The intrapersonal stress generated from being separated from family and community can, and often does, lead to mental health difficulties such as depression and suicide among African-American people (Moore, 1989; Houston, 1990). Moreover, it has been argued that much of the social disorganization in the African-American community can be attributed to those African-Americans, particularly males, "who have failed to establish, maintain, or reestablish meaningful interpersonal relationships" (Houston, 1990: 149). Anyone who has worked closely with African-American men in and outside of juvenile and adult correctional institutions would agree that African-American males are particularly susceptible to feelings of alienation.

The fact that African-American men have a suicide rate six times higher than African-American women lends further support to this contention (U.S. Statistical Abstract, 1990). Unfortunately, the U.S. Department of Justice does not report inmate suicide rates according to race, and therefore, one cannot determine what percentage of the 100 or so suicides that take place each year in State and Federal prisons are committed by African-American males. Given their cultural orientation there is a need to ascertain the relationship between incarceration and suicide among African-American male inmates.

In addition, incarcerated African-American males experience a great deal of stress related to the violence that frequently permeates correctional institutions. The boredom, and uncertainty regarding when their prison sentence will end also contributes to the high level of stress that incarcerated African-American males experience. Since prisons reflect the values and attitudes of the larger society, African-American males also have to cope with prejudice and institutional racism in correctional settings, which increases and intensifies the level of stress they experience.

#### *Destabilization of family life and relationships*

Given the overwhelming presence of African-American males in U.S. prisons, it is not surprising that in 1990, only 35.8% of all African-American households were married couples. The excessive incarceration rates of these males is partially responsible for the fact that in 1989, only 38% of all African-American children under the age of 18 lived with both parents, and 51% lived with their mothers only (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1991, 1992). Similarly the imprisonment of African-American males contributes to large numbers of poor female headed households in the African-American community. Over the last two decades this problem has reached epidemic proportions. In 1987, African-American children under the age of six and living with their mother represented 75% of the African-American children in poverty (Statistical Abstracts of the U.S., 1991).

Incarceration exacerbates any existing family and social problems these African-American male inmates and their families experienced prior to incarceration. The confinement of fathers, sons, uncles, and brothers creates a host of new problems for the families they leave behind. Most notably economic hardship, emotional distress, and strained interpersonal relationships (King, 1992).

There is a paucity of research, particularly longitudinal studies, concerning the impact incarceration has on the family life and relationships of African-American inmates and their families, despite the fact that for over a century their communities have endured the havoc that imprisonment emanates on the families and family relationships of these males (Christianson,

1981). This inattention and "neglect represents an astonishing admission on the part of the intellectual community and society as a whole" (Christianson, 1981: 369).

### *Loss of personal autonomy*

The abrogation of the African-American male's freedom also undermines his right to choose the people with whom he wishes to associate and when. The revocation of this basic human entitlement further erodes what little sense of social and political autonomy they enjoy in this country, and increases feelings of personal desperation, helplessness, and dependence. Furthermore, the rigid, authoritarian, and emasculating organizational structure and environment that characterizes State and Federal correctional settings encourages and rewards inmates for assuming a dependent posture. This experience undermines the incarcerated African-American male's capacity and willingness to think and act independent of coercive or authoritarian influence (Lichtenstein & Kroll, 1990).

Studies have found that "model" inmates have a more difficult time adjusting to the outside world, while more rebellious inmates have a less difficult time adjusting (Newton, 1980; Goodstein, 1979). After years of being told when to get up, when to eat, what to eat, and how to eat, "It is unrealistic to expect [ex-prisoners] to function as autonomous and independent individuals in society after their release" (Lichtenstein & Kroll, 1990: 12).

### *Imprisonment and health status*

In spite of laws that prohibit correctional staff from physically harming an inmate, the prison environment can pose a significant threat to the physical health of incarcerated African-American males. Imprisonment exposes inmates to dangerous individuals and life-threatening conditions, such as violent assaults, drugs, rape, the HIV, and AIDS.

#### *Prison violence*

Correctional settings are often more violent than the streets. In 1973, the national homicide victimization rate in State prisons was 74.4 per 100,000 inmates, compared to 9.4 per 100,000 residents in the general United States population (Newton, 1980). Hence, the victimization rate in State prisons was over seven

times that found in the general population. Even when the homicide victimization rate in State prisons is compared with the high African-American male homicide rate in the general population the disparity remains. For example, in 1970 and 1975, the homicide rate for African-American males was 67.6 and 69.0, respectively, per 100,000 male residents (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States:1991, 1992). In 1988, the African-American male homicide rate was 58 per 100,000 male residents in the general population (U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1991, 1992).

Admittedly, the homicide rate for certain age cohorts of African-American males surpasses the rate cited for State prisons. In 1986, Twenty to twenty-four year old African-American males had a homicide rate of 100 per 100,000, and the rate for 25-34 year old African-American males was 104.3 per 100,000 African-American males in the resident population (U. S. Department of Justice, Black Victims, 1990). The point, however, is that prisons-like urban blight, poverty, and unemployment-breed anger, desperation, and frustration. These are all emotions that frequently lead to interpersonal violence and unhealthy social behavior.

#### *Drugs and prisons*

The consumption of drugs and the drug trade flourish within prison walls (Bowker, 1977). With the massive incarceration of younger inmates who have grown up within a more permissive drug using society, drugs in the prison system has become a more serious problem (Bowker, 1977). Moreover, a significant percentage of the individuals sentenced to State prisons either have serious drug use problems or were using a drug (alcohol, marijuana, cocaine, or crack) when they committed their crime.

Some studies indicate that maximum security institutions have more serious drug problems than less restricted correctional institutions (Bowker, 1977; Akers, Hayner, Gruninger, 1974). Inmates have told me that drugs in prison are better (more powerful or pure) than drugs on the streets. It has also been reported that some correctional staff ignore the use of some drugs such as marijuana because it tends to "mellow-out" inmates and reduce prison violence. In addition, social workers

in correctional institutions frequently lament how difficult it is to provide drug treatment to inmates, because the prevalence of illegal drugs in prisons makes maintaining a "drug free" environment difficult at best, and impossible in most cases.

The prison drug trade often leads to violence among inmates. Disagreements over drug turf within the prison, the absence of sufficient drugs to meet the demand, and outstanding debts incurred for the purchase of drugs fuels inmate conflicts that frequently result in violence. Violence also erupts when intoxicated inmates argue over daily living conditions or violations of personal codes of conduct. Ironically, the same types of drug related activities and violence that results in the deaths of thousands of African-American males in the U. S. every year also threaten the lives of African-American men inside of prisons.

#### *Homosexual assaults*

Homosexuality has long been a major feature of prison life. Some men were involved in homosexual relationships prior to being incarcerated, others engage in consensual homosexual relations only while incarcerated. Many, incarcerated inmates do not engage in homosexual sex. Nevertheless, homosexual assault or rape is a problem that endangers the physical health and well-being of incarcerated African-American males. According to a United States Prisons Bureau investigation, "five of eight homicides that occurred (in one prison) between March 1974 and May 1976, were motivated by homosexual activity" Newton (1980: 140). Moreover, random surveys of State prisons have discovered that over 25% of inmates were targets of sexual attacks at least once during incarceration (Newton, 1980). Usually, smaller (in size) and less aggressive inmates are singled out for sexual attacks (Bowker, 1977; Heffernan, 1972; Newton, 1980).

Since age is somewhat correlated with physical size, the younger the inmate, the greater the probability of a sexual assault. Over the last decade more youthful offenders, including teenagers, and young, adults between the ages of 17 and 25, were incarcerated in adult institutions than in previous years. A significant percentage of these younger and smaller inmates are African-Americans.

Without studies that routinely measure the incidence of homosexual assaults in State prisons, it is difficult to determine with any precision the number of young African-American males who are victims of homosexual assaults. Nevertheless, it is clear that they are at risk for this type of violent attack. It is imperative that social scientists and correctional institutions study this problem. In addition to being a *direct* threat to the immediate physical and emotional health of young African-American male inmates, homosexual assaults also pose a significant *long-term* threat to the health of this population and the entire African-American community.

*Increased exposure to the HIV and AIDS*

Another threat to the physical health and well-being of incarcerated African-American males is the HIV and AIDS. The recent increase in the incarceration rate of intravenous drug abusers, and the tendency of many male inmates to engage in homosexual acts, exposes a significant portion of African-American males to HIV positive individuals (Dubler-Neveloff & Sidel, 1989). African-American males are already disproportionately represented among AIDS cases and deaths from AIDS, and AIDS related diseases (Health Status of the Disadvantaged CHARTBOOK, 1990).

Imprisonment only exacerbates a very serious public health problem among African-American males. In 1990, the national AIDS incidence rate was 17 cases per 100,000 residents (CDC, HIV/AIDS Surveillance Report, November 1990). The AIDS incidence rate among State and Federal prisons during that same year was 181 per 100,000 inmates (Hammett & Daugherty, 1991). As of 1990, 2,125 inmates in State and Federal Prisons had died of AIDS (Hammett & Daugherty, 1991). Since 1987, AIDS has been the leading cause of death among male inmates in the Maryland correctional system, a correctional system where approximately 74% of the inmates are African-American males (U.S. Department of Justice, Correctional Populations in the United States, 1989, 1991). Moreover, AIDS among inmates in State correctional institutions has yet to level off. Eighty-eight percent and 38%, respectively, of the incoming inmates in the North Carolina and New York State prison systems who tested seropositive for the HIV were African-American males (Eales,

1990; New York State Department of Health, Bureau of Communicable Diseases, 1990).

The imprisonment of African-American males also exposes more African-American women to the HIV. African-American women are already overrepresented among HIV and AIDS victims. For example, African and Hispanic-American women comprise only 19% of all women in the United States, but they are 72% of the females diagnosed with AIDS (Center for Disease Control, 1990). Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of incarcerated African-American males will eventually return to their communities. If they are infected with the HIV while in prison, they will become a major source for the spread of AIDS in their communities, particularly among heterosexual and intravenous drug using women. Eight-three percent of all women who have the HIV were exposed through intravenous drug use (32%) or heterosexual contact (51%) (Centers for Disease Control, 1990).

Correctional institutions have begun to recognize the seriousness of AIDS and the HIV (Dubler-Neveloff & Sidel, 1989). Five correctional systems (Mississippi, Vermont, New York City, San Francisco, and Philadelphia) now make condoms available to inmates (Hammett & Daugherty, 1989). In addition, "...inmates in several correctional systems are given explicit education on methods for cleaning needles" (U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1989: 4).

### *Stigmatized for life*

In addition, to the aforementioned problems, prison records stigmatize African-American males for the duration of their lives. The stigma begins to affect the future of African-American inmates before they leave prison by limiting their chances of obtaining parole or release. In most State correctional systems inmates being considered for parole must have a job before parole will be granted. I knew African-American inmates who were not paroled or allowed to participate in early or pre-release programs because they were unable to secure a job before being released from prison.

Obviously, being in prison reduces the inmates' job hunting effectiveness. As a result, many inmates must depend upon



friends and family members to find jobs for them in order to meet pre-release or parole requirements. African-American male inmates and their families are disproportionately poor and lack the social networks and resources required to locate employment. Consequently, such job requirements reduce the likelihood that these inmates will gain access to early and pre-release programs, and parole. Statistics that describe who receives parole from State prisons support my clinical observations.

African-American males are not paroled from State prisons at the same rate that they are incarcerated. In 1989, there were 435,385 adults on parole under State jurisdiction (U.S. Department of Justice, *Correctional Populations in the United States*, 1989, 1990). Only 39% of these State parolees were African-Americans, despite the fact that during the same year over 48% of all State inmates were African-American males (U.S. Department of Justice, *Correctional Populations in the United States*, 1989, 1991).

In addition, policies that require inmates to find employment as a condition of admission into pre-release or work release programs or parole, also discriminate against African-American male inmates on the basis of their educational and employment backgrounds. State prisons across this nation house almost 800,000 of the poorest, least educated, and unskilled individuals of this society. The median years of education for State inmates in 1986 was 10, and 35% had less than a 10th grade education (U.S. Department of Justice, *Correctional Populations in the United States*, 1986, 1989).

African-American males are the least educated, least skilled, and have the highest unemployment rate among major minority groups in the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*: 1991). Their participation in the illegal drug trade and other property offenses, and their subsequent incarceration for committing these crimes, can be attributed to their marginal economic status (Lichtenstein & Kroll, 1990). Yet, once they are incarcerated, African-American male inmates find it exceedingly difficult to secure their release from prison because they are poorly educated and lack marketable job skills. This is a cruel Catch 22 situation for African-American male inmates.

A term in prison stigmatizes African-American males to the extent that they find it more difficult to support themselves once they are released from prison. Their "ex-convict" status makes it more difficult for them to obtain credit, jobs, training opportunities, and education. Consequently, African-American "ex-convicts" are practically forced to engage in criminal activities in order to support themselves and their families. Since 90% of the crimes African-American males commit are against other African-Americans, the entire African-American community suffers when their males go to prison and are released no more prepared to function in a highly competitive economy than they were before they were incarcerated (U.S. Department of Justice, Black Victims, 1991).

#### *Effect on self-worth*

It is not clear what effect being an "ex-convict" has on the self-concept of African-American males. It doesn't appear, however, that going to prison improves one's social status in the eyes of the *general* African-American community or the larger society. Nevertheless, some people argue that the status and respect accorded young African-American males who have served time in prison by gangs and delinquent youth offsets any negative sanctions levied by the larger African-American community. This may be the case for a small percentage of incarcerated African-American males, especially those who are extremely young and involved in gangs, but one would be hard pressed to demonstrate that this is the case for the majority of African-American males who serve time in prison. Most of the African-American males who are presently incarcerated in state prisons across this nation are not members of gangs. Hence, their personal reference groups tend to be located within the larger African-American community which abhors violence and criminal behavior.

I worked intimately with African-American male inmates age 17-60, for over 2 years, and not one ever stated or suggested to me that going to prison was going to enhance his life chances and make him a hit in the neighborhood. As a matter of fact, the exact opposite was typically the case. Since the doors of opportunity and advancement in the labor market do not open

as easily (or maybe at all) when one has served a sentence in prison, and one is labeled a deviant for the rest of his life, it can be surmised that serving time in prison can and does undermine the self-worth of incarcerated and formerly incarcerated African-American males.

### Conclusions

African-American males have comprised a disproportionate percentage of the inmates in State correctional institutions for over 100 years. I was unable to locate any studies that attempted to discern the impact of imprisonment on these males. Although some scholars have identified African-American males as a vulnerable population, few social scientists have discussed or investigated the impact of incarceration on millions of African-American males and their communities. This neglect lends credence to Scott Christianson's (1981) statement: "The public wastes little sympathy on prisoners, particularly black prisoners" (p. 370).

Based upon the data presented in this paper and my clinical experiences, imprisonment has a negative effect on the mental and physical health and well-being of African-American males. Moreover, the emotional and psychological hazards of prison life exacerbate the social, health, and economic problems that accompany many African-American males to prison.

Upon their release from prison African-American males return to their communities a caldron of emotional, health, and psychological turmoil. Their emotional, economic, and health problems and concerns contribute to the high rates of drug abuse, and violence in the African-American community. This, in turn, contributes to the extremely high recidivism rate among formerly incarcerated African-American males.

This nation's policy of incarcerating convicted felons, particularly African-American males, at record rates requires a greater understanding of the effects this experience has on these individuals and the communities and neighborhoods to which they ultimately return. No social policy, no matter how well intentioned should be allowed to consume so much of the nation's resources and affect the lives of so many people without a relatively clear understanding of its latent effects.

To continue to ignore the apparent relationship between imprisonment, future criminal behavior, community unrest and violence, is unforgivable, and based upon my observations forces the African-American community to pay a terrible price for the time African-American males serve in prisons.

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# The Observer as an Instrument in Qualitative Community Studies

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*A qualitative study of leadership in local black communities was done by an Asian Indian scholar in Cleveland during the nineteen sixties and seventies. This paper narrates the conditions under which and the methodology with which the study was done. Using participant observation, interviews, and reviews of published and unpublished documents, the author develops ten propositions about organizational and electoral leadership in black communities. Further, three additional propositions about the adequacy of qualitative research are also developed from this research experience. A short comparative review of trends in these communities is appended.*

I write this paper in the first person, reviewing my own efforts which led to the qualitative research for and the publication of the monograph, *Local Leadership in Black Communities: Organizational and Electoral Leadership in Cleveland, During the Nineteen Sixties* (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, 1975). While most authors of community research write in the third person, it is my position that it is not possible for me to distance myself, the researcher, from the subjects I studied, the leadership struggles of a minority people of color.

To reflect on the study, at first I plan to orient the reader to two introductory items: (a) the Study; and the (b) the Author. After getting the reader acquainted with these two matters, I plan to devote the remaining parts of this paper to the following three time periods. (1) *Before the Study*; (2) *During the Study*; and (3) *After the Study*.

## *The Study*

The study (Chatterjee, 1975) was published in 1975. However, the research effort for the work began in 1967 in Cleveland, when Carl B. Stokes was elected as the Mayor of Cleveland. At



that time I had just graduated from The University of Chicago, begun my professional career as a social work and social science educator at Case Western Reserve University, and had worked for the Stokes campaign. From the beginning of the work to its publication, the study took eight years. Morris Janowitz of The University of Chicago wrote the introduction to the monograph. Upon its publication, Traylor (1976, p. 253) commented in the pages of *Social Work*:

Using formal interviews, newspaper files, and public and private documents, the author looks into environmental characteristics of black communities in a city with social and economic problems that are typical of urban areas of America. . . . The author's perspectives, theoretical questions and propositions are more important than the conclusions and observations gained from the study.

### *The Author*

I am a man of Asian-Indian origin, born in India, who was educated both in India and in the United States. I had finished a graduate degree in social work (MSW), and two graduate degrees in sociology (MA and PhD). During my student years in sociology, I was exposed to the qualitative methods of the Chicago School. I was taught among other things, "Learn to be a scientist!" by my mentors, all of whom were white males.

I brought with me an ideological orientation: an orientation of Third World solidarity. Nehru had preached this, and Richard Wright was enthusiastically endorsing this (Wright, 1956). This orientation meant that the poor (and mostly non-white) peoples of the world should unite against racism, colonialism, economic oppression, and imperialism. I admired people like Richard Wright, Paul Robeson, Nat Turner.

I became aware very soon that my Third World perspective was suspect in the "scientific" community of Chicago. I learned to keep quiet about own ideological bias. I adopted a learner's role about how to study social problems and social disorganization, Chicago style!

Within the Chicago School, however, I did not see any advocacy tradition or effort. Saul Alinsky had to drop out of the Chicago School to do that. And E. Franklin Frazier was the only major social scientist of color who wrote about the black

community. Once, while a student in Chicago, I approached one of my venerable mentors (the year was 1965) about doing a doctoral dissertation on the newly emergent Islamic community within the black communities of Chicago. After all, it should be as legitimate to ask why Islam (as preached by Elija Mohammed and Malcolm X at that time) had so much appeal in poor black communities and none at all in the middle class white communities. One of my venerable mentors, who had traveled throughout the world, answered: "These people are not real Moslems. Do not waste your time with such trivia. If you want to study American Negroes, study why their kids can't make it in school. Or, study why their families are so screwed up. Read Frazier" (cf Frazier, 1939).

I graduated and moved to Cleveland. The year was 1967. Cleveland had seen the worst of rioting (the Hough riots of 1966) in recent years, and Carl Stokes was running for the mayor's position. Stokes was black, and if he were to get elected, he would be the first black mayor of a major American city.

As I got organized to begin my study, I realized that a great deal of work had been done on black community leadership by such scholars as Wilson (1960), Banfield and Wilson (1965), Hunter (1953), Ellis (1969), Greer (1962), and others. I began my struggles to formulate some research questions which were to be answered by the Chicago School style qualitative research. In the back of my head, my Third World ideological bias reemerged, and I told myself: "Now I can do this study in my own way, may be!"

### Before the Study

#### *The Study Questions*

The entire study was to focus on two types of leadership within black communities: organizational leadership and electoral leadership. I was aware that there were other forms of leadership, but my study would focus only on these two types.

Within each type of black leadership, in turn, the following subset of questions were phrased: (1) What seem to be the goals of *this* particular type of leadership behavior, and (2) with what types of means do they pursue the goals? It was proposed

that the goals of organizational leadership would pursue one of the following goals: (a) integration (into American mainstream) or (b) identity (seeking group identity in a historical matrix). Further, the pursuit of these goals by organizational leadership would use either (a) confrontation (sit-ins, demonstrations, large community meeting where some demands are voiced, etc.) or (b) consolidation (of resources, which means building skills, finding and funding social programs which build skills or educate, find or fund programs which litigate against various forms of discrimination, and the like).

In electoral leadership, it was proposed that the goals of electoral leadership (i.e., elected political leaders) are likely to be one or both of the following: (a) personification (a role-model, or the individual person portraying a "success" story of what a black person can be) and (b) representation (of the specific ecological and class constituencies). The means used by elected black leaders would be (a) diffuse coalition building (i.e., a coalition of diverse and contradicting interests, coming together due to a charismatic and emotional appeal); and (b) specific coalition building (a coalition of one specific set of communal and class interests, such proper garbage removal, adequate police protection, prevention of harassment, and the like).

The research questions were designed in such a way that as I documented the natural histories of leadership in local black communities of Cleveland, I could place them in one of the boxes in Table 1a or in Table 1b.

Table 1a

*Research Questions about Organizational Leadership*

		Means	
		Confrontation	Consolidation
Ends	Integration		
	Identity		

Table 1b

*Research Questions about Electoral Leadership*

		Means	
		Diffuse Coalitions	Specific Coalitions
Ends	Personification		
	Representation		

*The Research Effort*

*Sponsorship.* The research effort had no sponsor. No funding body, no foundation, or no special interest group was providing funds or any other form of social support for this project. I was on my own. This was to be a one-person research and, throughout the project, remained so. A not-so-hidden source of support came from my faculty role at Case Western Reserve University, which was at the time (and still is) a private urban university, located within close walking distance from some of the most poor black communities of Cleveland. I had available to me some sympathetic students, an office with a telephone, and a group of selected colleagues who believed that it was my business to engage in any any kind of research that I saw fit!

*Oppositions.* Some comments came from certain key administrators, who reminded me: "You realize that there would be no workload reduction for you while you go on with this research! And, don't get the School in any trouble. And, if you are going to do this anyway, why not get it funded by somebody, like NIMH or some organization like that?" I did not consider this a form of opposition. Very soon, however, opposition came from a source where I had least expected it. Several white students from my own School voiced opposition. I knew some people from this group were members of the Students for Democratic Society. One of them — I will call her Debbie — confronted me and commented: "Why not do a study of suburban white

communities? It is as legitimate to study them as it is to study black communities? Why is it that establishment scholars always study oppressed groups and never the oppressors or the instruments of oppression?"

I did not try to placate Debbie. Instead, I respected her position. I was familiar with her position, and had heard the same position articulated in American Sociological Association and American Anthropological Association meetings. I attempted to befriend her. The cost of this friendship, from my perspective, was that from time to time I would have to swallow her barb: "Some of my friends think that you are a CIA agent!"

### *The Proposed Study Design*

My basic study design involved developing (a) natural histories of key actors trying to build organizations; and (b) natural histories of key actors trying to get themselves elected and trying to keep themselves in elected positions after election.

These natural histories were to be developed by interviewing key informants from both within and outside the black communities. I began developing a list of key informants. This list contained names of both organizational and electoral leaders. The list also contained names of persons who worked with these leaders, newspaper reporters who saw these people in action, and other parties who may have had information about these people.

In addition, I became a participant in some of the organizations, like the local chapter of Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the local Urban League. I participated in some organizational strategy meetings, sit-ins, and the like. I was never arrested. I also attended some prayer meetings at local Muslim churches. The Imam there asked me: "Are you a Muslim?" I answered, "No, but I want to learn about your church!" He permitted me to attend without requiring me to offer prayers in Muslim style.

My study design, then, was a combination of participant and non-participant observation, archival information retrieval, interviews with key informants and key actors, examination of newspaper files, and befriending many key actors in a black community bar called "Art's Seafood." I knew that many key

informants came there to socialize, and by being present there, I had the opportunity to befriend them. All of my newly acquired friends there as well as the key informants I interviewed were aware of my interest in writing a book. None voiced any objection.

From time to time, two graduate students helped in doing some of the interviews of key informants. One of these students was a white female in her late twenties, and the other was a white male in his mid-thirties. At that time, I could not find any black students interested in the study.

### During the Study

#### *Gaining Entry*

The matter of "gaining entry" is an important one in qualitative community research (cf. Jorgensen, 1989; Whyte, 1984, pp. 23-34). For me, gaining entry involved entrance in several places: (1) entrance in Art's Seafood, the community bar located in the middle of the black community where I "hung out" (and which burned down during the mid-seventies); (2) entrance in key organizations, like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Urban League, and in the Congress on Racial Equality, where I was to do participant observation; (3) entrance in several other key organizations, like the Islamic Church, the Afro Set (Black nationalist groups), and several other organizations, where I was to do non-participant observations and interviews; and (4) entrance into the friendships and other such primary group networks of people who were either the leaders themselves or knew about the activities of these leaders.

Gaining entry into Art's Seafood was easy. At first, I began going there for lunch regularly. Then I began going there for a drink after work. Then I began staying after work (after 5:00 p.m. ) and befriending people sitting on a bar stool. Many persons who were involved in organizational or electoral leadership would come there, and I would find an opportunity to talk with them. Often times, I would leave Art's Seafood at about 9:00 p.m. or later. Always, however, I would go back to my office before going home. Once at the office, I would write down (in longhand) who I had talked with and what they said.

Entrance in key organizations where I was to do participant observation proved to be relatively easy. I called key actors in these organizations (SCLC, Urban League, CORE), and offered to do volunteer work. I also informed them about my interest in black community leadership. There was never any opposition or hostility.

Entrance in other organizations was not always easy. The Islamic Church did not show opposition, as I have described above. However, several other organizations (at that time called Black Nationalist groups) gave polite refusals, or were evasive. I had developed a list of their leaders, and succeeded in interviewing them at Art's Seafood when they were there. I also succeeded in interviewing several other leaders (from these Nationalist groups) in another bar which was known as The Circle Pub.

Entrance into several primary group networks was time-consuming and labor-intensive. I developed a long list of persons from my contacts at Art's Seafood and The Circle Pub, and began contacting persons from this list. My two graduate students and I began calling them for interviews. We got no refusals. All impromptu interviews in the bar scenes were done by me. Many of the formally arranged interviews in the leaders workplaces or offices were done by my two graduate students. (They were white, and were somewhat reluctant to "hang out" at Art's Seafood.)

### *Gender/Color as Factors in Gaining Entry*

I became aware that perhaps my Asian-Indian origin, my brown skin complexion, and my gender were a part of a package which supported my efforts at gaining entry, first at Art's Seafood, and then later at key primary group networks. First, I was not socialized to be "afraid" to be in these settings, and I had reasons to believe that many whites born in this country were. Once having found myself in this setting, I never had any reason to be afraid, either for my person or for property (i.e., car). Second, I had worked as a group worker in Chicago in "tough" neighborhoods, and in my youth, I had spent many nights in the "tough" neighborhoods of Calcutta.

Walking through the streets of poor neighborhoods was not a new activity to me.

### *The Study Questions Revised*

Several months into the study, it became clear to me that my study questions needed revision. Placing leadership behavior along the dimensions of means and ends was important, but I needed to ask (and understand) several other related matters:

(a) what were the nature of *constituencies* of these leaders, both organizational and electoral? and (b) what were the types of issues which led to the mobilization of leadership behavior? After some intellectual struggle, I reformulated my questions as follows.

(1) Organizational leaders are essentially responsive to two types constituencies: those confined by geography and those by social class. By geography I meant ecologically identifiable black communities in a given section of the city of Cleveland (with identifiable names like Hough, Glenville, Kinsman, Lee-Miles, and the like). By class I meant middle class or underclass (at that time, many new upwardly mobile black people with two parent families in white collar occupations lived in identifiable sections of the black neighborhoods, and I referred to them as middle class; while the remaining, poverty-stricken, mostly single-parent families were called under-class). At that time, black communities of Cleveland were divided as either closer to a middle class community or an impoverished community. I referred to the latter as underclass communities.

(2) Organizational leaders with primarily middle class constituencies are likely to be integration-oriented, whereas those with primarily underclass constituencies are likely to be identity-oriented (See Table 1a).

(3) Integration seeking organizational leaders are more likely to use confrontation as means, whereas identity seeking organizational leaders are more likely to use consolidation as means (See Table 1a).

(4) Organizational leaders using confrontation as means are more likely to mobilize around single or minimal number of issues, whereas those using consolidation as means are more likely to deal with multiple or maximal number of issues.



(5) Elected black leaders are essentially responsive to two types of constituencies: those which could be identified along racial lines (i.e., all black people) or those which could be identified along class lines (i.e., middle class interests versus underclass interests).

(6) Elected black leaders with mostly race-generic constituencies are more likely to seek personification goals, whereas those seeking class-specific (and, in this case, mostly middle-class specific) constituencies are more likely to seek representation goals (See Table 1b).

(7) Personification seeking electoral leaders are more likely to use diffuse or diverse coalitions as means, whereas representation seeking leaders are more likely to use specific coalitions as means (See Table 1b).

(8) Elected leaders using diffuse or diverse coalitions can coalesce only around single or minimal issues, whereas those using specific coalitions can do so around multiple or maximal number of issues.

In addition to the above reformulated research hypotheses, I also developed some questions which, I thought, were interesting and answerable in my research setting. I summarize them below.

(9) *Political Power*. What are the prerequisites to building political power in black communities. Under what conditions would a black political leader come to occupy the executive office at city hall (i.e., the mayor's office), and what conditions are necessary for his survival there?

(10) *Cui Bono?* Blau and Scott (1962, pp. 45-67) had used this Latin phrase to ask: who benefits? Can we use this question about emerging form of black political leadership? In other words, who benefits from black political power, the black middle class, the black underclass, or both?

Having formulated these research questions or hypotheses, I felt I had made a substantial improvement over the work of James Q. Wilson (1960). Wilson had argued that Negro leaders work toward either "status ends," meaning "those which seek the integration of the Negro into all phases of the community" (Wilson, 1960, p. 185) or "welfare ends," meaning "those which look to the tangible improvement of the community" (Wilson,

1960, p. 186). This typology included all forms of political leadership, whereas my study *differentiated* between organizational leadership and electoral leadership. Second, Wilson's study implied that black leadership only develops along middle class lines, since both "status ends" and "welfare ends" are middle class goals. In fact "welfare ends," I thought, was poor use of the term, since the term "welfare" can be understood by many as income subsidy to members of the underclass through the public aid system, whereas Wilson meant "better services" by the term. Such "better services" from the local political system are often middle class goals.

### *Methodological Issues*

While I was very proud of my research questions or hypotheses, I had created some methodological problems for myself!

One, my method involved building natural histories of organizations and elected leaders. Such natural histories were to be built by interviews, examination of published and unpublished documents, and participant and non-participant observation. Such natural histories would be hard to classify and fit into my research questions.

Two, I had two types of natural histories: that of organizational behavior over time; and that of individual elected leaders over time. While I had information on individual organizational leaders also, it would hard to develop clear operational definitions by which the behavior of these two types of leadership would be classifiable.

Three, while my approximation of *community behavior* is less problematic, since at that time the black communities had clear geographic boundaries, my approximation of class (between middle class and underclass) was somewhat crude. I was aware of all the involved measurement devices which claimed to measure social class (cf. Abrahamson, et. al, 1976, pp. 127-229), but was not in a position to use them. For the purposes of analysis, I could only make *educated observations* and use such observations to place my natural histories into class constituencies. At this time, there did not seem to be much of a black upper class in these constituencies. There seemed to was only a small black working class or blue collar population in these communities.

Thus the distinction between middle class (i.e., white collar people with two parent families) and underclass seemed workable, but not entirely satisfactory.

Four, I had similar problems with my key analytic concepts like *ends*, *means*, and *issues*. It would be hard to place my natural histories under these concepts. What I had to do was narrate the natural histories, and then tell the reader that according to my *best educated observations*, they seem to fall into thus and such box in my classification system! The reader may remain free to agree, disagree, or form a yet third position.

### *Ideological Issues*

During my graduate student days in Chicago I had become aware that sometimes community studies had an ideological bias. One such bias may be referred to as what is now called Euro-centric bias. Another bias may be middle class bias (since most students of community behavior came from the middle classes). A third source of bias was what may be called a Judeo-Christian bias, since most of these scholars came from a Judeo-Christian framework. An example of the implicit Judeo-Christian bias was manifest in one of my mentor's comments: "These people are not real Moslems . . .," which I interpreted as denial of or hostility to non-Judeo-Christian institution building.

Contrasted with these earlier students of community behavior, I became aware that I myself had the following biases or sympathies. One, as an Asian-Indian, I was more sympathetic (and interested) in the emergent Afro-centric types of leadership, which included black nationalism, efforts to identify with African culture, interests in speaking Swahili, development of Islamic religion, and the like. Second, while I may be considered a middle class person in the American system of stratification, I construed my own status in the American stratification system as somewhat marginal or that of an "outsider." Consequently, I had another reason to often identify with an ethno-racial group which has had "outsider" status in America for a long time. Third, being a person from a non-Christian background, I was curious about the emergence of non-Christian institutions in the black communities. Fourth, at that time I was a believer in the ideology of Third World solidarity, and my interest in

black communities within a basically hostile white society was an extension of that.

### *The Findings*

I had succeeded in documenting eighteen natural histories of organizations within the black communities (1967–71). Eight of these seem to have middle class constituencies, whereas the other six seemed to have underclass constituencies. Eleven were pursuing integration-oriented goals, whereas three were after identity-oriented goals. Seven were using confrontation as means, whereas seven were using consolidation as means. Almost all of these organizations, for the most part, were single or minimal issue oriented. Yes, the local branch of the Urban League, the NAACP, and two other organizations seemed to have stated goals which were multiple-issue oriented, but at any given time their *pursued goals* were around one or two issues (cf. Etzioni, 1964, pp. 6–7). Cleveland did not see the development of large, multiple-issue oriented community organizations at this time (or later).

There seemed to be a trend toward support, on the basis of my observations in Cleveland at that time, of my revised study questions #1 through #4.

In electoral leadership, I had succeeded in documenting the natural history of approximately thirty-one leaders. Some of these persons were famous or have since become famous (i.e., people like Carl Stokes, Mayor of Cleveland, 1967–71, and Louis Stokes, brother of Carl Stokes, as a congressman from this area). The others were elected representatives to the city council, to the state legislature, and to the state senate.

It turned out that while there does exist two distinct constituencies in black communities (i.e., middle class and underclass), elected black local leaders are, for the most part, responsive to *middle class* interests only: jobs, housing, credit availability from banks and department stores, city's services, and the like. Only Carl Stokes at that time could be thought of as having a race-generic constituency, since he attracted the support of all the black communities, and in addition the support of white elites and many white ideologues (from the churches, and from political left). Such support came his way as an "insurance

policy" after the Hough riots of 1966. By 1971 this support had dwindled. While Carl Stokes *personified* the dilemmas faced by black leadership (leadership position based a person's race because it is convenient at the time to a large number of people, both black and white) trying to represent all or almost all blacks, his claim to leadership was based almost exclusively on personal charm and glamour. A large number of interest groups, both black and white, came together to support him, but they came together under the crisis condition of the Hough riots. His leadership was based on diffuse coalitions, which were both fragile and temporary. In 1971 Carl Stokes decided not to run again, removed himself from politics, and went to work for an out-of-town TV station.

Returning to my revised study questions, #5 did not seem to stand up. Rather, it seemed that elected black leadership is mostly responsible to middle class interests only. Elected black leadership, when attempting to respond to multiple constituencies, seem to be short-lived, fragile, and unable to accomplish any political ends except be an exemplar or a role model to some. However, questions #6 through #8 could be seen as supported, or the trends were toward the support of these hypotheses.

My research effort also gave me some trends toward questions #9 and #10. On Question #9, it seems that there are several elements to building political power: (a) an ecological concentration by race; (b) political awareness in that concentration by race, culminating in block voting; and (c) crisis in the continuation of the status quo political style. However, black leadership emergent from a crisis in status quo does not seem very viable in the long term.

On the other hand, as we look at Question #10, we are inclined toward stating that the beneficiaries of both personification-oriented and representation-oriented black leadership are always the black middle class. The underclass is almost always left out.

As I looked at my findings, I came up with a general observation which fit both my findings and my ideological bias: middle class local leadership seeks integration into the mainstream American institutions, through jobs, quality housing,

patronage, fair credit, and role-models of how far blacks can go, whereas underclass seeks identity, either by embracing institutions which are away from Euro-centric American civilization, or by engaging in open deviance from the same.

The middle class, thus, seeks integration, while the underclass seeks identity!

### After the Study

Having finished my research, I now became interested in reflecting on my experience in this project and how it supports the trends reported in earlier studies done by qualitative research methods using participant observation as the primary tool. I attempt to list them below.

### *The Scientist as Instrument*

In qualitative participant or non-participant observational research, the scholar or the scientist himself or herself is the instrument through which a version of social reality is being perceived. In community studies in sociology and community organization studies in social work, this matter is fairly well known (cf. Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Warren, 1988; Fetterman, 1989; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Two particular earlier exemplars, among others, are relevant here: the classic work of Whyte (1943) and the work of Gans (1962). Both of these works are trendsetters, while others have followed (cf. Sudnow, 1978; Suttles, 1972; Miller, 1986). In these studies, the scholar/scientist builds rapport with the subjects, gains entry, and deals with how he or she is going to gather and then code the information gathered. The scholar's gender, social class, ethnoracial origin, religious preference, sexual preference, and other ideological inclinations are all perhaps factors which influence his or her ability to build rapport, gain entry, and gather and code information. Both during and after my study of Cleveland's black leadership, I was aware of this. My gender, my ethnoracial origin, and my non-Euro-centric identity, along with my Third World orientation helped me do the study. I came to develop the following general hypothesis about the scientist as an instrument.

(11) The social distance between the scientist and his or her subjects is a factor which contributes to the ability to build rapport, gain entry, and interpret information.

Whyte (1943), for example, was an upper-middle class white male patrician. He was much "higher up" in a class stratification ladder from Doc and his boys, who were working class Italians. Had Whyte been black, or female, or Asian, his capacity to observe the street corner society would have been very different. Conversely, in many cases it may be difficult for an upper middle class patrician white male to study the street corner society in a black community or in a Chinatown area. It may be also difficult for the same person (i.e., white male patrician) to study a self-help oriented feminist shelter for victimized women. Conversely, it may be difficult for a black or an Asian scientist to study the tribal behavior in a female-initiation ceremony which takes place during a debutante ball in an all-white country club. We thus add another hypothesis.

(12) The social distance between the scientist and his or her subjects can be seen as class distance, or gender distance, or ethno-racial distance, or linguistic distance, or other ideological distance. A history of intergroup hostility between the scientist and his or her subjects may make observation difficult. In the absence of intergroup hostility between the scientist and his or her subjects, the scientist located in a stratum higher than or equal to the subjects is in a better position to carry on a qualitative observational study than one located in a stratum below the subjects.

Ever since Gordon (1964) introduced the idea of "eth-class," a social scientist can use this concept (i.e., the combined position of ethnicity, race, and class, see Marden, et. al 1992), to look at the impact of "eth-class" on health, mental health, life chances and opportunities. In our particular case here, we use the idea of "eth-class" as a factor accounting for social distance and a social scientists s ability to observe his or her subjects.

### *The Declining Significance of Race?*

While ethnicity and race (of both the scientist and his or her subjects) are a factor which contribute to position in a stratification ladder, Wilson (1979) has argued that social class

position of a person or a group is more important than ethnicity or race. In our qualitative research reported above, this trend was supported. The entire study documents substantial success of the black middle class in seeking integration, in participating in (Euro-centric) American institutions, in its struggles to make America a pluralistic multi-racial society rather than an assimilation-oriented Anglo-dominated society.

The thesis of declining significance of race can be examined in two settings: one, in the context of local communities in America; and two, in the context of the decline of the global Third World solidarity. In the local community setting, the trend of declining significance of race (and increased significance of class) was emergent in my research. Wilson articulated it forcefully in 1979. In the global setting, today the term "Third World countries" has come to mean poverty-stricken countries rather than non-white peoples uniting against global oppression. It has ceased to create a sense of solidarity against racism and imperialism, and has come to mean a group of fellow-sufferers in poverty. A group of new rich non-white nations now take great pains in distancing themselves from the idea of Third World solidarity (cf. "Preaching to the Converted," 1991). Our lesson here is perhaps that class and economic interests supersede race and ethnic interests or, at the least, form stronger ties than race or ethnic interests.

#### *Afterthought: Qualitative vs. Quantitative Methodologies*

Having reviewed my own efforts at qualitative methodology, it now seems appropriate to comment on its methodological advantages. Recently, some authors have recommended that the two methodologies can (and should) complement each other (Cf. Rossman & Wilson, 1985 ). When possible, this is the best of both worlds. However, there is another matter which needs to be made explicit:

(13) It may be possible to cover a much larger and diverse form of information in qualitative research. Together, they may give us descriptive data and some trends toward accepting or rejecting formal hypotheses. Formal hypotheses testing requires a much narrower focus, and quantitative research is perhaps more advisable in that setting.



In my research effort, the ten research questions emerged *during* the study, and my qualitative natural histories gave me trends toward their affirmation or denial. An important lesson learned was that as a scholar submerges himself or herself in data gathered from multiple sources, research question or hypotheses become clearer and sharper. Narrowly focused quantitative research, or a combination of quantitative or qualitative research may then be appropriate.

### Epilogue: Then and Now

#### *Then and Now*

An understanding of social change (or community change) becomes possible when a research effort is done twice: (a) at time-one, and then (b) at time-two. One classic example of this is in the middletown studies (Lynd & Lynd, 1929; Lynd and Lynd, 1937). This can be called then-and-now studies, if the "now" reflects the present. I offer below some trends now (1990-91), as they compare with the trends then (1967-71).

#### *Organizational Leadership*

It seems that between 1971 and 1991, almost all of the organizational leaders with middle class constituencies have survived. Most are still active. On the other hand, organizational leaders with underclass constituencies have (a) either become middle class oriented or (b) gone defunct. In general, there seem to be less of organization building in the black communities of Cleveland. These communities seem to have more underclass populations today (see Coulton, et al, 1989), and nearby middle class suburbs have absorbed a new, upwardly-mobile, middle class black populations.

#### *The Middle Classification of Afrocentrism*

The term "middle classification" was first introduced by Dollard (1957, p. 433), and then by Banfield (1970, p. 45). The term meant collective upward mobility into the middle class by members of a given group who had occupied a lower class

position earlier. The term also meant that one of the goals of American society was (and is) the middle classification of most of its population, whatever its ethnoracial origin!

During the sixties and early seventies, several new and emergent forms of organizational leadership with underclass constituencies were identity-oriented. One such identity orientation was manifested in Afrocentric behavior, as manifested in black nationalism, emergence of Islam, and embracing of African cultural style. Today most of these Afrocentric organizations seem to have become filled with white collar families with two parents present in a family. Afrocentric organizations exist both in the black communities as well as in the integrated suburbs. Islamic mosques are attended by two-parent black families as well as Moslems of foreign birth. While Afrocentric institutions are still relatively small in number, their members seem to be upwardly mobile from the underclass to the new middle class.

Afrocentrism, and Islam in particular (though arguments can be made that Islam is not uniquely African in origin), seems to have performed some important functions in the black communities. One, it has given dignified familial roles to the black male who is upwardly mobile from the underclass. Two, it seems to have enforced social control in sexual behavior, and has discouraged substance abuse. Three, it has encouraged family solidarity and a work ethic. Together, these accomplishments may have contributed to what I term middle classification of Afrocentrism!

### *The New Underclass: No Exit!*

It should be noted that my use of the term, "underclass," predates that of Wilson (1979). Recently, there have been controversies over the use of the term (cf. Jencks & Peterson, 1991; Prosser, 1991). I emphasize here that my reasons for continued use of the term is due to the fact that the underclass is (1) politically underrepresented; (2) economically underemployed or unemployed; and (3) ideologically underdeveloped about its marginal role in American political economy. By "politically underrepresented" I mean that elected leaders, black or white,

do not represent their interests. By "economically underemployed or unemployed" I mean that they are very low in labor force attachment, a trend also noted recently by Martha Van Haitsma (1989). By "ideologically underdeveloped" I mean that no central idea or charismatic leadership has developed to give this oppressed group a historical mission or direction to date.

We have agreed that Wilson's (1979) "declining significance of race" thesis holds true in Cleveland. There is a new black middle class in the integrated suburbs of Cleveland. On the other hand, large sections of the black communities are now inhabited by a transgenerational underclass, most of whom will see "no exit" (to use the metaphor borrowed from Jean Paul Sartre, 1949) from this state in the near or distant future. Even Afrocentrism does not seem very present here. The pursuit of identity here continues through deviance from all the mainstream institutions: in absence of labor force attachment, in family abandonment, in substance abuse, and in violence as a way of life!

### *Electoral Leadership*

Electoral leadership, on the other hand, has thrived. Cleveland has seen the emergence and decline of a political power boss in George Forbes (between the years of 1979 and 1989). Forbes became a powerful political local leader, and seemed on the verge of building a political machine. He was defeated in a mayoral bid by Michael White, a young black politician who became Mayor of Cleveland in 1989. Black elected leadership is well established and numerous. Most of it represents middle class interests and aspirations. Some, like Michael White, enjoys multi-racial (but middle class) constituencies, but this type of leadership is still rare.

### Summary

By using methods of qualitative research, I have been able to develop some propositions about organizational and electoral leadership in black communities, in time-one (1967-71) and then in time-two (1989-91). These propositions are listed above, numerically between #1 and #10. I have also been able to learn

some things about the methodology of qualitative research, and I have also listed them numerically between #11 and #13.

Personally, I have had to let go of my dreams of Third World solidarity, although I continue to suffer from separation pains from this loss!

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# The Employed Homeless: A Crisis in Public Policy

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*Departing from the conventional wisdom of who constitutes the homeless, the "employed homeless" emerge as a subgroup of the homeless population in a state-wide Maryland Study (n=178) at 25 shelter facilities. Twenty-four percent of the homeless were found to work full-time and eleven percent part-time. Gender disability, health, previous mental health hospitalization, military experience and education were significantly associated with employment status in the bivariate analysis. From these exploratory findings a theory of economic dislocation is hypothesized.*

Much of the recent literature concerning the homeless has addressed the growing numbers of families with children that are seen in shelters and welfare hotels (Bassuk, 1987; U.S. Conference on Mayors). Less attention has been paid to the fact that growing numbers of the homeless are employed, but are unable to escape life on the streets.

Optimistic officials at different levels of government have argued that new jobs will be created in the 1990s. However, many of these jobs will be low-paying service sector jobs. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that a half million of new jobs will be for nurse aids and janitors (Harrington, 1985).

The national outlook for manufacturing jobs is not promising. In many cases heavy industry, such as steel, has shut down 100,000 jobs or 20 percent of the total (Harrington, 1985). Particularly hurt by this phenomenon were blue-collar towns. Areas that housed heavy industry have been gentrified into upscale townhomes, shopping malls, motels, convention centers and sites for baseball and football stadiums (most of which create low-paying service sector jobs). Maryland's economy presents a graphic example of the trend to move away from manufacturing jobs to lower paying service industries. From 1980 to 1986, the service industry became a leader among all Maryland industries. Services increased by 41.7 percent or three times faster than average growth rate for all industries. There was a net gain of 147,284 new jobs representing 64.3 percent of all new jobs in the state's economy. Manufacturing lost jobs, particularly in the durable goods sector, for a total decline of 11.4 percent (Maryland Department of Economic and Employment Development, 1987).

Deindustrialization of America and the creation of low-paying service sector jobs comes at a time when the median gross rent has risen from 22 percent of median income in 1972 to 29 percent of median income in 1983 (Hartman, 1987). As a result, two and a half million Americans are displaced annually from their homes because of the inability of income to keep pace with housing costs (Belcher & Singer, 1988) forcing entire families into the streets (DeBlasio & Belcher, 1992). At the same time that wages have declined, housing costs have escalated, catching wage-earners between two arms of a pincer.

The net result is more expensive housing and a relative decline in available housing stock. The pincer effect is felt doubly by the low- to moderate-income consumer who simultaneously experiences increased shelter costs without comparable increases in disposable income.

Although professionals in the area of homelessness have noticed a trend in the increase of full-time employment among the homeless, little has been done to document the phenomena and to develop groundwork for further research. This paper presents a pilot study for the purpose of exploring the nature of employment status among a sample of homeless persons.

The findings lead to a hypothesis of economic dislocation as one major cause of homelessness.

## THE STUDY

### *Subjects and Sampling Procedures*

A questionnaire was administered to a sample of 178 homeless persons on a spring night, as they were admitted for accommodations to twenty-three shelters and two missions across Maryland. The sites were stratified to represent the state's six planning regions and to balance the types of shelters surveyed. The sample was 55% male (n=98) and 45% female (n=80). The ethnic composition was 48% white (n=86), 48% black (n=85), and 4% other (n=7). The age range of subjects was 16 to 78. Many subjects (70% n=123) completed high school (or equivalency), vocational programs, or some college.

Although the sample has similar characteristics to the general population of homeless people, caution must be employed in generalizing the results beyond the participating shelters. In addition, a shelter-only study does not reveal data on homeless persons who do not use shelters or homeless persons living with relatives and friends.

Subjects were individually interviewed by research assistants. Participation in the study was voluntary and subjects were assured of confidentiality and the anonymity of their responses. The questionnaire contained structured categories for responses. Respondents were asked if they were currently employed full-time, part-time, or not at all (creating a three-point scale on employment status).

### *Results*

Thirty-five percent (n=62) were employed in either a full-time or part-time position: 24% full-time and 11% part-time. Whereas 70% of full-time employees were in permanent full-time positions, only 21% of the part-time workers were in permanent positions. Many of the temporary part-time positions included workfare, day labor, and migrant seasonal work.

Non-employed subjects reported the following reasons why their last job ended: 9% (n=10) temporary job ended; 8% (n=8)



fired; 25% (n=26) quit; 11% (n=12) company closed/moved or laid-off; 11% (n=12) poor health; 3% (n=3) drug/alcohol problem; 7% (n=7) prison sentence; 26% (n=27) reporting some other reason not listed. Thirty percent of those in full-time positions and 79 percent of those in part-time positions were employed in temporary jobs, such as day laborers, migrant laborers, seasonal workers, and work fare. Table 1 presents frequency distributions of other variables.

Zero-ordered correlations were computed for employment status with the following variables: gender, ethnicity, age, education, marital status, children, length of homelessness, health, previous mental hospitalization, disability, military experience and use of alcohol (see Table 2).

Table 1

*Frequency Distributions for Gender, Ethnicity, Age, and Education of the Working Homeless (n=62).*

	N	%		N	%
<i>Gender</i>			<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Male	15	24	White	30	48
Female	47	76	Black	27	44
			Other	5	8
<i>Age</i>			<i>Education</i>		
16-21	4	7	None	0	0
22-27	10	16	1-8	4	6
28-33	19	31	9-11	8	13
34-39	9	15	12	28	45
40-45	8	13	GED	18	31
46-51	5	8	Vocational	2	3
52-57	3	5	Some College	1	2
58-63	4	5			
<i>Family Size</i>					
(children)					
0	29	45			
1	16	26			
2	8	13			
3	4	7			
4	5	8			
9	1	1			

Table 2

*Zero-ordered Correlations (Pearson's  $r$ ) for 12 Variables with Employment Status ( $n=178$ )*

	Zero-ordered correlations ( $r$ )
Gender	.28**
Ethnicity	-.08
Age	-.07
Education	.18**
Marital Status	-.08
Children	.07
Length of Homelessness	-.04
Health	.15*
Previous Mental Hospitalization	.15*
Disability	.23**
Military Experience (veteran)	.14*
Use of Alcohol	-.04

\*  $p < .05$

\*\*  $p < .001$

Of the twelve variables used in the correlation analysis, six were significant at the .05 level or beyond. The six variables are gender ( $r = .28$ ), disability ( $r = .23$ ), education ( $r = .18$ ), previous mental hospitalization ( $r = .15$ ), health ( $r = .15$ ), and military experience (veteran) ( $r = .14$ ). The findings indicate that homeless people who are men, not disabled, relatively more healthy, without a history of mental health hospitalization, veterans, and relatively better educated are more likely to be employed than other homeless people.

### Discussion

The most important finding of this exploratory study is that 24 percent of those surveyed were working full-time and 11 percent part-time, yet they were homeless. At first glance the percentage working seems optimistic in that full-time employment generally creates opportunities for stability. However, a significant number of homeless subjects had jobs, but apparently are unable to support themselves or their families on the wages

they earn. Since wage information was not available in this study, we can only assume that earnings of subjects were below amounts needed for housing. It is unlikely that the majority of persons would choose homelessness if they had incomes sufficient for survival needs.

The employed homeless do not "fit" into the traditional views of the homeless. Instead, some of the homeless fall victim to the same structural discrimination within the economic system that affects non-homeless individuals in the workforce, such as discrimination against disabled persons (Burgdorf & Bell, 1984) and women (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1987) and limitations presented by poor health (Belcher & DeBlasio, 1991), mental illness and lack of education (Belcher & DeBlasio, 1990). That is, males, high school graduates, people with out health or mental health problems and disabilities, are likely to be working, regardless if they are homeless or not.

The findings led us to consider an "economic dislocation" hypothesis for further testing. This is the notion that individuals become dislocated or displaced from mainstream society because of economic circumstances within the workforce, such as underemployment, temporary jobs, few benefits, plant closures, mergers and lay-offs. It is hypothesized that an increase in homelessness is associated with an increase in these economic trends.

The following sub-hypothesis is derived from this economic dislocation perspective: among the theoretical factors, underemployment will be the best predictor of homelessness among the employed homeless. Estimating the amount of underemployment in the nation is difficult because it is not reflected in official government data (Moy, 1985). Moy considers the 5.7 million people who reported being involuntarily in part-time jobs (i.e. people who really need and want full-time jobs) as underemployed. If underemployment is defined as both involuntary part-time jobs and full-time jobs that are low-paying the population-at-risk for homelessness may be a significant portion of American wage earners. Future research should test this sub-hypothesis by accounting for actual earnings and family size and compare imputed annual earnings with poverty-line income.

*Policy Implications*

A government that insists on a workforce that is protected from low wages and lay-offs has been suggested by many as a way to prevent economic dislocation (Kuttner, 1984). Stein has suggested that better management of the gross national product (GNP) can achieve these ends (Stein, 1989). For example, tax mechanisms can be used to encourage investment in plant and equipment as opposed to the current tax structure that encourages corporations to engage in highly speculative leverage buyouts. Obviously, this approach entails examining the total allocation of GNP to focus on creating and maintaining the kinds of jobs that pay a living wage. The result of this federal action is that it both directly and indirectly influences the kinds of jobs created. For example, numerous studies have cited the difficulties experienced when businesses decide to leave an area (Alperovitz & Faux, 1984). Obviously, over the long-term, the mix of businesses that leave an area and are attracted to an area will determine the prevailing wage rate and standard of living. As mentioned previously, manufacturing jobs, nationwide, have given way to low-paying service sector jobs. For example, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Boston have lost over 45 percent of their manufacturing jobs (Kasarda, 1988). Individuals who do find employment may not make enough money to afford housing.

Our findings indicate that, as opposed to data that stresses individual deficits, a number of the homeless are currently employed. Future research needs to explore the relationship between types of jobs and wages with an individual's ability to afford housing. Most states in the nation have witnessed a dramatic shift in the kinds of employment available. As this relationship is explored it is important to examine the kinds of public policy that will improve the wages of the working poor and encourage the kind of job growth necessary to prevent continued economic dislocation.

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# Juvenile Delinquency and the Transition to Monopoly Capitalism

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*This paper identifies three macrosociological forces (i.e., the social position of youth, private market relations, and poverty and inequality) that are crucial for understanding delinquency and analyzes how these forces evolved together as part of the historical transformation in the United States to monopoly capitalism. The thesis is that these forces have contributed to delinquency by acting collectively to decrease the capacity of social institutions to maintain informal social control. Implications for policy are also considered.*

Research has demonstrated that, during the course of childhood and adolescent socialization, the more meaningfully integrated persons became to those social institutions which promote informal social control, such as the family, school, and work, the lower the likelihood of delinquency. Concomitantly, the more integrated youths become to a delinquent peer group, the greater the chances of delinquency (Agnew, 1985; Caplan & LeBlanc, 1985; Elliott, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985; Gardner & Shoemaker, 1989; Hindelang, 1973; Hirschi, 1969; Wiatrowski, Griswold, & Roberts, 1981).

Social institutions can be conceptualized as mediators between the macro level political economy and micro level individual behavior. Through their impact on social institutions, the macro forces emanating from a society's political economic organization shape the quantity and quality of behavioral choices available to individuals (Groves & Frank, 1986). By diminishing the capacity of institutions, especially the family, to positively influence the choices made by youths and by rendering youths vulnerable to delinquent socialization in peer groups, macro forces can weaken informal mechanisms of social control.

Theorists seeking to situate delinquency in the political economic context of the United States (e.g., Colvin & Pauly, 1983; Greenberg, 1977; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1985) have generally focused on one of three macro forces, including either: (1) the socially defined position of youth, (2) the impact of market relations, or (3) poverty and inequality within the network of social class relations. However, studying one force without reference to the others can lead to an incomplete and fragmented analysis. A purpose of this paper is to show that the forces are closely connected in two ways. First, all three forces evolved together as part of the transformation of the political economy from *laissez-faire* to monopoly or late capitalism. Second, the forces have acted collectively to weaken informal mechanisms of social control. In establishing this second connection, the paper accomplishes another purpose, namely to move the political economic analysis of delinquency toward a micro level grounding. Such analyses usually lack a micro grounding (see Lynch & Groves, 1989; Melossi, 1985), which can make it difficult to appreciate the direct relevance to delinquent behavior. The paper also illustrates implications for policy.

### The Socially Defined Position of Youth

The social position that youths now occupy was, in large part, molded by reforms arising from the child saving movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The reforms consist of the enactment of compulsory education legislation, the passage of child labor laws, and the creation of the juvenile justice system (Bortner, 1988; Platt, 1977; Starr, 1986).

The child saving movement was not an economically determined, tightly coordinated orchestration by elites having monolithic interests and purely selfish intentions. Though the reforms arising from the movement were inspired by the move to monopoly capitalism and accommodated the changing political economic order, the conscious intents of reformers must be carefully distinguished from the effects of reforms. Many reformers possessed a genuine desire to improve the plight of youths, particularly youths of immigrant stock living in underprivileged urban areas (Platt, 1977). In addition, as Kett (1977) observes, support for reforms came from political coalitions

with divergent and sometimes conflicting interests (e.g., philanthropists, educators, criminal justice officials, business leaders, and organized labor). Contrary to substantiating allegations of economic determinism and instrumental elitism, then, the historical evidence indicates that connections between economic transformation and the child saving reforms were mediated by the varied interests and political actions of reform supporters (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Rothman, 1980). Nevertheless, the groups who supported various facets of the child saving movement were drawn from middle and upper class circles and shared a fundamental allegiance to economic transformation in that they sought to adjust youths to fit the new order, not the reverse (Nasaw, 1979; Platt, 1977; Sheldon & Osborne, 1989).

With the accumulation and concentration of capital in the decades after the Civil War, the former system of economic production which had been dominated by agriculture and small-scale entrepreneurs (often family businesses) competing over shares of markets, gradually expanded into a system characterized by monopolistic corporations, urban factory production, a more abundant surplus of commodities, and heightened state regulation (Baran & Sweezy, 1966; Braverman, 1974; Edwards, 1979). The child saving reforms, geared as they were toward altering the way youths were socialized, can be understood against this backdrop of economic transition. Each reform extended formal state control over youths to help redefine the role of youths vis-a'-vis the changing political economic order (Bernard, 1992). State control was warranted to contain the class unrest surrounding economic transition and to redirect people into the emerging order. Youths were a favorable target of control because they represented the future generation of labor power. In effect, the responsibility of traditional institutions for socializing young people was buttressed and, to an extent, replaced with state control (Platt, 1977).

There are at least two reasons why altered socialization of youths was central to economic transformation. First, the greater potential for consumption sparked by the growth of commodity surplus created the need for youths to develop disciplined consumption patterns and tailor any extravagant aspirations for economic success they might have around realistic life opportunities (i.e., to accept their standings and responsibilities in the



class hierarchy). Second, youths had to be socialized to embrace the workplace character traits demanded by the shift to factory production (Nasaw, 1979). This shift was rendering obsolete the mechanisms of direct control traditionally exercised by employers over employees (Edwards, 1979). Technical control, which relied on machines to guide the labor process, and bureaucratic control, which altered the social relations of the workplace by instituting an impersonal system of role coordination and hierarchical authority, were increasingly substituted for control imposed directly by employers. The traditional apprenticeship system was ill-prepared to socialize youths in a fashion that would maximize the efficiency of these newly instituted workplace controls. This type of socialization required the internalization of norms and values consistent with mass production, the discipline to submit to hierarchy and function as a team player in a corporate bureaucracy.

#### *Compulsory Education and Child Labor Laws*

As economic transformation and technological innovation proceeded, making apprenticeship increasingly obsolete and reducing the strong demand for child labor that had characterized earlier stages of industrialization (Kett, 1977), a need emerged to impart on youths the specialized job skills, training certifications, and ethos required to participate in monopoly capitalism. Gradually, from 1850 on, child labor was restricted and school attendance made mandatory by legislation. Such legislation appealed to a variety of moral and economic interests (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Humphries & Greenberg, 1981; Kett, 1977; Platt, 1977). Child labor laws promised to ameliorate the lot of children in factories, and education, by promising upward mobility, seemed a viable way to achieve social equality. Likewise, in view of the mass urbanization and immigration coinciding with industrialization, education represented a way to obtain greater cultural uniformity and a way to systematically and efficiently guide the moral development of children. Compulsory education and child labor restrictions also meant that youths could not fully enter the labor market until a specified age was reached. To organized labor, the implications were that competition for jobs would decrease and that wage levels would

be less threatened by inexpensive child labor. The implication to businesses that did not rely heavily on child labor for profit was that competitors who were still doing so would either have to raise outlays for labor or be driven from the market. To business and political leaders alike, the preservation of adult jobs was an attractive way to contain the working class unrest associated with wide-scale unemployment.

However, the effects of the transfer of youths from the labor market to the schools exceeded these appeals and also went beyond the obvious need to supply the technical training required by shifts in production. As Bowles and Gintis (1976, p. 186) demonstrate, "schooling was . . . a means of producing the new forms of motivation and discipline required in the emerging corporate order." The structural correspondence between the social relations of the educational experience and the social relations of the workplace under late capitalism eased the movement of youths into the labor force and increased their productive capacity. Schooling reproduced a social consciousness, a personality, and a set of interpersonal behavior patterns that were congruent with labor force participation. The structure of the educational experience replicated the hierarchical division of labor as well as the bureaucratic relationships of authority and control typical of the workplace; this is clearly exemplified by competition over grades and such practices as tracking and the establishment of separate curriculums.

### *The Juvenile Justice System*

The first juvenile correctional institutions opened in the first half of the nineteenth century, and efforts to formally control youthful deviance became more systematized at the turn of that century with the creation of the juvenile court. The court and its corollary agencies spread rapidly across the country with little opposition (Rothman, 1980; Sutton, 1985). The system was praised as a humane improvement over the earlier practice of processing juvenile offenders with adult offenders; it also afforded juvenile justice workers considerable discretion and power and was congruent with the desire of business leaders for orderly urban communities in which to foster commerce (Shelden & Osborne, 1989).

The court's *parens patriae* ideology, emphasizing the paternalistic role of the state and the need to tailor intervention around the welfare of the individual child, justified enormous governmental discretion over the lives of youths and made due process appear to be an unnecessary obstruction. This ideology was deemed especially appropriate for immigrant children, since their families could hardly be counted upon to assimilate them to American culture (Nasaw, 1979; Rothman, 1980). More generally, the existence of the court ensured that whenever traditional social institutions failed to control youthful deviance informally, a formal substitute was available to inculcate moral values, industriousness, and obedience to authority (Liazos, 1974).

The codification of a new category of behaviors known as "status offenses" and the authority accorded the court to regulate these behaviors expanded and diversified state power over youths. Control was extended beyond criminal activities to cover age-specific conduct heretofore unregulated by the state, such as incorrigibility. The court's mandate to control status offenses, coupled with research demonstrating the preoccupation of many early courts with status and minor property offenses (Kett, 1977; Nasaw, 1979; Shelden & Osborne, 1989), underscore the court's role in regulating the petty infractions and moral transgressions surrounding increased availability of commodities.

#### *Withering of Informal Social Control*

A net effect of the child saving reforms was to prolong the interval between childhood and adulthood by precluding youths from meaningful participation in "adult" activities. The status of adolescence, popularized in 1905 by G. Stanley Hall, evolved into a limbo, a precarious marginal position between childhood and adulthood (Bynum & Thompson, 1989). The consequences for the informal control of youth crime were significant.

The system of age stratification which ensued from laws requiring education and restricting child labor meant that prior, clearly defined roles in the spheres of work and family were replaced with more ambiguous roles in the school and peer

group, leaving youths without a sense of immediate purpose and direction. Youths became segregated from adult life, and the school and peer group became their predominant sources of reference and identity. The capacity of such adult dominated institutions as the family and work to exert informal social control over youthful behavior began to diminish, whereas the socializing force of the peer group increased (Friday & Hage, 1976; Greenberg, 1977). At the same time, the juvenile court began supplementing the control functions of traditional institutions and, to the extent that greater reliance was placed on the state to regulate youthful deviance, the control functions of those institutions were displaced.

Research (Allan & Steffensmeier, 1989; Duster, 1987) demonstrating a strong association between crime and both unemployment and underemployment among youths confirms that the restriction of youths from meaningful labor market participation is important for understanding delinquency. When the bulk of youthful activities shifted to the school and peer group, youths grew reliant on education and peer interaction for the esteem, status, and sense of social contribution formerly gained through work. A youth subculture evolved which placed a premium on its members having discretionary money (Bute, 1981; Christie, 1978; Friday & Hage, 1976; Greenberg, 1977; Lowe, Krahn, & Tanner, 1988; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1978), but labor market restrictions left youths largely dependent on their parents for financial support. Paradoxically, the school and peer group provided youths a certain social autonomy from the family, but youths were left dependent on their parents for discretionary funds.

Youths from all class levels are affected by labor market restrictions but, ultimately, the effects have proven strongest among youths from the lower classes because of the common inability of their parents to provide financial support. Reminiscent of Merton's (1938) argument, illicit activities such as theft and drug dealing have come to be perceived as viable alternatives for attaining material possessions in a society where status is so often gauged by these possessions. Furthermore, working class youth are sometimes unable to gain fulfillment from the school experience, since education is dominated by

middle class standards and segmented along competitive lines of talent and ability that parallel those of the modern labor market (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1978). As Starr (1986, p. 326) indicates, the school represents a "certifying agency" for the labor market. Youths who are not well prepared to conform to the demands of the school often find the experience alienating and degrading. It is therefore unsurprising that, in the absence of meaningful labor market participation, like-situated peers and illicit behaviors often assume more relevance than the school for providing status and esteem (Cohen, 1955).

### Market Relations

In the United States, the social position of youth is situated within the framework of normative principles that regulate private market relations. There is a definite tendency for norms that govern the production and distribution of commodities in the private marketplace to extend into all spheres of life (e.g., family and school). To the degree that market relations permeate society in this fashion, interpersonal cooperation and collective social welfare can become subordinate considerations to competition and personal gain. A sense of normative disregard for the well being of others is prompted and, consequently, informal means of controlling crime lose force (Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1985). In addition to reshaping the social position of young people, the transition to monopoly capitalism elevated the pervasiveness of private market relations to historically unrivaled levels, creating what Braverman (1974, p. 271) terms a "universal market" wherein the totality of the individual was subsumed by market principles.

Expansions in production that accompanied economic transition greatly increased the surplus of commodities which, in turn, created a potential for more liberal patterns of consumption. Moreover, with the emergence of corporate monopolies, oligopolies, and conglomerates and the decline of small entrepreneurs, the primary locus of business competition shifted from product quality and pricing to marketing and advertising. Advertising, or what Baran and Sweezy (1966, p. 114) call "the

sales effort," redefined standards of material possession and human consumption and, in so doing, played a vital role in creating new modes of surplus utilization. Consequently, across social institutions, interpersonal relations grew increasingly oriented to individualistic commodity consumption.

The ascendance of market relations and the altered social position of youth were mutually reinforcing phenomena. The greater potential and pressure to consume coinciding with economic transformation necessitated greater state regulations to supplement the responsibility of traditional institutions for ensuring disciplined consumption patterns among youths. Such discipline was a prerequisite for a dependable future supply of labor. Furthermore, the altered social position of youths afforded increased leisure (consumption) time by relieving them of traditional roles and restricting most of their activities to the school and peer group. With the school and peer group being arenas ideally suited to promote social comparison and competition for materialistic status, it is unsurprising that youths have become a highly profitable advertising market.

Similar to the adolescent status, market relations are germane to youth crime because, in shaping interaction and socialization in social institutions, these relations detract from the ability of institutions to maintain informal control. Especially relevant is the manner in which the wider structure of market relations can affect social interaction in the family and peer group.

When interaction between youths and parents becomes more oriented toward objectives of self-gain and commodity consumption than toward intimacy and collective family welfare, the family's ability to exert informal control diminishes. Yet, the social position of youth provides an incentive for parent-youth relations to be geared toward commodities. Youths were excluded from meaningful roles in the labor market during the same era that the adolescent market became a profitable one for business to target. As a result, the pressure to consume, which was being fueled by the peer group, increased, but the power to do so independently of parental support diminished. As youths grew more dependent on their parents for economic support, materialistic considerations began to affect family interaction. It is not that modern family relations are completely devoid

of intimacy but, rather, that the intimate relations suited to enhancing informal control are often contested by the force of market relations.

Another effect of market relations pertains to parenting practices and later extends to experiences in school and the peer group. As Colvin and Pauly (1983) propose, the various workplace control mechanisms used to compel adults to comply with the demands of their employment (e.g., threat of dismissal and layoff, wage levels, technical quotas, advancement opportunities, and manipulation of status) are reproduced in family life; the kinds of controls to which adults are exposed as workers affect the controls they employ as parents (see Kohn, 1969). Persons such as assembly-line workers who are often subjected to harsh, coercive, and externally imposed controls at work (e.g., threat of layoff and piece rates) are likely to practice the same coercive form of control as parents. By contrast, persons such as teachers who are subjected to less external coercion and instead are expected to exercise internal control as workers are likely to orient their children toward internal, noncoercive self-control. The greater the coerciveness of family control practices, the more alienating and negative the parent-child relationship (Colvin & Pauly, 1983).

The quality of family relationships formed during the early years of socialization affects school relationships. Children who develop alienated relations with their parents due to overly coercive parental control practices are likely to be defined as requiring coercive control in the school. In Colvin and Pauly's (1983, p. 537) words, "a child with negative initial bonds is likely to be placed in a control structure at school that parallels the coercive family control structure that produced the child's negative bond." As coercive relations develop between children and school authorities, children are likely to become alienated from school, leaving them poorly integrated to the school as well as the family.

When children approach adolescence, the quality of prior relationships in the family and school helps guide their choices for peer group associations. Youths who are poorly integrated to society's institutions tend to associate with peer groups that display similarly weak integration (Colvin & Pauly, 1983). Given

sustained interaction in a group characterized by a deficit of mainstream norms and definitions, combined with an excess of delinquent norms and definitions, the likelihood of delinquent behavior increases (Matsueda, 1982; Sutherland & Cressey, 1978).

Implicating market relations as a source of delinquent norms and definitions in peer groups, Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1985) contend that the wider structure of market relations encroaches on peer groups and erodes the moral, controlling element of the standards youths adopt in their interpersonal interactions. Adolescent groups tend to become stratified in relation to one another by identifying and distinguishing themselves on the basis of material possessions and commodity consumption. Competition over status is fostered between and within groups.

### Poverty and Inequality

Both the social position of youth and market relations are encompassed by the system of class stratification in which groups are positioned hierarchically in relation to ownership and control of economic production. Class stratification generates unemployment and underemployment which, coupled with a lack of egalitarian tax and welfare measures, are major contributors to poverty and extreme inequality in the United States (Currie, 1985; Page, 1983).

Historically, any class stratified society that has produced goods and services far in excess of those required for subsistence has yielded a surplus of labor. The surplus of labor represents a resource to be drawn upon during periods of economic growth and flourishing demands for labor, and by encouraging competition over jobs, surplus labor helps maintain an upper cap on wage levels (Greenberg, 1981). With the transition to monopoly capitalism, however, increasing portions of the surplus labor pool became expendable, ultimately resulting in what has been described as an underclass of permanently unemployed and underemployed persons (Kramer, 1984; Reiman & Headlee, 1981; Spitzer, 1975; Wilson, 1987). Disproportionately young and black, these persons are overrepresented in street



crime statistics (Allan & Steffensmeier, 1989; Duster, 1987; Hindelang, 1978, 1981).

Analyzing the growth of surplus labor in the context of the shift to monopoly capitalism, Spitzer (1975) observes that, as industrialization progressed, profit objectives led businesses to mechanize thus displacing industrial workers with more efficient forms of technology. Technological displacement maximized profit by enhancing production quantity and by reducing the long-term outlays for labor. Mechanization also saturated markets with surplus products. Due to the need to dispose of surplus and due to the knowledge and information requirements brought on by technological advances, demands for industrial labor became outstripped by demands for various positions in the service sector economy, where higher quality jobs came to necessitate better educational credentials. Competition for the dwindling number of skilled and semi-skilled industrial positions increased, while persons with few skills and less education were left to compete over an inadequate number of low quality jobs in the industrial and particularly in the service economies. Though these low quality jobs, sometimes referred to as secondary labor market positions, usually have one or two salutary features, seldom are many such features (e.g., adequate pay and benefits, advancement opportunities, job security, etc.) combined in a single job (see Edwards, 1979; Friedman & Friedman, 1986); hence the rise of the contemporary working poor.

Other factors operated to fuel unemployment and underemployment. As capital accumulated and became concentrated in fewer hands, the economy grew more monopolized and created a barrier to entry for entrepreneurs. Given the scale of transaction required to successfully compete with big business for markets under monopoly capitalism, would-be entrepreneurs became more dependent on large corporations for employment, thus intensifying competition over higher quality industrial and service jobs. Later, beginning in the 1960s, the development of international economic competition resulted in a transfer of goods-producing jobs overseas and, in so doing, contributed to the movement of capital away from industry. Such competition also promoted an overall lowering of domestic industrial wages

to maintain profit levels. Within industry, masses of capital were transferred from union to non-union areas of the nation (cf. Duster, 1987).

The developments just discussed have meant economic hardship for millions of American youths. Young people are among the fastest growing poverty groups in the United States, with one-fifth of the nation's population aged 16–19 and roughly half of the teenagers in single parent households living at the poverty level (Gelman, 1990; Sum, Harrington, & Goedicke, 1987). Despite the recent creation of federal employment and training programs for youths, the gap between youth and adult unemployment has continued to widen (Lerman, 1986). Indicative of the marginalized status of adolescence, Starr (1986) estimates that teenagers represent approximately one-tenth of the total United States labor force but approximately a quarter of the unemployed; and people under age 25 constitute about a quarter of the labor force but about half of the unemployed. Youthful unemployment is concentrated among minority youths and those from economically disadvantaged families, such that in the mid 1980s approximately one-third of all teenagers from poor families were unemployed, and unemployment rates for black teens continued to range from 40 to 50 percent (Duster, 1987; Gelman, 1990; Sum et al., 1987). New jobs were created in the 1980s but, as Sum et al. point out, a disproportionately low number of the jobs were received by youths, and most jobs obtained by youths during this period were poor quality service positions (Miller, 1990). All told, the economy has simply failed to generate enough good jobs to have any noteworthy effect on poverty and inequality. Redistribution has not been forthcoming, given the reluctance of the state to undertake egalitarian tax and welfare reform.

### *Poverty, Inequality, and Delinquency*

Much debate has transpired about the association between economic disadvantage and delinquency (e.g., Braithwaite, 1981; Clelland & Carter, 1980; Thornberry & Farnsworth, 1982; Tittle, Villemez, & Smith, 1978). Recently, some researchers have advanced the notion that, while poverty and inequality are not direct causes of youth crime, they interact with other processes

to affect delinquency indirectly (Blau & Blau, 1982; Currie, 1985; Larzelere & Patterson, 1990; Michalowski, 1985; Tittle & Meier, 1990), a notion consistent with the view being proposed here. Poverty and inequality are related to delinquency through the disintegrative effects they have on social institutions. The harsh life conditions associated with impoverishment and the animosities arising from gross inequalities in a wealthy consumptive society, where mere wants are prompted than fulfilled, can upset the web of cooperative social relations that maintain informal control (Kramer, 1984).

Illustrative of this point is research suggesting that the effects of poverty and inequality are mediated by parenting practices. Compared to the parenting practices characteristic of families at the middle and upper echelons of the class structure, the practices exercised in disadvantaged families are often less suited for delinquency prevention. Generally, lower class parents do not tend to monitor their childrens' activities as closely, tend to be less consistent in rewarding and punishing their children, and tend to communicate less effectively with them (Larzelere & Patterson, 1990).

The reasons for these differences in parenting can be discerned by examining the interrelated phenomena of family stress and lack of parenting resources. Lower class parents are often less able to consistently afford material rewards to induce desired behaviors from their children. Further, as Currie (1985) remarks, many disadvantaged families are excessively large relative to their incomes. With the competitive structure of market relations impinging on family interaction, these families face internal tensions and conflicts over scarce resources. In addition, the tremendous stress accompanying financial insecurity and hardship can exacerbate conflict to dysfunctional levels. Such stress frequently creates staunch barriers to effective communication and conflict resolution. When parents hold employment, economic pressures often require them to spend considerable time at work away from their children if subsistence is to be maintained; this is particularly the case in the skyrocketing number of single parent homes headed predominately by women. In the absence of parental monitoring

and affordable day care resources, a delinquent peer group may be left to affect socialization (Steinberg, 1986).

The absence of working parents poses special adjustment problems for adolescents. Parental absence can necessitate that teens assume adult responsibilities (e.g., caring for younger siblings, doing errands, and even furnishing supplemental income) in a society where they are not accorded full adult status. The social position of youth lags behind the earlier pace of adolescent emancipation in these families, and it is reasonable to expect that youthful inability or reluctance to fill adult roles will be a source of family stress and conflict. These factors are antithetical to the kind of family socialization that prevents delinquency.

### Implications

The foregoing theoretical analysis has shown that three interwoven macro forces (i.e., the social position of youth, market relations, and poverty and inequality) evolved with monopoly capitalism and contributed to delinquency by jointly undermining informal mechanisms of social control. While it is not the purpose of this paper to present a comprehensive policy proposal for delinquency reduction, it is appropriate to illustrate some of the policy implications of the previous analysis. No claim is made that these policy considerations are novel or exhaustive of theoretical implications. Furthermore, the theoretical analysis implies that there are historically ingrained political and economic barriers to resolving the delinquency problem within the existing structure of monopoly capitalism. Though discourse is certainly needed about how alternative political economic structures might help reduce delinquency, there is also need for discourse about shorter term initiatives that can be taken within the existing structure (cf. Kramer, 1984; Michalowski, 1983). The discussion below concentrates on the latter area.

The theoretical position developed earlier implies that: (a) delinquency can be substantially reduced by increasing the capacity of social institutions to maintain informal social control, and (b) a promising way to strengthen informal controls is to

target the three macro forces which have historically weakened them. Without affording youths a social position which enables them to derive status from full and meaningful participation in society and without policies to mitigate or cushion the deleterious impact of market relations, poverty, and inequality on social institutions, rates of youth crime are likely to remain alarmingly high.

### *Social Position of Youth*

Youths would be in a position to participate more fully and meaningfully in society if they were granted more responsible and rewarding roles. First, as Bynum and Thompson (1989, pp. 473–476) point out, youths should be given greater opportunities for participation in political decision-making processes that affect them. For example, young people and their parents could routinely be permitted to represent their interests on school boards and other policy bodies at various levels of government where matters pertaining directly to their welfare are at issue. Second, restrictive child labor laws should be revised so youths who choose to hold jobs (rather than or in addition to attending school) are allowed to perform meaningful work at competitive wages and benefits. The purpose of laws regulating youthful labor should be to protect youths from physical danger and exploitation rather than to curtail adult unemployment and coerce youths into school attendance. Third, it is questionable whether compulsory education laws achieve much of value among teens who have continually found the school experience alienating and degrading rather than fulfilling. Instead of mandating that each person attend school until an arbitrary age is reached, it would seem better to encourage voluntary attendance by trying to ensure that all persons gain status and a sense of accomplishment from the school experience. For example, stratified tracking systems could be replaced with curriculum diversification and enrichment programs tailored to the heterogeneity of the population. This would help make the school less of an agency which replicates the hierarchical and bureaucratic nature of the labor market. The school should be an arena for cultivating a wide and variegated range of individual talents, thereby instilling the desires to learn and contribute to society

in addition to a well-rounded ability to creatively think about problems. Finally, juvenile justice practices should be altered. Serious consideration should be given to eliminating status offense codes because these codes hold youths accountable to a different standard of behavior than adults and help displace informal social control. Also, the vast discretion characteristic of juvenile justice permits inconsistency to flourish and, in the process, promotes perceptions of injustice and disrespect for the system among juveniles (Bynum & Thompson, 1989). There is no defensible reason for denying juveniles any of the legal protections to which adults are entitled, since doing so reinforces and legitimates age segregation.

Initiatives like these would help de-marginalize the social position of youth. The overriding goal is to integrate youths more fully into society and reduce the extent to which they are necessarily dependent on the peer group for socialization.

### *Market Relations*

Along with changes in the social position of youth should come recognition of the pervasive and disintegrative influences of private market relations on social institutions and concerted efforts to mitigate those effects. In particular, steps can be taken to encourage a more cooperative structure of interpersonal relations in the family. For example, serious attention should be given to the observation that the workplace controls to which adults are subjected affect how they rear their children; businesses that rely heavily on external coercion and punitiveness should institute such measures as worker participation programs which give workers more control over their labor processes thus orienting them toward internal control. Further, in targeting the youth market, advertisers should become more sensitive both to the impact of equating status and personal worth with material possessions and to the negative effects which the constant pressure to consume can have on family interaction. Government regulations should promote greater ethics in this domain of advertising. Also, as Currie (1985, pp. 244–254) suggests, increased government and private support should be provided for various early intervention programs aimed at high risk families and youths, including Head

Start. These interventions should, above all, be geared toward building interpersonal trust and empathic communication in the family unit and developing parenting practices grounded in negotiation, compromise, and conflict resolution skills. The interventions not only ease the impact of market relations on families but also cushion the family stress and conflict arising out of poverty and inequality.

### *Poverty and Inequality*

At the center of initiatives like those under discussion here must be a firm and long-term commitment from government to combat poverty and distribute economic resources more evenly across the population. A federally sponsored full employment policy, containing provisions for the creation of public jobs which are tied to the needs of local communities and which offer sufficient pay and benefits, would assist in expanding the supply of adequate employment (Currie, 1985; Michalowski, 1983). Efforts to upgrade low quality jobs (i.e., in terms of pay, benefits, and advancement potential) would complement a policy of full employment by shrinking the working poor population. Tax incentive and worker retraining policies meant to discourage the displacement of workers through technology and geographical relocation of jobs would also complement full employment (Michalowski, 1983). Likewise, expansions in job training programs for youths are required owing to the loss of manufacturing jobs and, thus, the lessened potential for youths to gain work experience; the gap between the qualifications possessed by many youths and the qualifications required to obtain entry level career positions must be lessened (Duster, 1987; Wilson, 1987). Expanded tax credits for day care and government subsidies for day care would help insure that more working parents have access to quality services. Truly egalitarian tax reform and more generous welfare assistance to people in severe economic need would further alleviate the stress and conflict faced by many families.

### Conclusion

There is no shortage of viable policies that could be adopted to reduce delinquency. Yet, for approximately the last 15 years,

the United States has been advancing a "get tough" stance in an attempt to combat youth crime. This stance has resulted, for instance, in provisions that make it easier for prosecutors to transfer juvenile offenders to adult court, sentencing policies which have escalated rates of juvenile incarceration (especially for blacks), and the upholding of capital punishment for juveniles by the United States Supreme Court. These reactive get tough measures stand in sharp contrast to what is theoretically known about the macro sources of the delinquency problem. Unless policy becomes proactive and much more closely aligned with available theoretical knowledge, the United States will continue to make little if any progress in the area of delinquency control.

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# The Political Activity of Social Workers: A Post-Reagan Update

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*This article reports the findings of a survey that examined the political activism of social workers and what changes may have occurred in their political participation during the Reagan years. Social workers are politically active largely by writing letters to public officials but also by discussing political issues with friends, by belonging to politically active organizations and by attending political meetings. In addition, a substantial proportion of social workers make campaign contributions and get involved in candidate elections. Among social workers, those with the highest educational degrees, those who are NASW members, those who are in macro type jobs, and black social workers tend to be more active than their colleagues. These data also suggest that one of the primary reasons social workers are politically active is to advocate for clients. There has been significant growth in the political involvement of social workers over the Reagan years in office, confirming Amidei's (1987) perception of greater political efforts on behalf of the vulnerable.*

Almost all social workers know of the political involvement of early social work leaders such as Jane Addams, Bertha Reynold, and Harry Hopkins. They also know that the Code of Ethics, the person-in-environment framework, and a variety of practice methods reflect the profession's heritage of political activity. A social reform effort occurring without involvement in the political arena, whether that means partisan, bipartisan, or nonpartisan politics is hard to imagine. This applies to all types of social workers, direct services to executives (Pawlak & Flynn, 1990) because the personal is political (Bricker-Jenkins, 1990).

However, "from the earliest days, social workers have been ambivalent about their role in the political process" (Mahaffey, 1987, p. 283), and most social workers think that social work "is and should be apolitical" (Haynes & Mickelson, 1986, p. 16). Social work scholars explain this in many ways, but a compelling

argument can be made that social workers avoid politics for two reasons. First, as Mahaffey (1987) suggests, politics has to do with the pursuit and use of power. Many social workers believe that the use of power will result in someone or some group having less power and status and becoming subordinated or dominated. This runs counter to social work's prevalent ideology of equality, broad participation and involvement, and the worth and dignity of all.<sup>1</sup> The second reason that politics may be avoided is that many social workers, as do many Americans, believe that politics is a dirty business and they want no part of the process or the people. Notwithstanding these rather prevalent beliefs, it seems that more social workers are accepting the fact that whether dirty or clean, dominating or not, the political process is the major way this society distributes resources and establishes rights and entitlements. Although they may not participate enthusiastically, they know that the costs of not being active are tremendous.

According to Wolk (1981) the political involvement of social workers is about equal to that of other professional groups. Within the profession of social work itself, he found that political involvement was greater for older social workers, for those who had been in practice the longest and for those of the higher income levels. In addition, social workers who held macro level positions were more politically active than those in direct service jobs. He also reported the following non-statistically significant trends: female social workers were more active than males; blacks more active than whites; and social workers with Ph.D.'s more political than other degree holders.

This article reports the findings of a 1989 survey that asked social workers about their political activities. This study sought to learn which social workers are most politically active and what changes may have occurred in social workers' political participation during the Reagan yearn. This new data can be used to make a rough pre- and post-Reagan comparison since Wolk collected his data shortly before Reagan became president. What effect did the Reagan presidency have on the nature of political involvement by social workers? With massive cuts in domestic programs, did social workers mobilize politically or did they become pessimistic and withdraw from the political arena?

Several social work commentators have already commented that the political activity of the members of the profession increased during the Reagan years. Amidei (1987) observes what she considers "growing evidence of a new spirit of activism and politically conscious effort on behalf of vulnerable people" (p. 21). She credits the "human services community" for greater activism, for casting off the sense of defeatism widely felt in the early years of the Reagan Administration and with increased effectiveness in the political arena. Moreover, NASW, the major professional organization for social workers, has increased its legislative efforts as well as their support to political candidates (Reeser & Epstein, 1987); there has been an increase in the number of social workers elected to public office (Mahaffey, 1987). Reeser and Epstein (1987) found that between 1968 and 1984 there was an increase of social workers' approval rating of campaigning and working through political pates to change the public welfare system.

Since Wolk's research, few researchers attended to the nature of or changes in social workers' political involvements; Cohen (1987) replicated Wolk's study in Israel and Pawlak and Flynn (1990) studied the political activity of executive directors. Cohen (1987) found that Israeli social workers are less active than those in the States. Most recently, Pawlak and Flynn (1990) found that executive directors are very politically active both on and off the job and that, by and large, the consequences of these activities are positive.

Aside from the empirical work of Cohen (1987) and Pawlak and Flynn (1990), many articles include exhortations for social workers to increase their political activity, seemingly equating political apathy with unethical practice. Salcido (1984), for example, says "Not to participate in political activities is tantamount to acceding. . . that only restricted groups, such as the very poor receive assistance" (189). Actually, rather than encourage social workers to participate in campaigns to win elections, Salcido proposes that social work consider political campaigns as a new arena for practice, one in which human relations, team building, and networking skills would be very useful.

### Methodology

Approximately 500 randomly selected members of the Washington State Chapter of NASW received a mail survey; this sample represented approximately 25% of the membership. In addition, a random sample of 77 graduates of the University of Washington School of Social Work (BSW, MSW, and Ph.D.) who were not members of NASW received questionnaires. After several weeks, a reminder letter was sent to those who had not returned their questionnaire. A total of 353 respondents returned usable surveys (311 NASW members, 42 nonmembers); after adjustments were made for undelivered surveys, a respectable response rate of 63.8% was achieved.

The survey consisted of three sections. The first set of questions collected demographic information. The next section included a wide range of questions exploring the respondent's amount and type of participation in advocacy (Ezell, 1990). Last, were a set of questions relating to political participation that Wolk (1981) had used in previous research. For his research, Wolk used a modified version of Woodward and Roper's (1950) Political Activity Index. These questions collect information on social workers' voting behavior, membership in organizations that might have political agendas, communications with legislators, campaign contributions, election activities, and political discussions with friends. A person with a high Index score is more politically active than one who has a low score. For some of the following analyses, we categorized the Index scores as "inactive", "active," and "very active" in the same manner as Wolk. The wording of the questions in the 1989 survey was the same as that by Wolk except minor editing, and the calculation of the total score on the Index was the same (see Appendix for wording of items).

Of the 353 social work respondents, 339 answered every question in the Index and, therefore, had a Political Activity Index score. The findings reported below are based on these 339 social workers. The reliability of the Index was .64 (coefficient alpha).

The sample was predominantly female, MSWs, white, and very experienced (i.e., more than 13 years experience on the

average). Most of the respondents were employed as social workers (full-time or part-time) in a wide variety of job types from direct service workers and therapists to agency executives.

### Findings

Table 1 shows the distribution of Index scores subdivided into three categories: Inactive, Active, and Very Active. The average score in the post-Reagan sample was 4.5 which is toward the higher end of the active category. Every social worker who responded reported doing at least one political activity. More than half the respondents' scores put them in the active category and almost a third of the sample can be considered very active. Half the sample scored 5 or above, indicating much political activity.

An examination of the responses to the individual items in the Index shows that writing letters to Congress or other public officials is social workers' most frequent political activity. Social workers wrote or talked to public officials an average of

Table 1

*Percentage Distribution of Political Activity Scores in 1989 and 1981.\**

Category	Score	1989 Percent
Inactive	0	0.0%
	1	4.1%
	2	10.3%
Subtotal		14.5%
Active	3	14.2%
	4	20.4%
	5	20.9%
Subtotal		55.5%
Very Active	6	14.5%
	7	13.0%
	8	2.7%
Subtotal		30.2%
Total		100.0%
		(339)

\* A low score indicates little political activism.



2.3 times in the year before answering the survey. Male social workers, those with doctorates, and NASW members were significantly more likely than their counterparts to write or talk to a public official. Testifying before a legislative committee (either local, state, or federal) was the least frequent political activity. Twenty-nine social workers said they had testified before a legislative committee on issues unrelated to professional concerns (i.e., licensing and vendorship) for an average of 2.1 times in the last four years. Predictably, because of the nature of their jobs, macro practitioners testified before committees more frequently.

Approximately two-thirds of the respondents are both members of organizations that take stands on public issues and attend meetings at which political speeches had been made. Of the respondents who said they belonged to an organization that sometimes takes stands on public issues (other than NASW), they averaged 2.5 organizations. Almost all social workers (99.4%) discuss public issues with friends. A little less than half of the social workers responding to the survey made campaign contributions and even fewer worked in campaigns. Of those reporting political contributions, they averaged less than \$300 in the last four years. Nonmembers of NASW gave significantly more money to political campaigns than members.

Table 3 shows the average Index score for various types of social workers. Female social workers are more active than male social workers but not enough to reach statistical significance. There were significant differences, however, in political activity among different racial groups with black social workers being the most active; NASW members are more active than nonmembers, and macro practitioners more involved than micro social workers.<sup>2</sup> Type of educational degree is associated with social workers' level of political activity. Of those with social work degrees, Ph.D.s/D.S.W.s are more active than MSWs, who are more active than BSWs. BSWs, however, are less active than those with a B.A. or B.S. and MSWs are slightly less active than those with other types of masters degrees. Those with an MSW and another masters degree are the most active.

Table 4 shows the correlations between the Political Activity Index and other factors. The more experienced a social worker the more politically active they are notwithstanding whether the

Table 2

*Itemized Responses to Political Activity Index, 1989 and 1981.*

Item	Response	1989 Percentage
Organizational Membership	No	33.6%
	Yes	66.4%
Discussion of Issues	Never	0.6%
	Occasionally	45.4%
	Frequently	54.0%
Letters to Congress	No	16.1%
	Yes	83.9%
Campaigning	No	72.7%
	Yes	27.3%
Attend Political Meetings	No	38.4%
	Yes	65.2%
Contributions	No	54.9%
	Yes	45.1%
Testifying	No	90.8%
	Yes	9.2%

experience is administrative, direct services or both. Although statistically significant, these associations are weak. Curiously, those social workers who received their highest degree recently show no greater or lesser probability of being active as those who received their degrees earlier. Wolk (1981) found that as a social worker's age increased so did their political activity. Also, his finding of a positive correlation between a social worker's reported income and their political activity was not confirmed in this sample.

Why are social workers involved in politics? Is it because they believe that clients will eventually benefit as a result? Might there be other reasons that motivate them to be involved? Several questions in the survey can be analyzed in such a way as to get some clues to an answer. Since the primary purpose of the survey was to study social workers' advocacy practice, they were asked about their primary reasons for engaging in

Table 3

*Political Activity Index Score by Social Worker Characteristics*

Characteristic	Average Score**	Standard Deviation	Number
<i>Gender:</i> Female	4.56	1.75	254
Male	4.40	1.73	85
<i>*Ethnicity:</i> Black	5.43	2.22	7
White	4.56	1.72	319
Asian	3.29	1.25	7
Hispanic	2.00	1.41	4
Native Am.	4.50	2.12	2
<i>*Highest Degree:</i>			
BA/BS	4.50	1.43	10
BSW	3.62	1.63	16
MSW	4.50	1.72	284
Other Masters	4.57	2.07	7
Ph.D./DSW	5.75	1.39	8
MSW & Other M.S.	6.25	1.49	8
Other Ph.D.	5.33	1.53	3
<i>*NASW Member:</i>			
Yes	4.60	1.73	299
No	3.97	1.76	40
<i>Work Status</i>			
Full Time SW	4.51	1.70	184
Part Time SW	4.49	1.80	80
Non-SW <sup>er</sup>	4.45	1.86	29
Student	4.20	1.93	10
Retired	5.18	1.59	22
Unemployed	4.21	1.85	14
<i>*Type of SW:</i>			
Macro	4.96	1.44	57
Micro	4.35	1.76	207

\* F statistic significant,  $p < .05$ .

\*\* The higher the score the greater the political activity.

Table 4

*Correlations Between Political Activity Index and Other Factors*

Item	Coefficient	Probability
Years since graduation	.076	.086
Total years of experience	.146	.004
Years of direct service experience	.119	.015
Years of administrative experience	.101	.055
Number of employees in agency	.040	.055
Gross Annual Income	.040	.264

advocacy, how much advocacy they do both as part of their job and as a volunteer, and the effect of the Reagan Administration on their advocacy efforts.<sup>3</sup> They were provided with the following list of reasons for doing advocacy and asked to identify their top three in order: because it's my professional responsibility; because I've experienced oppression; because of previous work experience; because it's my job to do it; because I'd feel guilty if I didn't; because of previous volunteer experience; because of my personal values; because I enjoy advocacy; because I think it's the best approach for certain problems; because of peer pressure; and because I'd like to see things change. The major reasons social workers are involved in advocacy are because of personal values, professional responsibility and they like to see things change. Except for one them, none of these reasons correlated with a social workers' degree of involvement in politics. The one item that significantly associated with political activity was "because of previous volunteer experience"; those involved in advocacy because of some prior volunteering were more politically active than those who had other reasons for doing advocacy.

A list of 17 specific advocacy activities was included in the survey and respondents were asked how frequently they engage in each activity when advocating for clients. The frequency of participating in the following nine activities was significantly associated with the Political Activity Index score ( $p < .05$ ) indicating that the social workers who frequently engage in these

activities are also very active politically: influencing media coverage of an issue; lobbying individual policy-makers; mobilizing constituent support; political campaigning; organizing or maintaining coalitions; conducting issue research; influencing administrative rule-making in other agencies; pushing for increased clients' rights; and arguing for increased or improved services within their agency. Two of these activities reflect the items in the Political Activity Index (i.e., political campaigning and lobbying) so the positive relationships should be of no surprise, but the seven others included content not reflected in the Index. Five other activities were very close to being significantly associated with the Index score ( $p < .07$ ): giving testimony to decision makers; negotiating with administrative agencies; educating the public on an issue; teaching advocacy skills to clients; and representing a client in an administrative hearing. It is reasonable to conclude based on these associations that at least one of the reasons that social workers become politically active is to advocate for their clients by providing a voice in the political arena.

Respondents were also asked (in an open-ended question) what effect the Reagan presidency had on both their work related and volunteer advocacy efforts. Those responding indicated that they had increased their advocacy efforts (26.7%), that advocacy was harder (23.9%), or that it was more crucial (15.3%). A small number (5.7%) felt that the Reagan Administration had had the effect of decreasing their job related advocacy, but the largest number of those answering the question felt there had been little or no change (27.8%). Many social workers (31.1%) reported an increase in their volunteer advocacy as a result of the Reagan years and 16.8% said advocacy was harder. (see Table 5).

#### *Comparing Pre-Reagan Activity to Post-Reagan Activity.*

The 1989 study cannot be considered an exact replication of Wolk's (1981) work, but to the degree that the samples are comparable, it is possible to get an idea of the changes in social workers' political activity that occurred during the Reagan years. For the purposes of the following comparisons, the 1989 sample was split into NASW and non-NASW subgroups. The

Table 5

*The Effect of Reagan Administration on Job Related and Volunteer Advocacy*

Effect of Reagan Administration on	Percent
<b>Job Related Advocacy</b>	
Increased Time	26.7
Made It Harder	23.9
Mde It Crucial	15.3
Made It Useless	0.6
No or Little Change	27.8
Decreased Time	5.7
Total	100.0 (176)
<b>Effect of Reagan Administration on</b>	
<b>Volunteer Advocacy</b>	
Increased Time	34.1
Made It Harder	16.8
Mde It Crucial	11.2
Made It Useless	1.7
No or Little Change	33.0
Decreased Time	3.4
Total	100.2 (179)

1989 NASW subsample is most comparable to Wolk's since his sample consisted of NASW members only.

First, how comparable are the samples? The two samples had comparable proportions of females (Wolk's 73%; this one 73.6%), direct service workers (Wolk's 78% vs. 75.1 %), BSWs (Wolk's 4% vs. 2.6%), MSWs (84% vs. 88.0%), Ph.Ds (3% vs 1.9%), and nonblack minorities (3% vs 3.5%). There are differences in the proportion of blacks (Wolk's 8% vs. 2.3%) and whites (Wolk's 89% vs. 94.2%) represented in the sample; these differences reflect the different demographics of the two states (i.e., Michigan and Washington).

The two samples have many similarities and a few differences, but to what degree does each approximate the national demographic profile of the social work profession? Hopps and Pinderhughes (1987) reported that 91% of the NASW membership were MSWs, 73% female, 11.4% minority, and 63.7% involved in direct service. Their data were based on a 1982

survey, much closer to the time when Wolk did his research. Again, neither sample's demographic profile is the same as the national figures, but both are reasonably similar on demographic variables they all had in common.

The average Index score for NASW members in 1989 was 4.6 whereas in 1981 the average was 3.7 — a statistically significant difference — which means that political activity has increased. Fewer of the 1989 social workers had low scores compared to Wolk's sample (see Table 6) and more had high scores except for 8, the maximum score. From 1981 to 1989 there was little difference in social workers' likelihood of being a member of an organization that might exert some political pressure, of discussing political issues with friends, of working in campaigns, and of testifying before a legislative committee (see Table 7). There was a modest increase from 1981 to 1989 in the number of social workers reporting that they made campaign contributions. The big differences in the political behavior of social workers over the Reagan years was their greater tendency to write or talk to public officials and attend meetings at which political speeches were made.

### Conclusion

Based on 1989 data, social workers are politically active largely by writing letters to public officials but also by discussing political issues with friends, by belonging to politically active organizations and by attending political meetings. In addition, a substantial proportion of social workers make campaign contributions and get involved in candidate elections. Among social workers, those with the highest educational degrees, those who are NASW members, those who are in macro type jobs, and black social workers tend to be more active than their colleagues. These data also suggest that one of the primary reasons social workers are politically active is to advocate for clients.

The findings of this study also show significant growth in the political involvement of social workers over the Reagan years in office, confirming Amidei's (1987) perception of greater political efforts on behalf of the vulnerable. Though Haynes and

Table 6

*Comparison of Political Activity Index Scores for Social Workers Before Reagan and After Reagan*

Category	Score	1989 Non-NASW Subsample	1989 NASW Subsample	1981 Sample
Inactive	0	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%
	1	10.0%	3.3%	12.4%
	2	15.0%	9.7%	20.8%
Subtotal		25.0%	13.0%	33.9%
Active	3	12.5%	14.4%	19.7%
	4	20.0%	20.4%	11.8%
	5	22.5%	20.7%	11.4%
Subtotal		55.0%	55.5%	42.9%
Very Active	6	12.5%	14.7%	11.4%
	7	7.5%	13.7%	8.7%
	8	0.0%	3.0%	3.1%
Subtotal		20.0%	31.4%	23.2%
Total		100.0%	99.9%	100.0%
		(40)	(311)	(289)

Mickelson (1986) felt that "the 1980s have caught our profession short of social workers trained or even interested in political activity" (p. xi), political activism has increased.

It is interesting to note, and a little worrisome, that although the number of non-NASW members in this sample is small, they contributed significantly more to political campaigns than members. It is possible that NASW members donated funds to national or state PACE organizations (Political Action for Candidate Elections) and interpreted the survey question to be asking about direct contributions to candidates. Further research might pursue this issue further.

Obviously, there are many other factors which could explain the observed differences in the Political Activity Index score of the two samples. While it is true that the Washington State sample was similar to Wolk's earlier sample, and is largely consistent with the best estimates of the demographic characteristics of the profession as a whole, state or regional



Table 7

*Percentage of Social Workers Engaged in Political Activities Before and After Reagan\**

Item	Response	1989 Non-NASW Subsample	1989 NASW Subsample	1981 Sample
Inactive	No	41.5%	32.6%	34.0%
	Yes	58.5%	67.4%	66.0%
Discussion of Issues	Never	0.0%	.7%	1.0%
	Occasionally	55.0%	44.1%	52.0%
	Frequently	45.0%	55.2%	47.0%
Letters to Congress	No	25.0%	14.9%	51.0%
	Yes	75.0%	85.1%	49.0%
Campaigning	No	82.5%	71.4%	70.0%
	Yes	17.5%	28.6%	30.0%
Attend Political Meetings	No	37.5%	34.4%	60.0%
	Yes	62.5%	65.6%	40.0%
Contributions	No	70.0%	52.9%	65.0%
	Yes	30.0%	47.1%	35.0%
Testifying	No	92.5%	90.6%	94.0%
	Yes	7.5%	9.4%	6.0%

political traditions and events might predispose Washington social workers to be more active. Likewise, research design problems aside, the policies and practices of the Reagan Administration alone may not be the cause of the increases in political activism. As previously mentioned, NASW, nationally as well as many state chapters and local units have increased both their legislative and election activities during this period of time. These activities might have contributed to social workers' increased political activism. Whatever the causes, apparently social workers increasingly understand that they "no longer can leave critical issues and decisions on social policy to nameless others" (Haynes & Mickelson, 1986, p. 13).

Additional caution is advised when interpreting and generalizing these findings because of the nonresponse rate. One

might argue that the failure to fill out and return a questionnaire on advocacy and political activity indicates a person's inactivity and apathy. If so, 36.2% of those sampled would be considered politically inactive since this was the rate of nonresponse. In addition, 14.5% of those who responded — or approximately 9% of those sampled, fell into the "inactive" category. From this point of view, nearly half of the social workers sampled are politically inactive. Unfortunately, we were unable to do further comparisons of respondents to nonrespondents to verify or refute the argument above.

It is very doubtful that social workers' increased political activity can be attributed to any course content they experienced while getting their degrees. Haynes and Mickelson (1986) found very little content on politics in schools of social work curricula. If a school's curriculum does nothing else, it should underscore the importance of political activity and help resolve the value dilemmas which seem to restrain social worker participation in the political arena. Beyond that course content should allow social work students to acquire knowledge of political processes and the requisite skills to participate effectively. State chapters of NASW should continue and increase their political and legislative efforts because they appear to be effectively increasing the political activism of the profession.

### Notes

1. For an excellent discussion of the compatibility of social work values and political action see Haynes and Mickelson (1986, pp. 15-25).
2. Macro practitioners are agency executives, program managers, supervisors, and planners. Micro social workers are therapists, counselors, case managers and other direct service providers.
3. The definition of advocacy used for this survey was "those purposive efforts which attempt to impact a specific decision, law, policy or practice on behalf of a client or a group of clients." This additional, clarifying information was provided to respondents: "The important elements of this definition are: 1) that you are engaging in these advocacy activities *on behalf of* a specific client or group of clients; 2) the '*target of intervention*' is not the client but an agency or system; and 3) like other social work interventions, it is systematic (i.e., it involves problem assessment, planning, action, and evaluation)."

## APPENDIX: Political Activity Index Items

1. Do you belong to any organizations (other than NASW) that sometimes take a stand on public issues? (If yes, how many?)
2. When you get together with your friends, would you say that you discuss public issues frequently, occasionally, or never?
  - a. If you answered frequently or occasionally, which of the following statements best describes your part in these discussions?
    - 1) Even though I have my own opinion, I usually just listen.
    - 2) Mostly I listen, but once in a while I express my opinions.
    - 3) I take an equal share in the conversation.
    - 4) I do more than just hold up my end in the conversation; I usually try to convince others that I am right.
3. Have you ever written or talked to your member of Congress or Senator or other public officials to let them know what you would like them to do on a public issue? (If yes, how many times in the past year?)
4. In the last four years have you worked for the election of any political candidate by doing things like distributing pamphlets, making speeches, or calling on voters?
5. Have you attended any meetings in the last four years at which political speeches were made?
6. Have you contributed money to a political party or to a candidate in the last four years (with the exception of the federal income tax deduction of \$1)? (if yes, approximately how much?)
7. With the exception of professional concerns (e.g., third party payments or certification) during the last four years, have you testified before a legislative committee at the local, state, or national level for or against a bill under consideration? (If yes, approximately how many times?)

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# The Dual Face of Empowerment: A Model for Cooperative Resource Building

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Homelessness among families with children has become a nationwide problem. Although homelessness is difficult to document, it is estimated that approximately 250,000 to 3,000,000 people in the United States are homeless. Families, which comprise approximately one third of the homeless population, is its fastest growing segment (Mihaly, 1991; National Coalition for the Homeless, 1989; Van Vliet, 1989). This may be a conservative figure. Some of these families often go uncounted because they are part of the "invisible" homeless. They avoid agency contact for fear of losing their children or live in motels, cars, or campgrounds and thereby are not counted among the homeless (Edelman & Mihaly, 1989).

Homeless families generally are plagued with multiple problems. For a family, homelessness represents the culmination of a myriad of stress related factors which have impinged on its ability to control its environment.

Hutchison et al. (1986) identify these factors as unemployment or under-employment, inadequate public assistance programs, deficient housing, exorbitant utility costs, meager health care, lack of transportation, and inadequate social support systems. Homeless families not only have little control over these valued resources but often must overcome major barriers to obtain them. Due to limited funding and heavy demand for services, agencies often are unable to provide homeless families with adequate resources to meet their basic survival needs.

In an attempt not to "blame" or "victimize" homeless families, a recent movement has utilized the "empowerment model"

to address their needs. Although the empowerment model can be an effective, positive, and productive approach in helping homeless families, efforts thus far have been marginally effective and have left homeless families feeling frustrated with the social systems assisting them. In addition, social service providers experience a sense of despair, helplessness, and frustration as they attempt to attack the plight of homeless families.

This paper will: 1) define and identify the assumptions of the empowerment model from a human ecological perspective; 2) explore why current attempts at applying the empowerment model have been unsuccessful and, which may prove to be damaging to homeless families; 3) demonstrate the results of a university initiated effort to empower both homeless families and those agencies serving them; resulting in greater benefits and satisfaction for both groups; and, 4) suggest further development and application of the empowerment model to broader social service areas and other client groups.

### DEFINING EMPOWERMENT

The concept of empowerment is an illusive one. It has been applied in varied professional settings, and yet is defined differently across disciplines. The idea that the term empowerment is complex and difficult to define is exemplified by Rappoport (1985) who writes "Empowerment is a little bit like obscenity; you have trouble defining it but you know it when you see it. It seems to be missing in people who feel helpless" (p. 17). In business management, empowerment is defined as "a process of enhancing feelings of self-efficacy among organizational members through the identification of conditions that foster powerlessness and through their removal by both formal organizational practices and informal techniques of providing efficacy information" (Conger and Kanungo, 1988, p. 474). In the field of early childhood Dunst and Trivette (1987) defined and operationalized empowerment "to include the help seeker's: (a) access and control over needed resources, (b) decision-making and problem solving abilities, and (c) acquisition of instrumental behavior needed to interact effectively with others in order to procure resources" p. 445).

The Cornell Empowerment Group (1989) views empowerment as a process at the community-level rather than an outcome or set of outcomes. They define empowerment as "an intentional, ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources" (p. 2).

Inherent in the Cornell Group's definition is the human ecological approach to working with individuals, families, groups, and organizations. The ecological approach as set forth by Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) perceives persons as developing and adapting through transactions with all elements of their environments. The ecological model attempts to "improve the coping patterns of people and their environments so that a better match can be attained between an individual's needs and the characteristics of his/her environment" (Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman, 1990, p. 10).

This paper will utilize the definition of empowerment derived from the Cornell Empowerment Group. Empowerment, according to the Cornell Group (1989), has certain underlying programmatic assumptions: (a) individuals have strengths, (b) diversity is valued, (c) people interact with a variety of systems, (d) all people have choices in a democracy, (e) the deficit model works against empowerment, (f) cultural understanding is important, (g) women are particularly burdened with inequities, and (h) power and valued resources must be redistributed more equitably.

### HOMELESS PROGRAMS: WHAT'S MISSING?

Rappoport (1981) introduced the idea of the "dialectic" as it relates to empowerment. He defined dialectic to mean "the tendency to become focused on one side of a dialectical problem, that is to pay attention to one side of the truth so as to fail to take into account an equally compelling opposite" (p. 4).

Applying this use of the dialectic as it relates to the plight of the homeless implies that as attention is focused on empowering homeless individuals (microsystems level), at the same time it is



critical to empower the social service providers (microsystems level) . If programs focus solely on empowering the homeless and not service providers as well, the result will be a "one-sided" approach with the tendency to "blame" and "victimize" both homeless individuals and agencies for not improving the situation. Not only will the social service providers experience the role of victim, they will also experience negative effects such as frustration, anger, and burnout.

Ann Hartman (1991) comments on the stress and strain of social agencies. she writes "the pressure is often on workers to do more with less or, eventually, to do less with less, to process the maximum number of people in the shortest possible time. Professional judgment concerning client need and appropriate responses to need are overridden by financial and bureaucratic requirements" (p. 195). Fabricant (1986) views social service agencies as operating from a defensive posture. He points out that social agencies are losing their funding sources as well as increasingly being asked to meet the needs of populations for which adequate services and funding do not exist. Out of this defensive posture certain agency outcomes develop. "Rigid intake criteria, excessive documentation demands, categorical definitions of service, cold, impersonal and, on occasion, hostile responses to expressions of need too often characterize the homeless's experience with highly bureaucratized forms of social services" (Fabricant, 1988, p. 51).

A widely held view exists that social service agencies are under funded, uncaring, and unable to provide adequate services for the homeless. Social service agencies are also perceived as being unable or unwilling to work collaboratively with other social service agencies. Consequently, there is a tendency to blame and, also, accentuate the weaknesses of social service agencies. Focusing on the deficits rather than the strengths of social service agencies only perpetuates an unempowered position.

As programs attempt to empower homeless individuals it is essential and critical that empowerment also take place on an agency and inter-agency level. The following is a description of a three-year ongoing program initiated by university involvement which created the opportunity on a community

level for agencies to cooperate. This ultimately resulted in an empowerment model that benefitted the agencies and clients simultaneously and was accomplished by facilitating client/staff discourse surrounding homeless issues. Agency and staff morale improves through the mutual interaction of shared ideas and concerns. As staff morale improves, staff become more open to client input. Subsequently, this results in direct client empowerment.

#### UNIVERSITY/COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT MODEL

The School of Social Work at The University of Nevada, Reno created a non-threatening forum for agencies to communicate and collaborate. By employing empowerment at the agency as well as the inter-agency level and utilizing the very empowerment techniques we employ with clients, a model for successful resource building can be implemented. An informal meeting without a lead agency was used to bring together key people with the common interest of serving homeless families. The University provided the impetus by expressing interest in researching demographics of homeless families who had been referred to a federally funded transitional housing program from shelters located in Washoe County, Nevada.

The transitional housing program was created under a 1988 Stewart B. McKinney demonstration grant. The recipient for this particular McKinney grant for transitional housing was the local Housing Authority. The actual physical facility, a converted motel, consists of 42 single or dual rooms with attached bathrooms. Twelve common kitchen and eating areas are available to residents at prescribed hours in the main building. The grant included a social service component which was included as in-kind contributions by local social service agencies.

Representatives of the University and the Housing Authority met to discuss and identify unmet transitional housing program needs. Two major needs were identified: the program lacked a means of tracking clients being referred from various shelter sites to transitional and on to permanent housing; and the in-kind social services had not been clearly delineated at the outset of the program.

In fact, inadequate coordination of service provision often resulted in duplication of services and waste of limited agency resources. For example, two community groups unknowingly duplicated efforts by providing a story hour for children. At the same time, a group attempting to provide services to adults was hindered by a lack of child care. By uniting the two children's groups and coordinating the time with the adult group, multiple needs were met without expending resources unnecessarily. Using mandatory tenant meetings as an arena to gain information from clients, limited services being offered were profiled. Examination of this profile illuminated the apparent service gaps thus enhancing program planning.

Once the program needs were identified, representatives from the Housing Authority explored the role of the University in improving client services. The Housing Authority suggested that the University assume a leadership role in facilitating inter-agency communication and coordination.

Subsequently, university faculty and graduate students organized a preliminary meeting of social service agencies to identify unmet program needs and develop a structure to improve services through inter-agency collaboration. Agency representatives agreed to meet regularly, as well as contact other agency representatives to join the group. The group comprised of key community agencies and university representatives formed The Alliance for Families in Transition (AFT). Agencies participating in AFT include State and County Welfare, several private non profits organizations, church affiliated groups, and various university departments. The organization focused on improving service delivery through agency networking and resource development. A mission statement was developed and adopted by all agencies. The mission of AFT is to "unite community agencies participating in a cooperative effort to assist families to achieve their full potential.

To address the program need for a tracking system to manage and analyze data, while at the same time assessing each family's unique characteristics and needs, a centralized, comprehensive needs assessment tool and accompanying data base were recommended. Utilizing client feedback from intake interviews, an assessment tool was developed and accepted by

the AFT group for use with transitional clients by the multiple agencies serving them. AFT agreed to encourage all shelters and organizations serving homeless families to use the centralized, comprehensive needs assessment form. Use of this form allowed for a data base system that would clearly define a sample of the community's homeless population and allow for appropriate regional planning. community planning is a delicate issue, as it requires the allocation of scarce resources and leads to ardent competition among agencies seeking to serve the same population. "Turfism" created by agency competition often hampers optimum service delivery to clients.

Three committees were created to address the second program need to improve service delivery to the homeless families by eliminating overlap and duplication of services. The subcommittees included: children's needs, adult services, assessment, and shelters. The committees meet independently and come together for a monthly AFT organizational meeting. By encouraging the committees to focus on client needs as opposed to agency needs, AFT members as a group found satisfaction in cooperation. This client-centered approach reduced the turfism so common among social service providers who are frequently competing for limited community resources.

The children's subcommittee developed programs to empower parents and children through quality early childhood programs. The programs for young children and school aged children were designed to reduce educational barriers. The subcommittee assisted The University of Nevada, Reno, Cooperative Extension and the Child and Family Resource Center in obtaining funding and developing on-site and off-site programs. A program titled "Story Time" was conducted by the Nevada Cooperative Extension. This program introduced young children to new words, ideas, and concepts. It modeled appropriate techniques for parents to guide and support their young children in pre-reading skills and social development.

The Child and Family Resource Center provided programs for infants through age 12, four nights a week, while parents attended literacy classes. Staff and volunteers provided an environment which supported the needs of the child whether they be physical, such as nutritious snacks, bathing the child,

cleaning the child's clothes, or individual time for reading a book or just being held. Activities and toys were designed for all ages.

The adult services subcommittee identified and focused on the various needs of homeless adults. Needs identified by this subcommittee were: legal assistance, homemaker services, financial budgeting skills, dental and health care, mental health, job training, eye care, and housing. The committee decided to invite homeless individuals to meetings to get their perspective on issues concerning the homeless. The subcommittee realized that what was a resource today was gone tomorrow. Therefore, a major goal for the subcommittee is to keep current on available resources.

The assessment and shelter subcommittee established a pilot, on-site field unit project at the transitional facility. Graduate and undergraduate social work students from the University of Nevada, Reno School of Social Work provided case management services for client assessments and direct work with homeless shelters. Students scheduled activities and coordinated interagency services for the homeless families. Social Work students also were assigned to either AFT's children's needs or adult services committee. The students' involvement with both agencies and clients, as a learning experience, served as an excellent role model for clients to observe that professionals as well as clients require training for growth. Clients benefitted dramatically from the direct, intensive contact with students and expressed positive regard for the relationship.

During the first two years, the AFT organization has successfully identified needs and facilitated agency collaboration and action. Developing trust and open communication between agency participants has empowered the system of services to homeless families. Major accomplishments that have been identified thus far by the Alliance of Families in Transition are:

1. A centralized assessment form which has resulted in less confusion for homeless families and the agencies that work with them.
2. A preliminary profile and analysis of homeless families through information obtained from the centralized assessment form.

3. Creation of student internships which provide experiences beneficial both to students and vulnerable families.
4. An understanding of the large number of people who truly care and are willing to help when the barriers are removed.
5. A system to manage and resolve conflicts in an open forum.
6. Establishment of a cooperative and empowered system between social service agencies, the university, the community, and homeless families.

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The problem of the homeless is a critical contemporary social problem and has become a costly national issue. Programs were created through the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987 to address the varied and complex social needs of the homeless population. Since 1987, however, the numbers of homeless individuals have continued to increase with families being the fastest growing segment of the homeless population. Crisis management has been the point of policy development.

Efforts to empower the homeless population has been met with marginal success. From a human ecological perspective, working with the homeless from an individual-based approach rather than a multilevel problem approach is limited in scope. Empowerment must be broadened beyond clients (microsystems level) to social service agencies (mesosystems level). Individuals who work within such agencies must experience a sense of empowerment if they are to be effective agents in working with homeless clients.

The model presented in this paper outlines an attempt to broaden empowerment beyond the microsystems level. The university, acting from a neutral position, provided the impetus for agency collaboration, which resulted in cooperative efforts to address and resolve issues and problems affecting homeless families as well as those affecting the agencies themselves. Because empowerment is an "ongoing" and evolving process the university has taken steps to broaden the application of the current model.

Faculty and graduates from The University of Nevada, Reno have become involved at the exosystem and macrosystems levels. On the exosystem level contacts with city council representatives, county commissioners, and state representatives have proven to be successful. The university has been instrumental in collaborating with politicians in initiating new programs and policy on behalf of the homeless. On the macrosystems level, interviews by newspapers and local television networks have helped to sensitize and inform the general public on the issues of homelessness.

The problems of homelessness will continue to be a critical national issue throughout the remainder of this decade. If the condition of the homeless is to change, then new procedures must occur at multilevels in order to facilitate individual and combined empowerment of the homeless population. First, it should be acknowledged that input from the homeless regarding policy development and decision making can have far reaching ramifications for resolving individual and social problems. Second, agencies must continue to communicate openly and avoid the entanglement of turfism and competition. Third, professionals from allied social service professions must initiate and work closely with politicians on the local, state, and national levels to develop social policy which encourages empowerment and ultimately will create the means for the homeless to become secure and productive citizens. Fourth, all of those who work with the homeless must encourage the development of multilevel efforts to change attitudes about homelessness and the devastating effects it has on individuals and families. Lastly, institute further academic-community shared involvement towards creating innovative and lasting solutions to the problems of homelessness.

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# Neighborhood-Based Initiative to Address Poverty: Lessons From Experience

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## Neighborhood-Based Initiatives to Address Poverty

The neighborhood has long been an important locus for efforts to address the causes and consequences of poverty in American society. Over the course of the past century neighborhood-based initiatives have been called on to reduce class conflict, counter feelings of alienation, localize control of social institutions, create jobs and reverse neighborhood economic decline, improve human services, and address a variety of specific poverty-related problems, ranging from infant mortality to juvenile delinquency. In this essay I draw on the historical experience with neighborhood initiative to illuminate its strengths and limitations as a strategy for addressing poverty and its correlates. I also use the particular history to point up enduring dilemmas in American society's efforts to address poverty.

Neighborhood-level initiative has played an important role in efforts to address poverty because it is consonant with the ways in which Americans prefer to think about and deal with poverty; that is, as an individually- and locally-rooted problem, a product of individual weakness or unhealthy community environments, rather than inadequate wages, a changing labor market, or exclusion from social and economic opportunities. Poor people, separated from the basic social, economic, and political contexts which shape their lives, "are presented as a mere aggregation of personal cases, each with its own logic and self-contained causes" (Wacquant & Wilson, 1989, p. 9). Certainly people who have had and continue to have difficult lives do make more than their share of bad decisions—a residue of such lives (Polansky, 1981). People eventually internalize social neglect and depredation in their outlook and their behavior. But too often the focus on individual or group responses to hardship

and exclusion has served as an excuse for ignoring underlying causes of poverty-related problems.

The preference for focusing on poverty and its correlates as individual and local problems itself is due to a reluctance to acknowledge that American society's collective economic and social choices bear inherent costs—in hardship, inequality, and marginality—as well as benefits. Acknowledging these costs presumably would threaten the ideals and myths underlying American culture. Americans therefore struggle to find approaches to addressing hardship, inequality, and marginality that allow basic myths to be maintained, for example that ours is an open society with few impediments to social mobility. Neighborhood initiative not only fits comfortably with our ideals and myths, it has been built on them.

American reformers since the Progressive era have believed that the local community is the ground on which our society could compensate for and counteract the costs inherent in its priorities and arrangements. They have believed that the local community can be different in values and dynamics than the larger society in which it is embedded (Wiebe, 1975, ch. 6). Thus, for example, it is presumed that in a society driven by self-interest it is easier to identify common interests within a local community. In an individualistic society, feelings of responsibility for others' well-being are stronger within a local community. In other words, reformers have believed that something done in the community can solve problems the larger society has been unable or unwilling to resolve.

The historical experience with neighborhood initiative raises doubts both about the ways in which Americans have preferred to deal with poverty, and the ways in which they have used the idea of community. This experience suggests that poverty and social exclusion are not problems which local citizens coming together can address on their own, especially if it is only those citizens experiencing these problems. Neighborhood initiatives have provided residents of poor neighborhoods a voice in defining important issues in their lives, and a vehicle for acting in concert to gain a measure of control over those issues. The services they have created have provided poor people critical support in coping with poverty-related stresses.

They have assumed leadership in municipal poverty-fighting efforts. Too frequently, though, neighborhood initiatives have been undermined by inappropriate social tasks, overly optimistic views of community, and ambivalence on the part of government about community control in poor communities. Too frequently, local and federal government has used the presence of neighborhood initiatives as an implicit excuse for inaction on larger issues, such as residential segregation. All too frequently neighborhood initiatives have been undermined by the very community depletion they were designed to address. Rather than reshaping the larger social context, most initiatives have been progressively shaped by it.

Herein lies a central dilemma of neighborhood initiative in poor neighborhoods. Neglected and depleted local communities do not create themselves. They are created largely by the decisions of others not to invest in, insure, support, or interact with those communities and their residents; indeed often to withdraw resources from those communities, and let existing investments deteriorate. It is problematic to then turn around and encourage these same communities to draw on the very types of resources that have been depleted to renew themselves. Under such conditions, neighborhood initiative becomes a false choice, rather than a genuine one. Members of neglected and depleted communities have not only chosen, they have had no choice but to rely on their own efforts to counter the effects of their exclusion. They have done so in response to the indifference of the larger society, in an effort not to let that indifference destroy their communities. They have done so to counter hopelessness and anger, and to secure a modicum of self-determination.

### The Emergence of Neighborhood Initiative

Neighborhood renewal emerged as a major problem solving approach in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Progressives started out with a broad agenda, including regulation of working conditions, tenement reform, women's suffrage, public health reform, and family preservation. Woven through the specific elements of this agenda, and emerging over time as a

central theme binding it together, was renewal of community. When Progressives looked at poor neighborhoods they saw not only horrendous living conditions, but conflict among religious and ethnic groups, lack of neighborliness and lack of order. They saw the poor as alienated from their work, their communities and each other (Kirschener, 1986, p. 179), and as unasimilated into society. Progressive reformers sought responses to hardship and inequality that were not as moralistic as those of the nineteenth century, that did not raise questions about the basic tenets of American society, and that were neither too trivial nor too radical as a response to poverty. They also needed problem solving strategies that addressed the perceived decline in social cohesion. Neighborhood initiative seemed well-suited to all these objectives.

If the neighborhood was going to be "the unit of civic and national reconstruction" (Robert Wood, cited in Chambers, 1963, p. 116), something had to be created that symbolized and represented the neighborhood as a whole, and that had the means to pull disparate elements together. The settlement, already emerging in many poor neighborhoods to provide specific services to neighborhood residents, seemed well-suited to this purpose (Chambers, 1963). Settlements' immediate attraction to the residents of poor immigrant neighborhoods was the wide variety of services provided. Settlement leaders had a larger vision. They wanted settlements to become neighborhood centers in the broadest sense. They organized residents to push for improved neighborhood conditions, ranging from closed sewers to public baths, to parks and playgrounds. They tried to use the settlement as the vehicle for reconciling the diversity of group beliefs, interests, and behavioral patterns that made up poor neighborhoods (Daniels, 1920).

A notable exception to the settlements' efforts to promote social integration involved African Americans, whom most settlements refused to serve (Philpott, 1978). By the early part of the century, urban African Americans were already being residentially isolated from other groups, through restrictive covenants, steering and violence. Nonetheless as more African Americans moved north they overspilled the boundaries of black districts, and many lived in the catchment areas of particular settlements.

Settlement leaders supported the maintenance of the "color line" when they could. When they found African Americans in their neighborhoods they constructed elaborate rationales not to serve them (Philpott, 1978, p. 301). They argued that racial integration would lead to neighborhood conflict. They argued that the whole aim of neighborhood work was to bring people together voluntarily, and if one group objected there was nothing to be done (Philpott, 1978, p. 311).

Aside from the issue of race, the settlements' efforts at neutrality and ecumenism limited their role in social problem-solving and community development. They were ambivalent about the industrial strife of the period, identifying with workers but refusing to acknowledge the roots of workers' grievances in the basic premises of corporate capitalism (see Jane Addams' reflections on George Pullman in "An American Lear", reproduced in Lasch, 1965). Settlements refused to acknowledge the critical role that churches and mutual aid associations played in immigrants' lives, further marginalizing them in neighborhoods in which they were often already viewed as outsiders. Over time settlements' aspirations to reform society from the bottom up weakened, as did the broader reform impulses of the Progressive era. Nonetheless, settlements maintained their role as social sentinel. They were among the first to sense and warn of the coming Great Depression, though no one would listen to their warnings (Hall, 1971, ch. 1).

During the early decades of the century other neighborhood-based strategies also emerged in poor neighborhoods. The public schools experimented (briefly) with efforts to become neighborhood service centers and development agencies (Fisher, 1977). As human services became more bureaucratized in the 1920s and 1930s, some cities developed local welfare or neighborhood councils, designed to assure local citizen input into service planning. Innovative neighborhood service models emerged in a number of cities. Clifford Shaw's Chicago Area Project, for example, tried to reduce juvenile delinquency by addressing the breakdown in community social controls thought to nurture it. The Project recruited young adults from the community (some former delinquents) as "curbstone counselors", to provide gang members the caring, feedback, guidance and

monitoring that presumably had dissipated in the community (Schlossman & Sedlak, 1983).

Also in Chicago, the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council (BYNC) was emerging as a prototype for community-wide reform organizations. Originated by Joseph Meegan, a community leader, and Saul Alinsky, BYNC sought to mobilize the Back of the Yards community around local priorities identified through democratic processes (Slayton, 1986). Meegan's and Alinsky's vision, though more militant than that of the settlement leaders, was in many respects just as pragmatic and optimistic. They assumed that most people in a segmented multi-ethnic community wanted a setting where they could temporarily set aside their narrow interests in the service of common interests, whether an Infant Welfare Station, a free lunch program, better city services, or better access to mortgage loans. The idea of mobilizing a segmented community by focusing on neglect or exploitation by outside institutions, and at the same time setting clear, realistic objectives, would be central to Alinsky's subsequent organizing work (Alinsky, 1970).

During the 1940s and 1950s there were also major shifts occurring in urban community life. Manufacturing was leaving inner-city neighborhoods for the suburbs, taking hundreds of thousands of jobs with it. At the same time three million blacks were making their way from the south to inner-city areas of the north and midwest (Mollenkopf, 1983, p. 82). Local governments joined white neighborhood associations and real estate interests in an effort to control the process of neighborhood change; but such efforts could not withstand the pressure of the enormous numbers involved. A rapid and sometimes violent process of racial transition took place at the edges of expanding black ghettos.

As whites fled inner-city neighborhoods the political relationship of those neighborhoods to municipal government changed dramatically. Contracting urban resources provided an excuse for decreased patronage and investment in schools, police, sanitation, and infrastructure in both the historic ghetto and newly black neighborhoods (Mollenkopf, 1983). A growing proportion of absentee landlords saw little reason to maintain properties in neighborhoods perceived to be declining anyway.

Urban renewal, the predominant poverty-fighting strategy of the era, became a tool to buffer city centers from the tide of African American migration, and to reinforce territorial segregation through zoning, selection of transportation routes, and location of public housing (Fainstein & Fainstein, 1983). Hundreds of thousands of poor people, mostly minorities, were relocated from the viable living neighborhoods into other poor neighborhoods that soon themselves became overcrowded and overwhelmed (Gans, 1965). The federal highway program, which displaced almost as many poor people as urban renewal, was often used to cut off poor, minority communities from the rest of the city (Mollenkopf, 1983). High rise public housing projects became the anchor, locating, solidifying, and holding the ghettos in place as one after another of the major institutions of society deserted them (Kotlowitz, 1991).

#### Responses: From Outside and From Within

The Ford Foundation felt impelled to respond to what was happening in the cities with a program that provided both prototype and impetus for the unprecedented neighborhood initiatives of the 1960s. Ford Foundation staff, notably Paul Ylvisaker, were frustrated by the unresponsiveness of predominant urban institutions, notably municipal governments and schools, to the support needs of the growing numbers of minority migrants to the cities (Ford Foundation, 1964). They recognized, albeit dimly, that there was growing anger in the inner-city about the process and fruits of urban renewal, and that this anger had to be contained and converted to something positive (Ylvisaker, 1973, pp. 19, 23). They were interested in a strategy broader than one sector (e.g. school reform) and more substantive than Ford's prevailing program of municipal government reorganization.

The motives for Gray Areas were nonetheless conservative ones. Paul Ylvisaker and colleagues, like their progressive era predecessors, believed that America's values, political and social system were essentially sound; they just sometimes needed some "re-balancing" (Aaron & Hahn, 1991, p. 3). They, like others at the time, had a fear of social disorder and a perception that it could only be prevented through greater equality



(Kenniston, 1960). Not least, like the settlements, Gray Areas was built on the presumption that mainstream institutions and disenfranchised residents of poor neighborhoods had the same interests but were frustrated by not knowing how to combine their energies in a constructive process.

Gray Areas involved the infusion of relatively large amounts of Ford Foundation money and some technical assistance into a small number of cities—Boston, New Haven, Oakland, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C.—typically through a newly created, private coordinating agency, and typically with a focus on one or a few specific inner-city neighborhoods. These monies were to be used in part to spur innovation in local social, health and educational services, in part to finance the development of a comprehensive neighborhood renewal plan that would serve as the basis for attracting other funds for reform. The local organizing agencies would avoid the trap of becoming just another agency fighting for its prerogatives “by repudiating any claim to permanence or direct control” (Marris & Rein, 1982, p. 284).

The New Haven Gray Areas program, under the auspices of Community Progress Inc (CPI), was perhaps the best known and most widely publicized. A small, tightly knit group of professionals developed the plan, sold it to Ford, and ran the program (Powledge, 1970). While community residents were involved in service provision, there was little citizen participation in planning or governance. CPI’s concern with New Haven’s inner-city community was “largely anticipatory and defensive, a strategic posture rooted in the fear that the antipoverty project would become embroiled in political controversy and fail to accomplish its purpose” (Murphy, 1971, p. 119).

The New Haven program focused particularly on educational programs such as community schools, preschool education, community work experience for youth, lay teacher aides, and home school coordinators; and corollary programs such as after school programs, summer camps, and expanded neighborhood libraries (Murphy, 1971). It also developed employment centers, and had a rent supplementation program. Program leadership viewed it as “a pioneering effort, aiming at kind of a comprehensive social plan that has never before been prepared

(Murphy, 1971, p. 68). This was not quite true. The eclectic mixture of services reflected a renewal of many earlier ideas. More important, CPI was out of step with a growing demand by inner-city community leaders for greater community participation in program planning and management (Powledge, 1970, p. 142).

At the same time that Ford was funding Gray Areas two other initiatives were developing that would provide conceptual foundations for community action, the programmatic centerpiece of the decade. The President's Council on Juvenile Delinquency (PCJD) funded demonstrations in 16 cities, focused on breaking the poverty cycle at the point just before youth were lost to the streets, primarily through education programs, and some street corner social work reminiscent of the Chicago Area Project of the 1930s. The PCJD program ran into many of the same local obstacles as did the Gray Areas projects, including demands for greater community participation, and local school bureaucracies resistant to even modest reforms.

The other initiative, Mobilization for Youth (MFY), originated at the Henry Street settlement in New York, was charting a different course than Gray Areas and PCJD. The designers of MFY believed that prevailing social institutions needed reform more than did poor people. Strategically, they believed that cooperation would only lead to cooptation, and thus assumed a more aggressive approach to reform (Marris & Rein, 1982). They were also committed to letting poor people themselves define the MFY agenda, although within a framework of professional guidance. MFY did sometimes try to persuade established institutions, including schools and welfare offices, to be more responsive to community residents. For example, MFY staff helped organize a group of Puerto Rican mothers to press for modest reforms in their children's school, including more flexible scheduling of parent-teacher meetings, and permission to take books home (Marris & Rein, 1982, p. 67). When efforts to persuade broke down, MFY encouraged neighborhood residents to turn to protest and demand on mainstream institutions, and helped develop the protest strategies (Cloward & Ellman, 1973). MFY's effort to raise the stakes of local reform made it a variety of enemies, including some who had started out as

allies (Hall, 1971, p. 274). The program eventually stabilized as an important community institution. In its difficult early history it left a number of lessons that should have been but were not digested by those designing the coming War on Poverty.

### Community Action

Miller and Rein (1973) note that many of our social reform movements are stories of the compromises that have to be made to mobilize support for reform in the U.S. context. The War on Poverty, in which a structural analysis of poverty by senior government officials, focusing on unequal access to jobs, was converted into a primarily service-based strategy, was certainly one such story (Katz, 1989). The conversion was facilitated by the enormous financial costs and political constraints to a major public sector job creation program. It was furthered by the availability of prototypes for a neighborhood-based strategy.

As it emerged, the War on Poverty had two thrusts: equal opportunity and community action (Katz, 1989). The first was reflected in specific health, education, social service, and job training programs intended to help poor children, youth, and to a lesser extent adults become prepared to take advantage of "new" opportunities. The other, community action, was built on the idea of strengthening poor communities' own ability to meet their residents' needs (or at least assure those needs were met). This would be done through two strategies. First, established institutions and the new Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) programs would come together in a reform coalition that would adopt a common strategy for improving community members' well-being. Second, community members would take a significant role in determining the priorities and activities of the local "War on Poverty". This latter was referred to as the principle of maximum feasible participation. A new institution, the community action agency (CAA), was created to embody and implement these ideas. The CAAs' authority and leverage consisted of control over the grants for some of the new OEO direct service programs, and the influence embodied in their boards, which were supposed to include representatives of different segments of the community.

The principle of maximum feasible participation was a broad idea that resonated strongly with basic American beliefs. Nonetheless, OEO never defined what it meant by the term. It was probably intended to mean advisement by community residents in local planning and decision-making coalitions, and employment of poor people in helping roles vis a vis their neighbors and peers. There was an assumption that participation was inherently good both for poor people and for society. It would improve poor people's mental health by countering their sense of alienation; and it would strengthen democracy. It was certainly not viewed in the early OEO discussions as a vehicle for increasing the political power of formerly powerless groups. But that is what it became.

Efforts to clarify the meaning of participation were reflected in battles over representation on CAA boards. Established interests, especially local city halls and major human service institutions, quickly mobilized to take control of the boards. Partly in response, Congress passed legislation requiring that one third of each CAA board be made up of representatives of the poor. Gaining a measure of control over CAA boards also became a focus of the civil rights organizers and militant community leaders (Morone, 1990). Most neighborhood residents continued to feel unrepresented throughout the battles over governance. As CAAs resolved internal issues they moved on to face equally difficult questions about their purpose, role, authority and legitimacy in the local community. One putative task of the CAAs was coordination of the general poverty-fighting effort in a community. In this they were hampered by limited resources, an unclear mandate, and by the fact that they were a new, externally-created institution. For example, the CAAs were never really able to gain a role in community economic development, an indigenous movement that was becoming a principal engine of development in inner-city communities.

The CAAs struggled particularly with issues of authority and role in the area of human service coordination and reform. As private agencies they had no authority, and only such legitimacy as resided in their boards, to take the lead in coordinating community services. With respect to reform,

there was a tendency to try to have it both ways—to ask established institutions to work with them, and simultaneously to pressure them to reform. Community Action Agencies often found themselves organizing community residents to demand reform of the very institutions—schools, welfare departments, housing authorities—that they were trying to bring together in a common strategy to improve the community.

Over time, most community action agencies settled on a cooperative rather than confrontational stance, scaled down their ambitions, and began seeking a defensible niche in their communities. In this they were helped along by the Office of Economic Opportunity, which, responding to the lack of clarity in CAA purposes, and to the tendency for some CAAs to use federal funds to support militant actions against established powerholders in their cities, began to seek greater control over local community action programs. It did so by earmarking an increasing proportion of community action funds for national priority programs, converting many CAAs primarily into grantees for specific programs such as Head Start, community health centers, and Job Corps.

In the end, the results of the community action strategy were mixed. In addition to providing a local base for new neighborhood-based services, community action created or stimulated the creation of new affiliations and organizations, including single-issue coalitions, tenant organizations, legal services, public interest law firms, and various rights organizations. These new groups and organizations gave poor people critical support in coping with poverty-related stresses, and a voice in at least some the issues shaping their lives. They came to play a critical role in securing and protecting the rights of poor children and families against the unchecked discretion of the public service and public assistance bureaucracies. The opportunity afforded to community members to assume key staff and advisory roles planted the seed for the eventual emergence of a black municipal bureaucracy. Not least, community action brought people together who would not normally have come together, leading to dialogue, new relationships, and occasionally to coalition-building.

Community action as a strategy was nonetheless limited in critical ways. It faced an inherent dilemma in its strategic

focus within the boundaries of poor neighborhoods themselves. Community action was developing during a period of worsening residential segregation in most cities. Many moderate black leaders were beginning to see the goal of integration as a chimera, and therefore supported the strategy of "separate development" as a necessary alternative (Altsbuler, 1970). But while an internal orientation made immediate sense, it could not address the problem of community neglect by major social and economic institutions, including banks and large corporations; nor residents' growing exclusion from mainstream social and economic opportunities.

Community action was further undermined by the half-hearted support of its own sponsor. When residents of poor communities finally began to take the federal government up on its offer, and attempted to define community action on their own terms, the federal government began backing away from its commitments to them. When the poor in a particular community did manage to achieve a tactical victory on a key local issue they received little support from OEO in building on such achievement to develop a constructive program of local action. Established institutions and service agencies "transformed the institutional change strategy to guarantee their own survival by redirecting the focus onto the client group and away from the institutional order" (Rose, 1972, p. 148).

Morone (1990, p. 250) argues that in the community action program "the state mediated the tension between the need for action and its inability to undertake it by organizing a program grounded in a potent myth". That was the myth of a coherent, like-minded community mobilizing itself for its common good. In reality it proved impossible in most instances to build the common interest around which to pull together the diverse segments of local communities. Indeed it has been argued that in community action and related programs, as well as broader events of the 1960s, "revealed a national style that was sectarian, not pragmatic. When Americans encountered problems they looked not for the common ground but for the boundary dividing it" (Wiebe, 1975, p. 8). To the residents of poor neighborhoods, the participatory structures and process set up by community action yielded little compared both to the promises made and the turmoil engendered.

*Model Cities*

During the late 1960s the residual federal government interest in addressing poverty shifted to a new initiative that was to be implemented through the very political structures—local governments—that community action had been designed to by-pass. Model Cities was legislated into being in 1966 and administered by the new Department of Housing and Urban Development. Its purpose was to strengthen local governments' commitment and ability to rehabilitate inner-city neighborhoods, through careful planning and centralized coordination. Model Cities was to be community development decoupled from community action, particularly its more militant aspects. Nonetheless, the social, political and institutional context for reform was profoundly different than it had been just a few years earlier.

Anger and frustration was at a much higher level in inner-city neighborhoods. Poor people and their local leadership were increasingly disillusioned by a sense of unfulfilled promises and betrayal by both the federal and local governments. They had learned that public and private resources for poor communities "come with a price tag that virtually never leaves local goals unchanged" (Perry, 1985, p. 16). They had also learned that "in a coalition form of decision-making, such as the Community Action Boards . . . they could be outmaneuvered and outvoted by more powerful interests" (Warren, 1969, p. 248). They were unwilling to let themselves be outmaneuvered once again. Established institutions positioned themselves carefully to gain a piece of the new pie, without becoming embroiled in struggles over priority-setting and organizational structures. Finally, both mayors and Congress wanted to be sure of control over the program.

Cities interested in a Model Cities grant had to develop an elaborate plan, that included most or all existing human service agencies or programs. The plan was to be developed by a newly created body called a City Demonstration Agency (CDA), composed of elected officials, representatives of major agencies like the schools, local housing authorities, health and welfare, employment, civic, labor and business leaders. The CDA was

supposed to be under the authority of the elected city council and the mayor, who had veto power over any plans developed. In many respects, Model Cities was set up to minimize rather than maximize the governance roles of residents of the target neighborhoods. The guidelines developed by HUD interpreted the citizen participation requirements in the legislation to mean only that citizens have access to the decision-making process (Arnstein, 1971). There was a tendency for the planning process to be tightly held, with plans voted on by the city council before the poor could mobilize. This was sometimes due to time pressure, as the program priorities set in Washington kept shifting. Nonetheless, power-sharing with residents tended to occur primarily when organized protest by target neighborhood citizen groups threatened to block planning or program monies from HUD to a particular city, as in Philadelphia; or when local government chose to work through a neighborhood corporation, as in New Haven. In a few cities, groups representing the poor turned to the courts to enforce citizen participation provisions.

One key principle of Model Cities was supposed to be concentration of federal and local resources in the targeted poor neighborhoods. In reality there was a strong tendency for resources committed to Model Cities by the schools, housing authority, and other agencies to be re-absorbed by those agencies, through the technique of defining needed services as what they already provided. Other federal programs that were supposed to pitch in withheld their resources till it became too late to use them. A second key principle, coordination, also became a kind of shell game (Gardner, 1989).

A portion of Model Cities monies were intended to be used for an updated attempt at urban renewal, this time with a more serious focus on increasing the supply of decent housing for poor families. But while the idea of urban renewal had been updated, the politics of urban renewal had not been. Non-profit housing and community development agencies that attempted to take advantage of HUD's interest found little support from local urban renewal boards and commissions, which still tended to be controlled by large real estate and construction interests, and to be susceptible to pressure from residents of wealthy neighborhoods. Ideas such as scatter-site housing and building



code reform rarely made it through local legislative or regulatory processes. Within a few months of his election President Nixon declared the "urban crisis" over (Haar, 1975, p. 193). At the same time that its coverage was being expanded from about 75 to 150 cities, largely for political purposes, its funding was being cut from \$500 million to about \$300 million. Within a few years Model Cities was off the Nixon administration's social policy agenda.

*Community Development Corporations:  
A Different Approach, Constrained All the Same*

Of all the neighborhood-based poverty-fighting strategies that have evolved in the United States community economic development is the most direct and powerful. It is also one of the few that was not imposed on poor communities, but grew out of their own efforts to define their needs. That is why its relatively modest effects (Carlson & Martinez, 1988, p. 292) are so instructive. The idea of community economic development, as embodied in the community development corporations (CDCs), emerged in the mid-1960s out of a growing conviction among community leaders that the economic renewal of their communities was of little concern to the private sector or to government (Perry, 1987). It was also motivated by belief that the anger being expressed in urban riots, as often turned inward as outward, had to be re-directed into constructive activity if inner-city communities were to survive. Most of the early CDCs were locally-created, community-owned institutions. A few, such as The Woodlawn Organization and Philadelphia's Opportunities Industrialization Center, started out as protest organizations. In the late 1960s the federal government became involved in stimulating and supporting CDCs, through OEO, the Small Business Administration, and later through the Community Services Administration. By the late 1970s the Ford Foundation became involved, through the Local Initiative Support Corporation (LISC).

The first generation of CDCs were relatively large organizations, often involved in planning and overseeing sizable commercial projects, such as a shopping center; and in efforts to bring some manufacturing back to the inner-city. They also took

equity stakes in or purchased businesses that otherwise would have closed down (Carlson & Martinez, 1988; Faux, 1971). These early CDCs were modestly successful in attracting private capital back to inner-city communities. They generated a modest number of local jobs. In both their projects and their own offices they provided a training ground for minority bankers, planners, accountants and so forth. About half the businesses they helped create or maintain became profitable, at least for a time (Perry, 1987). But the depleted state of many inner-city communities by the late 1960s and early 1970s, often compounded by the destruction of businesses through looting and arson during the riots, strongly constrained the early CDC experience. The efforts of even the best-capitalized and managed CDCs, such as the Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, were dwarfed by "the basic patterns of deterioration in the community, in terms of broad measures of joblessness, poverty levels, or housing and community infrastructure decay" (Carlson & Martinez, 1988, p. 292).

Over time both the surviving older CDCs and hundreds of newly emergent ones became smaller, more opportunistic, and more pragmatic. In general CDCs shifted more toward building or rehabilitating housing (80 percent of new low-cost housing in Boston is CDC built); and putting together private loan pools (funded by private individuals, foundations, churches, and the like, sometimes guaranteed by government agencies) in order to make mortgage or other capital loans to business ventures that were too high-risk to secure regular bank loans (Pearce & Steinbach, 1987). When later CDCs embarked on a business venture it was likely to be small, providing fewer but more sustainable jobs than in the past, by filling a specialized niche in the local economy—a bakery, a catering service, or a roofing firm.

CDCs also became less likely over time to take a confrontational stand on contentious issues such as bank lending practices or how crucial zoning decisions are made (Pearce & Steinbach, 1987, p. 32). By and large CDCs have opted for a cooperative approach in their projects, appealing to the self-interest of established institutions, and when possible bringing those institutions in as partners. It is not clear if the CDCs' new partners will stay the course. Historically investors in CDC

projects have had to be extraordinarily patient to see even very low returns.

The CDC movement also has not yet resolved the basic tensions between the objectives of nurturing successful businesses and entrepreneurs and redeveloping inner-city communities. For example, should profits be invested back in the business, or used for some general community purpose? Should businesses hire only community residents, even if they lacked the skills needed for a particular job? Should the management evict the resident of a CDC building who could not keep up with his or her rent? These are philosophical questions, reflecting the tensions between the demands of capitalism and those of community (see Gunn & Gunn, 1991). But they also reflect the cruel choices created in forcing neglected communities to take responsibility for renewing themselves.

#### A New Generation of Neighborhood-Based Initiatives

The process of social and economic disinvestment in inner-city communities that began in the 1950s only slowed modestly during the 1960s and 1970s, and has since intensified. During the 1970s and 1980s hundreds of thousands of jobs were lost from central city areas (Kasarda, 1989). Little effort was made to maintain the older housing stock of central cities, nor such public institutions as schools and hospitals. Cities received a declining share of federal spending. With the loss of the local tax base, the continuing constriction of municipal budgets, and the outmigration of remaining middle class families, inner-city communities no longer had the resources to support the full range of social, religious, and economic institutions that are critical to daily living and that provide the paths toward social mobility (Wacquant & Wilson, 1989). For example, local churches no longer generated the resources to provide educational, social and recreational programs.

After having observed the well-being of poor minority families and the fabric of their neighborhoods deteriorate over the past decade, city governments, foundations, and increasingly the business community, have once again become interested in

efforts to address that deterioration. Much of the renewed attack on persistent poverty is going into programs designed implicitly or explicitly to help individual families escape the inner-city, through education, job training, assistance in finding jobs, and so forth. Nonetheless, the idea of renewing and strengthening inner-city communities is once again receiving at least modest attention.

Casey, Commonwealth, Ford, Mott, Rockefeller, and numerous community foundations have local or multi-city neighborhood renewal initiatives in various stages of development. For instance, the Ford Foundation is sponsoring a four-city (Detroit, Hartford, Memphis, Milwaukee) demonstration called the "Neighborhood and Family Initiative". New York City has two initiatives on the drawing board. Its Human Resource Administration recently proposed "The New Citi Plan", a five year demonstration project "to facilitate community renewal and empowerment" in inner-city neighborhoods (Reed & Bennett, 1990, p. 1). A growing movement for comprehensive human service reform in many states and cities builds on the notion of the neighborhood as the locus of a reconceptualized system of services. For example, New York State has begun a demonstration called the "Neighborhood-Based Initiative", which will focus initially on crisis intervention services and comprehensive case management, but will expand to include a variety of "neighborhood revitalization" activities.

The current generation of neighborhood-based initiatives is focusing relatively more on the integrated nature of neighborhood renewal than did its predecessors. Proponents recognize that it is hard to talk a small businessman or woman into opening a business in a neighborhood full of abandoned buildings; or to convince a child to stick with schooling if no one that child knows has a regular job. At the same time, recognizing the growing difficulty of obtaining outside "concessions, subsidies and investments", sponsors of current initiatives have kept the general ideas of mobilizing community residents on their own behalf and of bringing together diverse local stakeholders to act in concert at the heart of their agendas (Kretzman, undated).

## Issues For Current and Future Initiatives

The history reviewed here offers some discrete lessons and raises basic questions about reliance on neighborhood initiative to address problems of poverty, inequality and social exclusion. The social and economic context of neighborhood initiatives in poor, isolated neighborhoods creates a variety of dilemmas with respect to both purpose and strategy. Neighborhood initiatives seem to have been most successful when they have managed to maintain a balance, a middle ground, between the poles of these dilemmas.

Perhaps the central dilemma in neighborhood initiative is what Minow (1990) calls the "difference dilemma", the question of how to address one's social depredation and social exclusion. On the one hand, it is not possible to solve these problems by striving to create a separate local society. Indeed focusing on separate development implies a degree of acceptance of the permanent nature of one's exclusion. On the other hand, efforts to integrate into the larger society offer "no solution unless the majority itself changes by sharing power, accepting members of the minority as equal participants, and resisting the temptation to attribute as personal inadequacies the legacy of disadvantage experienced by the group (Minow, 1990, p. 25). This dilemma finds expression—and therefore has to be attended to—in almost all aspects of neighborhood work in poor urban neighborhoods. It has been expressed as a tension between whether to focus more on community-building or on addressing inequality. It has been expressed as a tension between reconciliation and confrontation and between pragmatic and more radical aims.

A different type of dilemma in neighborhood initiative in poor neighborhoods has been between concern for individual progress and concern for community development. Community economic development in particular has struggled with whether it should and can be an ideological alternative to capitalism. Some of those involved with the movement have struggled to find a middle ground, arguing that individual and community success should be viewed as interdependent. Nonetheless, local experiments with alternative approaches to economic relations,

such as cooperatives, have proven difficult to sustain, in part because the larger social environment continues to seek out and recognize individual achievement.

Still a third dilemma in neighborhood initiative has been how much to build an initiative on the presumption that beyond the disparate interests of those holding and those seeking power there is an overarching common interest; and that this common interest can serve as a basis for mutual trust. Certainly the experiences of neighborhood initiatives in the 1960s and 1970s do not support these presumptions. People from outside disenfranchised communities and people from inside rarely were willing to take the risks necessary to gain each other's trust. Those who came to the negotiating table already controlling decisions, access and resources often remained unconvinced of the wisdom of relinquishing these prerogatives or resources to those who claimed they represented disenfranchised community members. Clearly there was a strong measure of self-interest in their reluctance. But there were also questions about whether the representatives of the powerless really had the common interests of the community in mind. Those who came to the table to fight for the interests of neighborhood residents also often came with a good deal of mistrust regarding the intentions of established interests. This mistrust was often reinforced by ensuing events.

At a basic level, if they are to be sustainable as a discrete problem-solving strategy, future neighborhood initiatives will have to be more realistic about what can and cannot be accomplished by just focusing reform efforts within poor neighborhoods themselves. Current initiatives still appear to be making unrealistic claims, in part to secure necessary support. There are sound rationales for neighborhood-based initiative. Diverse problems and social issues tend to intersect at the local level, and often can be more directly addressed at that level (Hunter, 1983). Neighborhood initiatives have been distinct in their understanding of social, economic and political concerns as linked, and in their struggle to address these concerns together. There are many untapped strengths, energies and resources within inner-city communities. Residents' energies should be focused within the community to some extent, and their contributions

to the community should be legitimized and recognized, for example counting as legitimate activity in programs that tie receipt of public assistance to some kind of effort (Herr & Halpern, 1991).

Nonetheless, neighborhood initiative has to be supported in the context of an understanding that poor, isolated neighborhoods cannot be transformed, nor the life chances of their residents significantly improved, by focusing reform just within the neighborhood itself. Most of the problems that plague poor neighborhoods and their residents—the continued sanctioning of residential segregation, lack of employment opportunities, the inadequacy of public assistance in meeting basic needs, lack of health care, poor schools—are not purely “neighborhood” concerns. They are the priorities and arrangements of society as reflected in a particular locale. Those responsible for social problem solving cannot just consider a local community without considering the broad social forces shaping it. The beliefs, priorities, and practices of people and institutions rooted outside poor neighborhoods have a profound effect on the quality life within them.

### Conclusion

The American preference for addressing poverty and its correlates through neighborhood-based initiatives has left a mixed legacy. The institutional reforms and the new resources, opportunities, and services associated with neighborhood initiatives have tempered the hardship and despair resulting from societal disinvestment in poor neighborhoods and poor people. Nonetheless, the historic experience indicates that it is an ameliorative, not a transforming, problem solving strategy. Neighborhood initiative invariably has left the relationship between poor neighborhoods and the rest of society unchanged. Indeed, the reliance on neighborhood initiatives has reinforced an American tendency to label and separate out poor neighborhoods and their residents, to think of them as an exception to rather than an integral part of the larger society.

Poor, physically deteriorated and socially isolated neighborhoods don't create themselves. To some extent they are the

product of Americans' instinctive mobility, as those with resources move on to the next, presumably better, place. To a major extent they are the product of deliberate, short-sighted and sometimes discriminatory business practices, a laissez faire culture, and a reluctant government. In these and other ways poor neighborhoods are tied to the society surrounding them, if only as byproducts. Reform initiatives of the future have to take these connections into account. At a minimum, neighborhood-based initiative should not continue to be cast as a broad enough problem solving strategy to excuse governmental and private sector inaction on many other fronts.

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# Access to Prenatal Care and County Size: Implications for Service Delivery

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*The impact of population size across twenty-three west Michigan counties was examined to determine access to prenatal care, low birth weight, and infant mortality. Surveys were completed by forty-five managers of hospitals and county health departments. Service availability, sociodemographic, system-related and lifestyle factors were examined as contributors to perinatal support utilization. Low birth weight and infant mortality were highest in the small- and large-sized counties. Positive birth outcomes in medium-sized counties may have been due to greater availability of infant and child health services through health departments, and the targeting of resources to specific problem areas, such as smoking cessation. The need for a comprehensive maternity system, which views health care as a basic right, is discussed.*

Providing access to health care is a basic social obligation. Infant mortality, one indicator of societal health, reflects the level of commitment toward children. The United States devotes a larger share of GNP to health care than many other countries, yet ranks nineteenth in the world in infant mortality rates, with 10 infant deaths per 1,000 live births in 1989 (Williams & Miller, 1991). Approximately 40,000 infants die in their first year of life annually in the U.S. (Children's Defense Fund, 1991): a rate which has been described as institutional violence (Adams, 1991). This number places the United States behind Hong Kong, Singapore, Ireland, and Spain, which have infant mortality rates ranging from 7 to 9 per 1,000 births. While the U.S. infant mortality rate improved steadily between 1940 (47 per 1,000) and 1981 (11.9 per 1,000), change has been slow over the past decade (11.5 to 10.0 per 1,000 births). In 1989, Japan reported the lowest infant mortality rate (4 per 1,000), followed by Sweden and Finland, with rates of 6 infant deaths per 1,000 live births. Aside from simply recording infant deaths, infant mortality

rates serve as indirect markers of potential developmental disabilities, overall infant health, and incidence of child abuse and neglect (Kostelny & Garbarino, 1987; Roberts, Lynch & Golding, 1980). Both the U.S. Surgeon General and the Children's Defense Fund (1991) have set a year 2000 goal of no more than 7 infant deaths per 1,000 live births for the U.S.

Low birth weight ( $\leq$  2,500 grams or 5.5 pounds) is a major determinant of infant mortality. These infants are significantly more likely to die in their first month of life than normal birth weight infants (Institute of Medicine, 1986). Birth weight has been described as a crucial intervening variable between socioeconomic and maternal factors and their effect on infant mortality (Rivara, Culley, Hickock & Williams, 1985). In the United States, 6.9 percent of babies were born at low birth weight in 1988, a percentage which ranks the U.S. 28th in the world, tied with Turkey, Kuwait, and Chile (Children's Defense Fund, 1991). The Surgeon General has set a year 2000 goal to reduce the incidence of low birth weight to no more than 5 percent of live births (March of Dimes, 1990).

Significant service delivery gaps in the U.S. health care system, especially in the delivery of maternal and child services, have been identified (Brown, 1992; Children's Defense Fund, 1991; Williams & Miller, 1991). For example, economic and psychosocial barriers to the use of prenatal care, have received considerable attention (Cooney, 1985). Prenatal care is increasingly viewed as a continuum of care, ranging from medical services to preventive care, such as the provision of social support, which can extend beyond pregnancy (Brown, 1992; Michigan Department of Public Health, 1990). The need for a well-designed maternity system, defined as "the complicated network of publicly and privately financed services through which women obtain prenatal, labor and delivery, and postpartum care" is long overdue (Brown, 1989). The current system is fragmented and overly complex, especially for low-income, uninsured or under-insured women, who have low rates of participation.

The impact of prenatal care on reducing low birth weight and infant mortality has demonstrated efficacy (Schwartz, 1989). For example, Michigan data from 1986 show that women who had adequate prenatal care (based on month of pregnancy care

began, gestational age at birth, and number of prenatal care visits) had an infant mortality rate of 8.6 per 1,000 live births compared to 30 per 1,000 live births among women with inadequate prenatal care (Lifelines for Children, 1989). Indeed, access to care, outreach efforts, and flexible programs played a central role in facilitating positive birth outcomes. Understanding factors which influence participation in maternal and child health and education programs and subsequent perinatal outcomes can be classified into three groups: sociodemographic, system-related, and attitudinal or lifestyle (Brown, 1989).

#### *Sociodemographic Factors*

Demographic risk factors commonly associated with receiving inadequate prenatal care, and poor birth outcomes, include being nonwhite, less than 17 years of age, of low socioeconomic status, unmarried, and having less than a high school education (Hansell, 1991; Institute of Medicine, 1986). Cooney (1985) analyzed 85,000 live birth records in New York City and found that late or no prenatal care was associated with being a Medicaid recipient and an education of less than 12 years. In 1988, only 61 percent of black births were to women who had received adequate early prenatal care. The black infant mortality rate is nearly twice the rate as for whites, with 17.6 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1988 (Children's Defense Fund, 1991). Unmarried teenagers and newly arrived immigrants also have especially high rates of late or inadequate prenatal care participation.

#### *System-Related Factors*

Aspects of the health care delivery system also impact utilization of maternal and child education and health programs. A core issue is the fact that the poor have not been integrated into the mainstream of American health care (Cooney, 1985). System-related factors include insurance coverage, maternity care providers acceptance of Medicaid, availability of Medicaid, and "unfriendly" clinics (Brown, 1989). Receipt of prenatal care is also influenced by availability of prenatal services in the community, transportation, insurance coverage, and child care (The Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1989). One study investigated predictors of prenatal care utilization in a stratified random

sample of 1904 women, selected from Maine birth certificate files. Those who were less likely to receive adequate prenatal care were younger women (especially adolescents), less educated, low income, a Medicaid recipient, had longer travel time, and a rural residence. Interestingly, the amount of time required to travel to a prenatal care provider was a significant predictor when controlling for all the above variables (McDonald & Coburn, 1988); especially important in rural and less densely populated areas.

Increased effectiveness of perinatal technology is a major factor contributing to improved infant survival over the past 20 years, especially in the care of low birth weight infants. Regionalization is a current strategy to provide a comprehensive and coordinated system of obstetric, fetal, and neonatal health care within a geographic area (Rosenblatt, Mayfield, Hart & Baldwin, 1988). There is presently no nationally recognized uniform criteria for levels of care provided by perinatal health care programs. The Michigan State Medical Society (1982) has developed guidelines for regionalized perinatal care, where level I hospitals provide services primarily for uncomplicated obstetric and newborn patients, level II hospitals provide health care for patients at risk due to potential or actual complications, and level III hospitals treat very high risk patients.

Studies examining the effectiveness of regionalization in improving the survival of low birth weight infants report conflicting results. Gortmaker and colleagues (1985) analyzed data from four states and found infants born in level III hospitals had the highest survival rate, followed by those born in urban level I or level II hospitals. In contrast, Rosenblatt and colleagues (1988) studied outcomes of regionalized perinatal care in Washington state, and found that neonatal outcomes were not greatly influenced by the location of the hospital. Similarly, a study in central Appalachia of a health program's effectiveness found no greater improvement in neonatal mortality in the counties with intensive maternal and child health programs than in those without such services (Rivara, et al., 1985). These authors point to economic status and improved utilization of prenatal care as essential for improving infant mortality rates in rural areas.

*Attitudinal/Lifestyle Factors*

Principal psychosocial risk factors for low birth weight, the leading cause of infant mortality, include smoking, poor nutritional status, alcohol or substance abuse and stress (Institute of Medicine, 1986). One study of substance use and prenatal care within a longitudinal sample of 1,664 predominantly white, urban, high-school educated women aged 15 to 30 years found that 67% smoked cigarettes, 38% drank alcohol, and 30% smoked marijuana during their pregnancy (Abma & Mott, 1991). These findings underscore the need for maternal education about substance use at the time prenatal care is provided. Additionally, women may not seek prenatal care because the pregnancy was unplanned or is unwanted, teens may fear parental discovery, prenatal care may not be valued or understood, or the signs of pregnancy may not be recognized (Brown, 1989).

*Michigan as an Example*

Within the United States, Michigan's infant mortality rate ranks 41st among the fifty states, with an overall rate of 11.1 per 1,000 live births in 1989 (The Annie E. Casey Foundation, 1992). This rate mirrors the national trend in reflecting a significant gap between black (22.5 per 1,000) and white (9.3 per 1,000) infant deaths (Michigan Department of Public Health, Center for Health Statistics, 1991). A recent study of child mortality in Michigan found that perinatal conditions, including low birth weight and prematurity, and birth defects accounted for 42% of the deaths in children from birth to 19 years of age. Further, children who lived in poverty were 3.2 times more likely to die from perinatal conditions than non-low income children (Lifelines for Children, 1989). Over the past 5 years, Michigan has made a number of efforts to improve access to prenatal care, including the declaration of prenatal care as a basic health service to all women in 1986, implementation of a Maternal Support Services Program in 1987, and the initiation of expanded Medicaid eligibility for pregnant women with incomes up to 185% of the poverty level in 1988 (Michigan Department of Public Health, 1989).



In sum, access to prenatal care is complex, associated with a multitude of factors. While there is an association between rural and urban poor populations and higher infant mortality rates, questions remain as to how counties of varying population size differ in regard to access to perinatal support services and subsequent birth outcomes. This study examined counties of varying population size, in regard to service availability, sociodemographic, system, and lifestyle factors associated with utilization of maternal and child health care services, and subsequent low birth weight and infant mortality rates.

## Method

### *Subjects*

The present study surveyed service providers from twenty-three west Michigan counties. Selected counties constitute the central, lakeshore and northwest quadrant of the state, and include 23 of 83 (28%) state counties. County selection stemmed from project collaboration with the West Michigan Chapter of the March of Dimes, which services this region. The March of Dimes conducted this survey as part of a national Healthy Mothers Healthy Babies Campaign, which set a 1990 goal of reducing the infant mortality rate to 9 deaths per 1,000 live births. This chapter area has county populations ranging from 9,000 to 487,000, with a mean county size of 63,709.

During the fall of 1990, forty-five surveys were mailed to directors of all 27 hospitals and 18 county health departments in the 23 target counties. This included a total of one level III, 4 level II, and 22 level I hospitals. It is notable that only one highly specialized level III hospital services the very high risk mothers and infants for all 23 communities. Among those mailed, 28 (62%) questionnaires were returned. Respondents were asked to describe perinatal services provided by their agency, as well as the population with barriers to service utilization. Responses came from 20 of the 27 hospitals (74%), and 8 of the 18 county health departments (44%). Hospital questionnaire respondents were primarily obstetrics managers (65%), and also included assistant directors (15%), head nurses (10%), and regional coordinators (10%). County health department surveys

were completed by directors (40%), nurses (20%), social workers (20%), and managers (20%).

#### *Measurement Procedures*

Two questionnaires were developed for the purpose of this study, one for hospitals and one for county health departments. The 83-item *Hospital Needs Assessment Survey* asked respondents to describe educational and clinical services provided, perceived barriers to prenatal care, number of mothers and infants affected by service gaps, substance abuse, family violence, and low birth weight, and what they viewed as the most critical perinatal health problems facing their community. Availability of prenatal care and other services to teenage, unmarried, low income, primiparous, and substance-abusing mothers received particular attention in survey questions. A similar format was utilized for the 83-item *County Health Department Needs Assessment Survey*, which used language more relevant to this setting. Reliability and validity of these instruments have not been determined.

#### *Measurement of the Variables*

*Infant Mortality and Low Birth Weight* were defined as the number of infant deaths in the first year of life, per 1,000 live births; and as the percentage of infants born per year weighing less than 2,500 grams, respectively. These statistics per county for 1989 were used, in as much as 1990 figures were not available due to changes in birth and death certificate data collection procedures (Michigan Department of Public Health, Office of the State Registrar and Center for Health Statistics, personal communication, August, 1991). It should be noted that births are reported by place of birth, not mothers residence, which might add to the large county low birth weight rates, and reduce those in medium and small counties. Hospital and county health department survey respondents were also asked to provide estimates of low birth weight and infant mortality.

*Service Availability* was assessed by asking respondents to describe service provided by their agency in the past year, such as routine and high risk prenatal care, health promotion, perinatal outreach, and home services. Respondents were also asked

to describe educational programs offered, such as information on substance use during pregnancy, nutrition, parent education, fetal development, infant care and lamaze. They were also asked to identify unmet service needs in their community, such as transportation, and estimate how many patients were served in the past year.

*Sociodemographic Characteristics* included questionnaire items which asked the age, marital status, educational level, income, and ethnicity of women and teens with barriers to prenatal care. Respondents were also asked what they perceived as the primary cause of low birth weight, and to identify the most critical perinatal health issues facing their community.

*System-Related Factors* included items identifying barriers to receiving adequate prenatal care (no visits in the first trimester), such as type of payment, language, outreach, and limited number of providers. They were also asked to identify the impact of economic factors, type of payment, income level, and reimbursement policies on receiving prenatal care. Regionalization was determined by applying standards developed by the Michigan State Medical Society (1982) to assess levels of hospital care (I, II, III) available in each county. County population figures were based on statistics provided by the March of Dimes, as this survey was conducted through their office. This organization bases their population statistics on data available through the Office of the State Registrar.

*Attitudinal/Lifestyle Factors* were identified by asking respondents to estimate the number of infants affected by alcohol or drug abuse, cigarette smoking, stress, family violence, child abuse, nutrition during pregnancy, and other factors associated with compromised child outcomes.

### *Analytic Strategy*

Data were analyzed to gain a descriptive understanding of the availability of prenatal care in these 23 counties. Often when decisions regarding allocation of resources to counties are made, representatives from larger areas have been more vocal, and better able to influence the distribution of such monies. In effort to understand the needs of all counties in the service areas equally, the data were divided by county size. Three categories were

created, which enabled comparisons between small, medium and large counties. Counties considered large were those with a population of 500,000 to 150,001, medium counties had populations of 150,000 to 50,001, and small counties had populations under 50,000. The mean size of large counties was 326,897; for medium counties was 64,729, and for small counties was 25,910. An interesting geographical note: the large counties were clustered together, medium counties were in the same general region, and small counties were woven throughout the entire survey area.

Proportions or means ( $\pm$  SD) are presented for descriptive data. The analyses focused on infant mortality, birth weight, service availability, sociodemographic, system-related and lifestyle factors influencing utilization, across small, medium and large-sized rural counties. More complex analyses were not performed due to low response rates for many of the central response categories.

## Results

Among the 28 respondents, those from the three large counties included respondents from 5 hospitals and 3 county health departments. The four medium-sized counties included responses from 7 hospitals and 1 county health department. The sixteen small counties included respondents from 8 hospitals and 4 county health departments. Table I summarizes the demographic characteristics of county survey respondents.

Level of care provided by each of the 20 hospitals surveyed were determined using the Michigan State Medical Society (1982) guidelines. Among the large counties, responses came from both (100%) of the level II, and 3 of the 6 (50%) level I hospitals. The only level III hospital in the survey region did not respond. The medium counties included responses from 6 of the 7 (86%) level I, and the one (100%) level II hospitals. Small counties had responses from 8 of the 9 (89%) level I, and no level II hospitals.

*Infant Mortality.* Average infant mortality rates across counties are also summarized in Table 1. Among large counties, infant mortality rates ranged from 8.7 to 10.6 deaths per 1,000

Table 1

*Demographic Characteristics of County Survey Respondents (n = 28)*

	Large (n = 8)	County Size Medium (n = 8)	Small (n = 12)
	No.	No.	No.
County Responses			
Hospitals	5	7	8
Health Departments	3	1	4
Level of Hospital Care			
Level I	3	6	8
Level II	2	1	0
Level III	0	0	0
	M	M	M
Population	326,897	64,729	25,910
Total Live Births	5,084	1,002	326
Infant Deaths	42	7	3
Low Birth Weight	299	48	18
	%	%	%
Low Birth Weight	5.9	4.8	5.8
Infant Mortality	9.4	7.9	9.8

live births in 1989, with a mean rate of 9.4. Medium sized county rates ranged from 5.4 to 10.7, with a mean of 7.9 per 1,000, and the smallest county rates ranged from 2.2 to 19.8, with a mean of 9.8 per 1,000 (Michigan Department of Public Health, Office of the State Registrar and Center for Health Statistics, 1990).

Respondents were asked to estimate how many infants had died in the past year. Professionals from large counties estimated a mean of 113 ( $SD = 12.0$ ) infant deaths, medium counties estimated one ( $SD = 1.4$ ) infant death, and small counties reported a mean of 9 ( $SD = 4.5$ ) infant deaths. These estimates are consistent with state registrar data.

Table 2

*Factors Associated With Access to Prenatal Care by County Size*

	Large			County Size Medium			Small		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>Service Availability</i>									
Education Programs									
Offered									
Hospitals	9	5.4	5	4	3.1	7	3	2.1	8
Health Departments	7	6.4	3	1	—	1	7	4.2	4
Maternal/Child Health Services									
Hospitals	2	2.8	5	2	1.6	7	1	0.7	8
Health Departments									
Maternal	5	1.0	3	5	—	1	6	2.2	4
Child	7	1.2	3	9	—	1	5	3.3	4
<i>System Related</i>									
Inadequate Prenatal	103	145.0	3	115	84.0	4	11	9.0	5
<i>Lifestyle</i>									
Substance Abuse									
Hospital	24	39.8	5	25	39.8	7	12	26.8	8
Health Departments	—	—	—	—	—	—	88	53.0	4
	%	<i>n</i>		%	<i>n</i>		%	<i>n</i>	
<i>Primary Drug</i>									
Alcohol	0	—		100	7		100	8	
Cocaine	100	5		0	—		0	—	
	%	( <i>n</i> = 5)		%	( <i>n</i> = 5)		%	( <i>n</i> = 9)	
<i>Sociodemographic</i>									
Marital Status									
Single	100			100			83		
Married	0			0			16		
Age									
Teenage	50			60			17		
18-20	50			40			33		
21-23	0			0			33		
24-26	0			0			0		
27-30	0			0			17		

Education			
Less than high school	100	75	66
High school diploma	0	25	33
Ethnicity			
African-American	50	0	20
Caucasian	25	100	60
Hispanic	0	0	20
Unspecified	25	0	0

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*Low Birth Weight.* The mean percentages of low birth weight infants (less than 2500 grams) born in 1989 by county size are located in Table 1. Among the large counties, this mean was 5.9%, for medium counties it was 4.8%, and for small counties was 5.8% (Michigan Department of Public Health, Office of the State Registrar and Center for Health Statistics, 1990). Survey responses estimating low birth weight infants also coincided with state registrar data. Large counties reported a mean of 34 ( $SD = 44.5$ ), medium counties estimated a mean of 24 ( $SD = 21.6$ ), and small county professionals reported a mean of 36 ( $SD = 27.7$ ) low birth weight infants born in the past year.

*Service Availability.* Hospitals and county health department estimates of how many education and service programs provided in the past year are summarized in Table 2. Large county hospitals provided an average of 9 ( $SD = 5.4$ ) educational programs and 2 ( $SD = 2.8$ ) maternal or child services. Large county health departments offered an average of 7 ( $SD = 6.4$ ) educational programs, 5 ( $SD = 1.0$ ) maternal health services, and 7 ( $SD = 1.2$ ) child health services in the past year. Medium county hospitals provided an average of 4 ( $SD = 3.1$ ) educational programs, and 2 ( $SD = 1.6$ ) maternal or child services in the past year. One medium county health department estimated 5 maternal health services, 9 child health services, and one educational program were available. Finally, small county hospitals offered an average of 3 ( $SD = 2.1$ ) educational programs, and 1 ( $SD = 0.7$ ) maternal or child service. These health departments estimated an average of 6 ( $SD = 2.2$ ) maternal health services and 5 ( $SD = 3.3$ ) child health services were provided in the past year. Small county health departments provided an average of 7 ( $SD = 4.2$ ) educational programs.

*Sociodemographic Characteristics.* When asked to describe demographic characteristics of women or teens who had difficulty obtaining prenatal care or family planning services, respondents pointed to several patterns (see Table 2). In large counties ( $n = 5$ ), women with difficulty obtaining care were single, were either teens or between the ages of 21 and 23 years, had less than a high school education. Ethnicity was 50% African-American, 25% Caucasian, and 25% from unspecified cultural backgrounds. Medium counties ( $n = 5$ ) described the risk population as single, 60% teens and 40% women between the ages of 18–20 years. Also, 75% had less than a high school education and all were from a Caucasian background. Finally, the small counties ( $n = 9$ ) described women with barriers to prenatal care as 83% single and 16% married. Seventeen percent were teenaged, 33% were between the ages of 18 and 20 years, 33% between 21 and 23 years, and 17% were between 27 and 30 years of age. Also, small communities described the average education level as less than high school (66%). Ethnicity was reported as 60% Caucasian, 20% African-American, and 20% Hispanic.

*System-Related Factors.* Hospitals and health department estimates of the number of women in their county with inadequate prenatal care (no visits in the first trimester) in the past year are located in Table 2. Large counties reported a mean of 103 women ( $SD = 145$ ); medium counties a mean of 115 women ( $SD = 84$ ); and small counties reported a mean of 11 women ( $SD = 9$ ) serviced annually with inadequate prenatal care.

Hospitals and health departments rank ordered the most common barriers to women seeking prenatal care in their community. The large county hospitals ( $n = 5$ ) equally ranked limited number of providers, access to health care, and legal risk as the most urgent barriers for women. Next most urgent were type of payment, third party reimbursement, low income, and transportation. County health departments in large counties ( $n = 3$ ) ranked the following barriers: access to health care, legal ask, reimbursement policies, limited number of providers, type of payment, transportation, and low income status.

Medium county hospital respondents ( $n = 7$ ) ranked the following barriers to prenatal care: limited number of providers,



access to health care, low income, transportation, outreach program availability, and type of payment. The medium county health department listed transportation, social support, and low income served as the most urgent barriers facing women in their community. Finally, small county hospitals ( $n = 8$ ) identified the following barriers to prenatal care: legal risk, third party reimbursement, low income, transportation, access to health care, limited number of providers, and type of payment. Small county health departments ( $n = 4$ ) ranked type of payment, medicolegal risk, limited number of providers, reimbursement policies, low income, access to health care and frequent patient cancellations as the most crucial barriers to perinatal support.

*Attitudinal/Lifestyle Factors.* Hospitals were asked to identify the leading cause of low birth weight in their county. Large county hospitals ( $n = 5$ ) most often cited smoking (33%), lack of prenatal care (33%) and patient beliefs or attitudes (33%). Medium county hospitals ( $n = 7$ ) described smoking (50%), low education levels (17%), poor nutrition (17%), and premature delivery (17%) as most significant. Small county hospitals ( $n = 8$ ) reported smoking (36%), low socioeconomic status (27%), poor nutrition (18%), limited access to prenatal care (9%), and premature delivery (9%) as central factors.

Hospitals and health departments estimated how many infants had been affected by substance abuse in the past year, and what they perceived as the primary drug (see Table 2). Large hospital respondents ( $n = 5$ ) estimated that an average of 24 ( $SD = 39.8$ ) infants were affected by drug abuse in the past year, listing cocaine (100%) as the drug of choice. Medium county hospital respondents ( $n = 7$ ) estimated that an average of 25 ( $SD = 39.8$ ) infants were affected by drug abuse in the past year, reporting alcohol (100%) use as the predominant drug. Estimates of drug abuse were not completed by either large or medium county health departments. Finally, small county hospital respondents ( $n = 8$ ) estimated that an average of 12 ( $SD = 26.8$ ) infants were affected by drug abuse in the past year, reporting alcohol (100%) as the primary drug. Small county health departments ( $n = 4$ ) estimated that an average of 87.5 ( $SD = 53$ ) infants were affected by drug abuse in the past year, listing either alcohol (50%) or cigarettes (50%) as the primary drug.

### Discussion

A clear pattern across survey counties was the considerable number of respondents who could not fully respond to survey questions because the information was not monitored by their agency. In many cases, answers were provided, but respondents could not provide numerical estimates. One hospital provider suggested the development of an infant tracking system to enable counties to better estimate numbers of infants affected by limited access to services, incidence of prenatal substance abuse exposure, low birth weight, and other child health indicants. This finding supports the March of Dimes (1990) recommendation that a computerized infant data base be developed and implemented nationwide. Presently, no comprehensive state or national data exists (Brown, 1989), and completeness and accuracy of data available in medical records is unreliable (Goldfarb, et al., 1991). Poor record keeping hinders efforts to determine incidence and outcome of infant health issues by state, much less within geographical pockets. A comparable system for suspected child abuse cases has been implemented in California, which maintains a statewide, centralized file of data. Located in the Department of Justice, Bureau of Criminal Statistics and Special Services, this Central Registry tracks perinatal issues, and provides feedback regarding the effectiveness of intervention efforts at little additional cost (Daro, 1987). In many European countries, such as France and Denmark, tracking systems are uniformly begun at birth and are rooted in health care, a design which assures continuing participation of the infant in provider systems (Williams & Miller, 1991).

A second theme was the frequent citing of the limited number of Medicaid providers in the communities, and the paucity of these professionals who would accept low income patients. While other studies have reported a significant relationship between being a Medicaid recipient and inadequate prenatal care (Cooney, 1985; McDonald & Coburn, 1988), less attention has been paid to barriers which Medicaid recipients face when attempting to locate a physician to treat them. Many private physicians refuse to see Medicaid patients because of problems with reimbursement, audits (Cooney, 1985), malpractice, and

increased medical and liability risk (Schwethelm, et al., 1989). There are currently notable disincentives to practicing obstetrics, particularly rising malpractice insurance costs (Brown, 1989). Presently, Michigan's medical liability insurance premiums are the third highest in the nation (Andrews, 1991), forcing many physicians out of obstetrics. Additionally, survey respondents identified legal risk, payment method, and low socioeconomic status as barriers in receiving adequate prenatal care across counties. This finding supports numerous other studies which have identified poverty as a persistent underlying factor affecting access to prenatal care (Brown, 1989; McDonald & Coburn, 1988; Schwethelm, et al., 1989; St. John & Winston, 1989).

A third pattern across all county sizes was respondents identification of limited patient transportation, and the need for more outreach programs. These findings mirror those reported by others who suggest that public health programs need to better address the multiple risks associated with poor pregnancy outcomes (Miller, et al., 1989; Schwethelm, et al., 1989; St. John & Winston, 1989). In the present study, several of the small counties had very few or no obstetricians for the entire county, requiring women to drive up to 65 miles for prenatal care and delivery. For low income women, with no or unreliable transportation, outreach efforts, such as the provision of mobile transport units, could make a notable difference in increasing service utilization. Such programs are most likely to be effective if part of a well-designed maternity care system (Brown, 1989).

Relatively little is known about how population size affects access to prenatal care and birth outcomes. The present study identifies several important patterns. First, the largest and smallest of the counties surveyed had the highest infant mortality rates, as well as the highest percentage of low birth weight infants, in comparison to medium county rates. Several factors may contribute to this finding. The risk population was more diverse in the large and small counties. Women who did not receive prenatal care in their first trimester in medium counties, by contrast, were a fairly homogeneous group, perhaps enabling them to more easily meet their service needs. For counties serving diverse client groups, effort needs to be directed toward the design of culturally relevant intervention approaches to

better address sociodemographic characteristics. For example, as a result of this survey, it was discovered that the smaller counties had a significant illiterate Hispanic population, many whom were not seeking prenatal care. Consequently, one of the hospitals developed a videotape in Spanish, which demonstrated healthy pregnancy behaviors, such as good nutrition, smoking cessation, and seeking perinatal support.

Second, lifestyle factors contributing to low birth weight varied by population size. Large and small counties identified a greater number of factors as playing a role. Specifically, large county respondents identified smoking, patient beliefs and attitudes, and lack of service utilization; small counties reported smoking, low socioeconomic status, and poor nutrition, as primary factors contributing to low birth weight. In contrast, medium counties were able to point to cigarette smoking as the primary cause of low birth weight. Perhaps medium-sized counties were better able to target their maternal services to identified problem areas, such as smoking cessation. Indeed, the small and large rural programs might benefit from better addressing maternal beliefs and attitudes more specifically. For example, Goldfarb, et al (1991) compared the effectiveness of a mandatory Medicaid program in Philadelphia, to the traditional Medicaid program, and found no significant differences in access to services. These researchers suggested that particular health behaviors, such willingness to seek help during pregnancy, be the focus when targeting hard to reach populations.

Additionally, the drugs affecting infants varied across population size. Hospital respondents identified cocaine as the primary drug in large counties, while alcohol was cited in medium counties. Both alcohol and cigarettes were identified by health departments and hospitals in the small counties. Cigarettes and cocaine are both associated with higher risk of low birth weight, and alcohol with growth retardation. Further, prenatal exposure to each of these substances is associated with poor developmental outcomes (Kronstadt, 1991). Use of legal drugs, such as alcohol and cigarettes, may well be more resistant to change due to the social sanctioning and easy availability of these substances. More research is needed to understand the extent to which substance abuse during pregnancy, as opposed to other lifestyle

factors, accounts for poor birth outcomes. Finally, across county sizes, hospital professionals most often cited cigarette smoking during pregnancy as the leading causes of low birth weight in their county. Smoking is a well-known and notoriously persistent risk factor for low birth weight (Abma & Mott, 1991; Bloch, 1992). This finding lends support to continued efforts toward raising public awareness, increasing the number of alcohol or drug treatment centers for pregnant women, and educating patients and professionals about teratogenic effects of alcohol and other substances (Olson, Burgess, & Streissguth, 1992).

Third, system-related factors contributed to prenatal care utilization. In the medium counties, a relatively high number of women had not obtained first trimester prenatal care. This finding is inconsistent with their higher low birth weight and infant mortality rates. Maternal and child health care services provided by hospitals and health departments were comparable across population size, with the exception of medium county health departments providing more services to infants and children, than did large or small counties. Perhaps in these medium-sized counties, with populations near 65,000, health departments played an especially important role in improving birth outcomes through the provision of child health care services. Such programs in this study included well-child and walk-in clinics, immunization, outreach, home services, after hours care, and other children's diagnostic and treatment programs. These services may have been able to compensate for late prenatal care, and possibly even prevent postneonatal mortality.

While the large county hospitals provided the most specialized care, they did not fare better in regard to birth outcomes than the smaller communities. Rather, the medium-sized counties, with no level III hospitals, had the lowest numbers of low birth weights and infant deaths. Medium counties actually had the fewest number of hospitals per capita, which may have been compensated for by maternal and child health care services available through the health departments. Thus, increased neonatal intensive care unit availability alone will not eliminate many of the disparities in infant mortality rates (Gortmaker, et al., 1989). Rather, highly specialized care may be most effectively used in conjunction with flexible, community-based

programs. For example, a prenatal/postpartum care program (PPC) for low income women in Michigan was unable to meet its enrollment goals due to several institutional, economic, psychological, and informational barriers. In a careful evaluation of the program, Miller and colleagues (1989) suggest that the need for well-coordinated, consistently funded programs, with special attention to transportation and physician reimbursement might best address implementation barriers.

In sum, this study suggests that availability of perinatal care, offered on a walk-in or after hours basis, with attention to infant and child health care services, outreach and transportation, is necessary to address the incidence of low birth weight and infant mortality. The persistence of cigarette smoking and substance abuse during pregnancy across county populations was notable, and calls for services to address patient attitudes, beliefs and behaviors. The identification of needs by geographic pockets, and targeting specific problem areas, is essential to increase prenatal care utilization across counties of varying size. Policies which are responsive to creative, flexible programming may facilitate reaching this goal. Antipoverty approaches, health care insurance, and liability issues remain at the forefront. The need for a comprehensive maternity care system, which integrates the poor, and offers a continuum of services across health care systems, is the challenge to be met.

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# Resources for Friendship Intervention

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*Programs affecting friendship patterns can be implemented at the individual, dyadic, network, immediate environment, community, or societal level. Literature specifically focused on friendship intervention is scarce. The relevance of other resources for the design and assessment of friendship interventions at each of these levels is described.*

*Practitioners who design social interaction interventions are prompted to familiarize themselves with the friendship literature and to apply the findings. Even if the goal is not to manipulate friendship patterns specifically, interventions should at least be designed not to undermine existing relationships.*

Human service providers and program planners are among those who change and manipulate social lives as part of their jobs. Social workers advise lonely people to join clubs and organizations to make new acquaintances. Therapists help their clients develop interpersonal skills. Industrial psychologists advise companies on how to create amiable work milieux. Managers of planned housing organize activities to facilitate contact among residents. Policy makers pass laws that encourage people to rely on their friends and relatives for help rather than on formal agencies. Although the people who initiate and implement these efforts might not think of them as friendship interventions, they may well be.

Designers of these types of interventions typically have focused on altering social interaction, in general, not on friendship specifically. Friendship is considered a somewhat sacred

relationship and, therefore, not an acceptable target for intervention. Perhaps this is because, in contrast to other forms of social relationships in our society, friendship is uniquely voluntary. Whereas relatives are designated by blood or legal ties, neighbors by proximity, and work relationships by contract, friends are selected and are based on affection (Blieszner & Adams, 1992). Yet, friendships are not wholly fortuitous (Allan & Adams, 1989), and thus even this type of relationship can be manipulated.

One possible goal of friendship intervention would be to increase individuals' satisfaction with a specific friendship or with their friendship networks. Less obvious, perhaps, would be to change their behavior, attitudes, values, situations (e.g., financial, social), or conditions (e.g., health, mental health). Or, to mention further illustrations, an intervention might be designed to improve the way the members of a friendship network interact, to make an apartment building a desirable residence, or to involve a wider range of locals in community affairs. Thus, friendship interventions could be designed to change the individual participants, the relationships, or some aspect of the context in which the friendships take place.

Many of the social interventions that have been implemented in the past have been based on a general knowledge of the literature on social interaction. But though many of these interventions have affected friendship patterns, few of them have been based on a familiarity with the literature specifically on friendship (see the following section for examples). The failure to use friendship research findings in developing and executing social interaction interventions is unfortunate. A haphazardly conceived intervention is more dangerous than or, at least, less beneficial than no intervention at all.

The purpose of this paper is to prompt practitioners who design interventions to consider the influence they might have on friendship. Even if the goal is not to manipulate friendship patterns specifically, interventions should at least be designed so that they do not undermine existing relationships. We will address this purpose by discussing the literature from a variety of traditions that would be useful in designing friendship interventions or in understanding the potential consequences. Note

that in addition to the literature from the disparate areas cited in this paper, studies specifically on friendship should also be consulted in designing interventions (see Blieszner & Adams, 1992, for a summary).

### Levels of Intervention to Enhance Friendship Patterns

#### *Overview*

Depending on the level at which change is desired, different lines of social scientific inquiry are relevant to the design of interventions. In the remainder of this paper, we discuss the literature relevant to designing interventions at the level of the individual, dyad, network, immediate environment, community, and society, respectively.

The type of friendship intervention must vary according to the level at which change is desired. To bring about change in the friendship patterns of individuals, one must alter the personality dispositions or structural positions of those individuals—their ways of relating to people or their opportunities to make and maintain friendships. To bring about change in dyadic or network relationships, one must manipulate their structures and interactive processes. At the remaining levels, one must create or alter contexts to facilitate the types of friendship patterns desired.

People who design interventions must remember that intervening at one level will probably affect other levels as well, in ways that are not easily predictable. For example, a friendship network intervention designed to affect the interaction patterns among members might also affect the dyads that compose it and the individual members.

#### *Individual-Level Interventions:*

##### *Improving Cognitive and Social Functioning*

The most basic means of affecting friendship patterns is to assist individual persons to engage in friendship more effectively. Examples of how to accomplish individual-level interventions can be gleaned from literature on clinical psychology techniques and research on loneliness. Whereas some scholars and therapists advocate helping people change the way they

think about themselves and their partners in order to improve friendship functioning, others focus on social skills development or enhancement.

*Cognitive processes.* Self-defeating thought processes can interfere with the ability to engage in satisfying close relationships. According to Young (1986), friendship disorders result from stable and enduring patterns of thinking that originate early in life and affect future expectations about relationships. The biased schemas lead to problems in initiating or deepening friendships. Common causes of difficulties are social anxiety, poor body image, lack of confidence in one's ability to carry on conversations, inadequate social sensitivity (awareness of how one's behavior affects others), fear of self-disclosure, not knowing how to pace the relationship, holding unrealistic expectations for friendship, low self-assertiveness, difficulty expressing emotions, selection of people who are hard to befriend, fear of being entrapped by the demands of others, belief that one is unworthy and unlovable, feeling different and alienated, and lack of trust.

Cognitive therapists place emphasis on the connection between thoughts and beliefs on the one hand and feelings and behaviors on the other (Berscheid, Gangestad, & Kulakowski, 1984; Young, 1986). Intervention thus centers on identifying irrational beliefs and sources of inappropriate schemas; analyzing the emotional and behavioral outcomes of holding those beliefs and schemas; and replacing them with more realistic, accurate, and positive ways of thinking about the self, others, and relationships. Finally, the individual must replace the self-defeating emotions and behaviors based on the old schemas with new emotions and behaviors that are more effective for beginning and maintaining friendships.

Research on expectations regarding friendship also contains suggestions for cognitive interventions. For example, some elderly adults in Matthews's (1983) study believed that it was impossible to replace any of their friends whom they might lose, so they faced a diminishing friendship network in the future. On the other hand, others had a more flexible orientation that allowed them to acquire new friends throughout life. The implication of this distinction is that people in the former category should be helped to expand their thinking so that they

are able to maintain a network of friends over time by adding new members to it.

Investigation of communal versus exchange orientations in friendships of college students (Clark, Mills, Corcoran, 1989) and older adults (Jones & Vaughan, 1990) also has applied implications. The finding that a communal orientation is associated with friendship satisfaction suggests that individuals with an exchange perspective should be helped to focus less on the exact comparability of what they give and get from their friendships and to think instead about the welfare of their friends.

*Social skills.* The literature on behavioral interventions with lonely individuals offers suggestions for interventions designed to enhance an individual's friendship skills. According to Rook's (1984) review, lonely college students, as compared to nonlonely ones, have greater difficulty initiating social contact by introducing themselves to others, making phone calls, and joining groups. They also enjoy themselves less at parties, take fewer social risks, and assert themselves less effectively. They are lower on communication skills such as self-disclosure and responsiveness to others. To counteract these tendencies, counselors use techniques such as modeling, role playing, performance feedback, and homework assignments. Once clients strengthen their friendship initiation skills, they may need further training on how to handle the transition to deeper intimacy.

Ongoing intimate relationships often involve conflict (Braiker & Kelley, 1979). For example, studies of older adults show that jealousy and failure to live up to role expectations are causes of anger among friends (Fisher, Reid, & Melendez, 1989). Although conflict and negativity are not experienced very often with best friends, when they do occur they diminish satisfaction with the friendship (Jones & Vaughan, 1990). Some adults might be well advised to avoid situations with friends that cause them distress (Fisher et al., 1989), but others would be better served by learning conflict-management strategies (Jones & Vaughan, 1990).

One domain of counseling touches specifically on communication skills as applied both in social and personal relationships and in business arenas. People might be more successful in interactions with friends and others if they learn to use persuasion and compliance-gaining techniques effectively (O'Keefe, 1990),

acquire bargaining skills (Winkler, 1981), and develop expertise in negotiation (Raiffa, 1982).

*Dyadic-Level Interventions:  
Enhancing Partner Interaction*

Friendship interventions at the dyadic level focus on changing the partners' behavior. Marital therapists offer insights about interventions at this level. Although some problems experienced by married couples are not relevant to friendship, others are—especially those that stem from communication difficulties. An example of a dyadic intervention that could be generalized to friend partners is Harrell and Guernsey's (1976) program for training married couples in conflict negotiation skills. Other useful skills in friendship are expressiveness, assertiveness, empathy, and promoting change in the self and the partner (Epstein, 1981; Guernsey, Brock, & Coufal, 1986).

Marital therapists also emphasize the importance of maintaining a balance in close relationships between individuality, or differentiation of the self from others, and togetherness, or emotional connectedness (Kerr & Bowen, 1988). Whereas emotional involvement is important to the development and sustenance of friendship, it is equally important that partners maintain a degree of autonomy or self-determination (see Rawlins, 1983a, b) rather than responding to each other only on the basis of anxiety or other emotions. From this perspective, problems in a friendship would be approached by helping the partners to identify and reduce causes of anxiety and enhance their ability to function autonomously so they can respond to each other in a more adaptive fashion.

*Network-Level Interventions:  
Altering Group Relationships*

Gottlieb (1988) argued that intervention at the network level is more ecologically valid than at the individual level for two reasons. First, it is difficult to change basic personality attributes and second, individual-level interventions that conflict with the values and norms of the person's network will be neutralized or

discredited by network members. Also, network-level interventions appeal to societal norms of self-reliance, collective action, and empowerment.

One of the most important functions of friend networks is provision of social support via the flow of resources such as tangible aid, companionship, and emotional support through the network (Gottlieb, 1988). Both the provision and the receipt of assistance contribute to feelings of social integration and psychological well-being, although Blieszner (1982) and Goodman (1985) found that giving contributed more to life satisfaction and emotional closeness than receiving. In any case, it is important to find ways to enhance the support provided by existing ties (Thompson & Heller, 1990).

Network interventions theoretically can optimize support by teaching members additional supportive behaviors, changing the structural characteristics of the network, or changing the relationship between the person in need and other members of the network (Gottlieb, 1988). Recent attempts to restructure existing networks and interactions among their members indicated that additional research on the connections between network structure and processes is needed before further intervention recommendations can be developed (Gottlieb, 1988).

Educational programs, self-help groups, and informal support groups can supplement naturally-occurring friend networks by both helping with relationship or other problems and by providing opportunities to develop new friendships. Thus research is needed on how the properties of such groups affect their functioning and on the effectiveness of these types of programs for addressing friendship problems (Gottlieb, 1988; Rook, 1984).

The literature on family and group therapy can be consulted for ideas about the conduct of interventions in friend networks. Group techniques could be applied to friendship in two ways. The first involves helping a person overcome social skills deficits in a group setting, thus enabling the participant to function more effectively among her or his own friends. Many theoretical frameworks inform the strategies that are used to accomplish such a goal (Gurman & Kniskern, 1981). The second category



of group techniques utilizes multiple members of an existing network in a therapeutic intervention scheme. Again, a variety of strategies are available (Gurman & Kniskern, 1981). For example, the procedure described by Rueveni (1979) that brings network members to the counseling session to help individuals and families resolve crises can also be applied to serious friendship problems.

*Immediate Environment-Level Interventions:  
Manipulating Relationships in Everyday Places*

An immediate environment is the social and physical context that surrounds individuals and thus structures their interaction with others—for example, a work place, an apartment building, a church, a dormitory, a recreation center, or a nursing home. Depending on her or his gender, stage of life, or other characteristics, a given individual might interact with people in a variety of such environments or in only one. Scholars from many fields, including interior design and architecture, organizational sociology, environmental and industrial psychology, and cultural anthropology, have examined the ways in which immediate environments shape social interaction.

Both the social and physical characteristics of the immediate environment shape the social interaction that occurs within it. An understanding of the effects of both is crucial to designing friendship interventions at this level. Although many authors of ethnographic case studies have described ways in which the characteristics of an immediate social environment (e.g., the status hierarchy, differentiation into cliques, or demographic composition) affect the friendship patterns that develop within it, very few researchers have done systematic studies on this topic. One exception is a study of the effects of the proportion of all residents in apartment building who were old (age density) on the friendship patterns of older residents. Among other findings, Rosow (1967) reported that within both the working and the middle class, the average number of friends increased steadily with rising age density. Furthermore, the higher the age density, the less likely older residents were to seek out or to accept younger friends.

*Social interaction vs. privacy.* Building on the pioneering work of Hall (1966) and Sommer (1969), Lang (1987) recently wrote an impressive synthesis of the information available on the connection between environmental design and human behavior. An issue that pervades this area of inquiry is competing needs for social interaction and privacy. Early studies by Osmond (1966) showed that some spaces bring people together, facilitating interaction, and others force them apart, inhibiting interaction. Although opportunities for interaction enable people to become acquainted (which is the first step towards friendship), opportunities for privacy (Westin, 1970) are important to the further development of friendship. As recent research (Lang, 1987) and the experience of utopian communes (Hayden, 1976) demonstrates, social interaction occurs more easily when the opportunities for contact with others are balanced by opportunities for privacy. Ambiguous spaces, those that are neither public nor private, discourage social interaction of any type (Flaschbart, 1969).

Most researchers have emphasized the need for built environments that facilitate social interaction rather than the need for those that allow for privacy (e.g., Lawton, 1975; Yancy, 1976). Both functional distance (the degree of difficulty encountered in moving from one point to another) and functional centrality (the ease of access to and frequency of use of common facilities) affect opportunities for social interaction (Lang, 1987). In a classic study of Westgate Housing at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Festinger, Schacter, and Back (1950) demonstrated the influence of layout of the environment on contacts among people. On both floors of the residence, functional distance was short, but on each floor, functional centrality was different. On one floor, residents had mailboxes located together and common entrances. On the other, they had mailboxes in different locations and entrances from the outside. Contact was much higher on the former floor.

Previous research thus suggests strategies for designing friendship interventions at the level of the immediate environment. Affording people the opportunity to interact with others is certainly the first step. Allowing people both privacy from

those with whom they engage in public interactions and opportunities for developing intimate relationships is certainly another one. Building friendship is, however, more complex than this, and the same pattern of friendships is not desirable for everyone. Furthermore, a given individual interacts with others in many environments. Research examining the effects on friendship patterns of the constellation of characteristics of the myriad environments in which each individual interacts is thus necessary.

*Community-Level Interventions:  
Designs to Facilitate Friendships*

The social work, ecological psychology, community sociology, and community planning literatures are relevant for planning friendship interventions at the community level. The term *community* refers to a group of people who are connected to one another, to some degree, by a web of interpersonal relationships. Community is usually used interchangeably with the term *neighborhood*, which refers to a geographic area (Lang, 1987). This discussion of friendship interventions thus focuses on communities that are also neighborhoods.

*Building social networks.* Social workers offer general information about how to bring about change in a community (e.g. Cox, Erlich, Rothman, & Tropman, 1987), and specific discussions of building support networks, especially for the elderly, with the community as client (Biegel, Shore, & Gordon, 1984; Goodman, 1985). By such networks, they generally mean connecting people with volunteers and service providers who reduce people's social isolation, give them emotional support, communicate with them, and provide them with instrumental services. These helpers essentially alleviate some of the individual clients' need for friends, and sometimes establish close relationships with them.

*Effect of size of community.* The ecological psychology literature is useful for identifying variables that might be manipulated to change friendship patterns in an existing community or to establish the desired friendship patterns in a new community. Ecological psychologists have examined the effect of community size on participation (Lang, 1987; Wicker, 1979). The basic

premise of these studies is that when there are fewer people in a setting than are necessary for its optimal functioning, people are coerced into greater participation. Smaller settings thus have a higher proportion of people participating and filling roles they would otherwise leave for specialists (Barker & Wright, 1955; Wicker, 1979). The implication is, of course, that because of the higher participation in small communities, friendships will flourish more in them.

*Propinquity vs. homogeneity.* In the 1960s, community sociologists debated whether propinquity or homogeneity of community was a more important predictor of friend relations. The studies of wartime housing projects and postwar suburban neighborhoods showed that both were important, but homogeneity was more so (Gans, 1976). Gans (1976) concluded that propinquity leads to social interaction, but homogeneity is necessary to maintain relationships on a positive basis. He suggested that site planners should not put dwelling units so close together that people are forced to interact with one another or so far apart that visual contact is impossible. Furthermore, blocks should have somewhat homogeneous occupants to promote friendship, but not so homogeneous that any amount of deviance would be a liability. Social class homogeneity can be produced by building all homes of similar price, and life style homogeneity can be encouraged through advertising campaigns designed to appeal to people with similar values and interests.

*Centralization and decreasing functional distance.* During the post-WWII period and beyond, community planners in Britain and the United States drew on the community sociology literature and the ideas of visionaries, modern movement architects, and businessmen to design "garden cities" or "new towns" (Christensen, 1986; Lang, 1987). These projects were attempts to affect social life through design. Cooley's (1925) notion of the primary group, Park's (1925) idea that people should be rooted to a place to mediate against moral deviance, and the concerns about suburban life raised by Whyte (1956) and Reisman (1950) influenced planners (Christensen, 1986). Ebenezer Howard conceived of garden cities as towns designed for healthy living and industry, just large enough for a full measure of social life, with enough jobs to employ the residents, surrounded by a rural belt,

with all of the land being publicly owned or held in trust for the community (Christensen, 1986). Some modern movement architects (e.g., Le Corbusier and Clarence Perry) believed that reducing the functional distance between households and the central placement of shopping, schools, and other community facilities would lead to the development of local friendships. Their goal was planning neighborhoods that were coterminous with a sense of community (Lang, 1987).

Both Britain and the United States undertook new town experiments, but neither was overwhelmingly successful (Corden, 1977). Examples of American new towns include Radburn, New Jersey, and Columbia, Maryland (see Brooks, 1974; Christensen, 1986; Lang, 1987; and Stein, 1951 for detailed descriptions of these projects). In both Britain and the United States, the amount of cooperation among individuals and among institutions was less than anticipated, and the desire for individual identity was much higher. This is congruent with the Western individualistic cultural context (Brooks, 1974). New town experiments convinced analysts that there are limitations to how successfully social ends can be achieved through physical design (Lang, 1987). Residents did not seem to respond to the physical environment in predicted ways. Although none of the analysts specifically addressed the issue of friendship patterns, their work implies that friendships were not significantly different than they would have been in a less planned community.

Among other causes, the failure of new town experiments to alter patterns of social interaction seems to have discouraged people from planning friendship interventions at the community level. Gans (1976) concluded that behavior is due more to the predispositions of residents than to the characteristics of the community. Smith (1979) attributed this decline of optimism about the possibility of changing social behavior through planning to the growth of social systems in size and complexity and the substitution of economic for social concerns. In either case, contemporary urban theory is much less utopian now than it was several decades ago.

We now know more about communities, planning, organizing, and friendship. We learned from the garden city and new town movement and from subsequent research. Although

recent research indicates that the ideal friendship patterns for individuals and social groups vary and that community plans must allow for diversity, additional investigation is needed before alternative recommendations for community-level friendship interventions can be offered.

*Societal-Level Interventions:*

*Social Policies that Support Relationships*

The societal level of analysis is the most remote from dyadic and network friendship interaction, and thus interventions at this level would be expected to have the weakest effect on friendship patterns. Moreover, policy analysts realize that government policies cannot cure all individual, relationship, and societal problems (Dye, 1981). A variety of reasons contribute to the limits of public policy, not the least of which is that social scientists do not know enough about individual and group behavior to provide reliable advice to policy makers (Dye, 1981). Nevertheless, we can find relevant evidence from the social science and family policy literatures to suggest potential interventions at the social policy level that might be successful in enhancing friendship patterns.

Family policy addresses the fundamental problems of families in relation to society (Zimmerman, 1988). Family policy may serve as an effective model for friendship intervention proposals, because several theoretical frameworks for understanding family phenomena also apply to friendship. For example, the systems perspective, often used in family policy analysis, is relevant to friendship. Just as a family can be viewed as a social system, so, too, can a network of friends. The systems perspective emphasizes the transactional interdependence between families or friend networks and the government. That is, families and friends take care of some human needs on an informal basis, thus reducing the requirements for government services. On the other hand, government provides services that enable families and friends to function autonomously. For example, friend networks provide services such as socialization for new roles in the family, at school, or at work. And friend networks contribute to the maintenance of psychological well-being by providing social support. Thus most people do not need to

rely on government programs for these forms of socialization and support.

Government policies should contribute to stability of the immediate social environment so that families and friend networks can perform their support functions effectively. Policy strategies should be targeted to the environmental conditions of families and friend networks, not to direct interventions that invade family or friend network boundaries (Zimmerman, 1988). From this perspective, it is appropriate for government to provide for public safety, for instance, so friends can visit each other freely, but not to dictate when or where friends should meet.

From the systems perspective, a number of suggestions emerge about policies and programs to enhance supportive functions of friend networks. For example, policies that provide for respite programs enable caregivers of sick or frail relatives to socialize with their friends, maintaining the strength of friend ties and support. Another instance is Thompson and Heller's (1990) suggestion that policies designed to provide useful social roles for elderly citizens will benefit society through the tasks older persons perform, but will also benefit the elderly participants who will be perceived as interesting companions, thus increasing their chances of developing and maintaining friendships. As shown here, consideration of the reciprocal relationship between friends and society yields ideas for policies that could enhance friendship networks while benefiting other segments of society. Obviously, research is needed on whether or not the intended friendship outcome occurs with the advent of such policies.

### Summary and Conclusions

Although the literature specifically on friendship intervention is scarce, other resources are available to assess the potential impact of a given design. The clinical psychology literature provides direction for changing the individual's social and cognitive functioning and thus her or his friendships. The theories and techniques of marital therapists are relevant to transforming interaction between members of friendship pairs. Family and

group therapists provide ideas for network-level interventions. Scholars from myriad fields—interior design and architecture, organizational sociology, environmental and industrial psychology, and cultural anthropology—have discussed ways in which immediate environments affect social interaction. Social workers, ecological psychologists, community sociologists, and community planners have done research or manipulated environments in ways that would be useful in designing community level interventions. The family policy literature suggests how policies and programs can enhance the functioning of friend networks. Together with the increasing store of knowledge on friendship patterns, these resources provide a strong foundation for the design and assessment of friendship interventions.

We do not, however, necessarily intend to advocate friendship intervention. As mentioned in the beginning of this paper, interventions that affect friendship and other relationships occur all the time. Our point is that they should be responsibly designed; counselors, program planners, and policy makers need to consider the results of research on the structure and interactive processes of friendship patterns when developing plans for interventions that could affect social lives. For those interested in designing such interventions, we have suggested some applied literatures that might be of use. Research findings and relevant theory can guide the development of intervention strategies and the analysis of their consequences.

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## Book Reviews

Edgar F. Borgatta and Marie L. Borgatta (ed). *Encyclopedia of Sociology*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992. \$ 340 hardcover (4 volume set).

At the height of the Reagan era, questions about sociology's viability as an academic discipline were asked with increasing frequency. Enrollments in sociology courses had declined significantly, job openings for sociologists in both academic and professional fields had fallen, two major sociology departments (at Rochester and Washington universities) had been shut down and several others were under threat of closure. The vague but popular notion that sociology was somehow linked to a 1960s style, anti-establishment counterculture had negatively affected the discipline's public image, and Mrs. Thatcher's emphatic declaration that "there is no such thing as society" not only reflected popular attitudes, but seemed officially to proclaim the subject's demise.

Today, sociology is in a far better position. While many sociologists still feel vulnerable, recent trends are encouraging. In August 1992, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* noted that academic vacancies in the field had increased and that more undergraduates were opting to major in the subject. While enrollments are not as high as they were in the 1970s, marked improvements have been recorded. The publication of scholarly books in the field also appeared to be on the increase, and new theoretical developments promise to take the subject into innovative and exciting directions.

A significant portend of the recent resurgence of interest in sociology, was the publication in 1992 of the first ever *Encyclopedia of Sociology*. This major endeavor, which has taken several years to complete, and which covers no less than 370 entries in four volumes, demonstrates that continuing anxieties about sociology's future are unfounded. The ability of a large number of sociologists to collaborate effectively to produce this prodigious work, and to cover a very wide subject matter in a condensed yet informative way, attests to the discipline's

vitality. It also attests to the editors' skill in selecting both the entries and the authors needed to provide a comprehensive summary of sociology's contribution to knowledge.

As the editors explain in their introduction, the selection of entries proved to be a major challenge. Initially, no less than 1,700 potential entries were identified and these had to be reduced to a manageable number. The final product is, as the editors point out, pragmatic and eclectic, but it does cover a wide spectrum which will be of interest not only to sociologists but other social scientists as well. For obvious reasons, students of sociology will be delighted with the publication of this major reference work.

Although brief, the editors' introduction provides further clues to the selection of entries. Reviewing what they believe to be the major challenges facing contemporary sociology, the editors' selection of entries seems to address their concerns. For example, they point out that sociology has lost its historic commitment to social melioration, and they lament the way sociologists have disdained applied endeavor while other fields such as social work have developed opportunities for professional engagement. Almost as if to address sociology's neglect of the applied domain, the encyclopedia contains numerous entries on applied topics including social work itself. Similarly, the rapid development of specialized sub-fields within the discipline is reflected in the very wide range of topics covered in the entries. It would, as the editors suggest, be to the benefit of sociologists to foster closer linkages with those disciplines which have already colonized these fields.

While some readers will question the choice of certain entries, the *Encyclopedia's* attempt to be as comprehensive yet as succinct as possible is commendable. By limiting length while managing to include a large number of topics, the publishers have kept its price within reasonable limits. This should facilitate the *Encyclopedia's* acquisition not only by libraries but by academic departments and even private individuals. The *Encyclopedia of Sociology* is an important publication, and a worthwhile acquisition which will have lasting value.

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Steve Joshua Heims. *Constructing a Social Science for a Postwar America: The Cybernetics Group, 1946-1953*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993. \$15.95 papercover.

S. J. Heims in his new and intriguing book presents a historical and analytical account of the persons and events surrounding a series of interdisciplinary conferences immediately following the end of World War II. These ten conferences, supported by the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation, brought together leading scholars whose ideas came to be called cybernetics, the application of modern technologies to human decision-making and control functions. Focus is given by Heims to the core group of conference scientists who represented varied fields of study, including social sciences (Gregory Bateson and Lawrence Frank), engineering (Julian Bigelow), neuranatomy (Gerhardt van Bonin), neurophysiology (Ralph Gerard and Rafael Lorente de No), psychology (Molly Harrower, Heinrich Kluver and Kurt Lewin), ecology (G.E. Hutchinson), psychiatry (Lawrence Kubie), neuropsychiatry (Warren McCulloch), sociology (Paul Lazarsfeld), anthropology (Margaret Mead), mathematics (John Neumann, Walter Pitts, Leonard Savage and Norbert Wiener), philosophy (Filmer Northrop), and physiology (Arturo Rosenblueth). This listing, with the addition of Frank Fremont-Smith, who was the medical director of the Macy Foundation, represents the original members of the Cybernetics Group, and suggests the wide range of perspectives that were represented at the small interdisciplinary meetings.

The purpose of the Macy Foundation conferences was to support the development of technologies for understanding and creating a better world. At a time when much of the world was devastated by modern wars which featured technological marvels like guided missiles and atomic bombs, and was at the same time excited by new electronic marvels like computers and television, some hoped that this same emerging technology could be applied to create the tools for constructing a more rational and humane society. The approach was scientific and reductionistic, but still was grounded in a powerful idealism, which included the belief that models could be found through science to end violence, to solve social problems, and to cure mental illnesses. While the Cybernetic Group did tend

to focus on individual and small groups dynamics, there was clear recognition of the interaction of persons with the external environments and the roles of poverty and oppression in broader ecological models. The conferences provided a forum for an intellectual elite to talk, debate, argue, and stimulate each other's thinking.

Steve Heims painstakingly describes even minute details of these conferences, the people involved, and the contexts in which their meetings were held. But it is not the content *per se* of these meetings which is important. While the ideas which emerged and developed are very much a part of our thinking today, it was the process which intrigued the author. Here was a small elite group of scientists who were essentially committed to a general belief that positivistic science and empirical methods were the hope for the future, yet ironically their views developed through a very experiential unplanned idiosyncratic group gestalt. At first, the reader may become intrigued by the interesting descriptions of the meetings and their participants, then become slightly annoyed by seemingly extraneous detail, and finally struck by the incongruity between the views of the participants and the process of the meetings. Heims masterfully take readers on a inductive path in his highly effective expose about how scientific revolutions happen. In the end, the reader will hear a message that ideas, knowledge, truth—if this word is not too strong—are constructed through the interactions of people in collective interchange, and that this does not occur solely through the private work of scientists. Science depends on friendships, values, creativity, enthusiasm, courage, and all of the gestalt we know as being human.

Heims gives us a more realistic understanding about how we as social, behavioral, biological and physical scientists can interact if we wish to have any meaningful impact on our world. First, our ideas can be shared in multidisciplinary settings, and not only in the separate annual meetings of organizations like APA, ASA, or NASW. Second, we can be more risk-taking in expressing controversial ideas, to state unpopular views, to debate, and to grow. This may be difficult in university environments which sometimes reward the use of traditional research methods and scholarly investigations which do not

deviate too profoundly from the theories of respected scholars. Finally, we need to find ways to retain inquisitive minds and allow ourselves to become excited by ideas which may come to us at any time and from almost any source. Perhaps we need to break away from our research grinds and day-to-day tedium to experience . . . and maybe to be truly creative . . . to be fully alive.

This book, while inspiring, is not light reading, but it does have a compelling flow which makes it difficult to set aside. The volume would be an excellent collateral text in a course on epistemology or the history of the development of ideas in the social sciences. For social science scholars, learning about the lives and methods of outstanding leaders in our fields certainly does contribute to introspection and possibly to the enhancement of our own effectiveness.

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Nigel Gilbert (Ed). *Researching Social Life*. London: Sage Publications, 1993. \$22.95 papercover.

Royce A. Singleton Jr., Bruce C. Straits and Margaret Miller Straits. *Approaches to Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. \$37.00 hardcover.

These books on social research methods cover the basic material necessary for introductory research courses in the social sciences and the human service professions. Both books deal with scientific reasoning, problem and theory formulation, basic concepts (such as variables and hypotheses), measurement, survey and survey questionnaire designs, qualitative designs, use of existing data bases, data processing, basic data analysis, ethics, and writing research reports. In addition, both books provide ample examples to illustrate the material and Singleton et al. has a glossary and is accompanied by a useful instructor's manual that provides ideas for lectures and exercises, answers to questions in the text, test items, and suggestions for student assignments.

Both books are oriented primarily to research consumers and to traditional producers of research. However, from the



perspective of teaching research methods to social work students, both books have limitations. In particular, neither book sufficiently emphasizes the use of research methods by social work practitioners to enhance their practice. For example, neither book covers single-system designs sufficiently, nor applications of these designs to social work practice. Also neither book pays sufficient attention to the measurement strategies used by social work practitioners (including brief standardized scales, behavioral observation and individually constructed rating scales). Of course, these omissions are not important if the books are used exclusively for sociological research courses.

In general, Singleton et al. is a more comprehensive research text and it provides better depth in some critical areas, and the material is integrated better. For example, the book provides a much more comprehensive discussion of experimental and quasi-experimental designs and of basic measurement issues than Gilbert's book. The chapters in Singleton et al. on experimentation and experimental or quasi-experimental designs are especially comprehensive and well written for an introductory research text. Also, a notable feature of Singleton et al. is that it places a much needed emphasis on how different types of designs provide different types of complementary information, and in general how different types of designs are related.

The book by Gilbert does have some notable features. It provides some very detailed exemplars of research. It contains a chapter on gaining access to research settings (a practical matter of considerable importance, and one that typically is ignored in research texts); it offers some discussion of the use of computers in the analysis of data (an area that merits more attention in both books); and it provides considerable emphasis on different aspects of qualitative research methodology.

In summary, the book by Singleton and his colleagues is more useful as a primary text, supplemented with appropriate material, while the book by Gilbert is more useful as a supplementary text.

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Bill E. Lawson *The Underclass Question*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992. \$34.95 hard cover.

This volume is the outgrowth of a 1989 conference at the University of Delaware entitled, "Meditations on Integration; Philosophy and the Black Underclass." The coverpiece indicates that the essays are "the first full-length philosophical treatment of the underclass debate and one of the few volumes of writings by African-American philosophers." Using William Julius Wilson's claims in *The Truly Disadvantaged* and his subsequent writings as their starting point, nine authors explore philosophical and practical questions about class analysis, urban values, and social policy.

The preface and opening and closing chapters frame the essays in compelling ways. Bill Lawson prefaces the book by describing key events in his life that "... conspired to bring this book into existence" (p. xiii): his now deteriorated childhood neighborhood; being sent to Vietnam two days after the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Black troops' protest of the murder; support for his work from mentors, colleagues, and family. Lawson centers himself in this academic undertaking, thereby simultaneously claiming agency and responsibility. In Lawson's opening chapter he notes what philosophers can contribute to the underclass controversy: "... most social scientific research on poverty and the underclass ... usually abstains from dealing with the normative/value question, which philosophers are more proficient to handle." (p. 6). This volume provides social scientists with some provocative ideas about both values and logic. As Cornel West notes in the epilogue, the essays also contribute to a larger agenda, the "dedisciplin(izing)" of scholarship, which "... means that you go to wherever you find sources that can help you in constituting your intellectual weaponry" (p. 192). West's concluding remarks reinforce Lawson's initial appeal to agency and responsibility by addressing questions about the identity of Black philosophers and the role of Black philosophers in building institutions. Lawson's and West's remarks together offer essential grounding for any progressive academic with commitments beyond the academy.

While I was particularly moved by the Lawson and West contributions, any number of ideas from the chapters in between stand out. For example, Bernard Boxill demonstrates how Wilson's policy orientation derives from assumptions associated with Booker T. Washington's politics and suggests how W.E.B. Dubois' positions would apply to today's debates. Tommy Lott argues convincingly that rap culture represents a significant form of urban resistance and inspiration in the face of oppression. Anita Allen identifies assumptions underlying social thought about legal rights and demonstrates how such thought contributes to invalidating concerns of a Black "underclass." Albert Mosley exposes the shortcomings of Thomas Sowell's, Glenn Loury's and Wilson's criticisms of affirmative action by showing how they erroneously shift to a generalized argument about ethnicity and thereby ignore essential historical facts. In addition, many of the footnotes provide intriguing reading. I especially appreciated Lawson's footnoted suggestions about what musical compositions approximate the moods of each of the volume's chapters.

While the book covers certain criticisms that social scientists already have made of Wilson's work (see especially the December, 1989 special issue of the *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*), it contributes others. I particularly found it helpful in identifying logical pitfalls and flawed arguments that I sensed from my own reading of Wilson and others but was previously unable to pinpoint and name.

It has become routine in reviews of books forthcoming from conferences to note occasional repetitions of arguments from one author to the next. This volume provokes that same concern. Alternatively, however, this allows each chapter to stand on its own. I would like to have seen greater elaboration of the race-class linkage which moves beyond the artificial either-or debate posed by many social policy analysts. Here the work of economists like Tom Boston could further "de-disciplinize" scholarship and contribute significantly to our "intellectual weaponry" in the exploration of gross social and economic inequalities.

Overall, the Lawson edition renews my faith in the potential of interdisciplinary inquiry. I appreciate its ideas and am moved by its spirit of personal and professional commitment.

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Raymondo: *Population Estimation*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishers 1992. \$49.95, hardcover.

Population estimation and projection is no longer an arcane academic exercise. From private marketing to social services to state government, planners rely upon estimates of present characteristics and projections of future trends in target populations. Despite widespread use of the products of demographic methods, most comprehensive planners find demographic texts incomprehensible. Uniquely, *Population Estimation* targets the ultimate consumers of projections and estimations. Managers, planners and marketing analysts will find that Raymondo demystifies demography and presents a clear, intelligible foundation in projection and estimation techniques.

Raymondo's orientation toward the users (rather than producers) of these demographic methods is apparent in Chapter 1. This chapter provides an overview of the major topics covered with specific reference to pragmatic concerns such as data limitations and projection strategies. It enumerates conceptual and methodological issues important to interpreting population estimations and projections in succinct understandable language. The remaining chapters fall into two broad sections. Chapters 2 through 5 provide a fundamental understanding of demographic concepts, materials and methods needed for projections and estimations. Chapters 6 through 9 focus on the nuts and bolts of projection and estimation techniques.

Chapter 2 discusses the basic demographic concepts—fertility, mortality and migration—and then presents methods for measuring these concepts. Concise phrases replace cryptic mathematical terms and simple numerical examples accompany each equation. Chapter 3 focusses on issues in mortality: specifically on the use of survivorship for producing estimates and

projections. However, here Raymondo's nearly irresistible clarity founders upon the most immovable of demographic enigmas—the life-table. Chapter 4 brings the reader back to earth in an extremely practical discussion of Census geographies. It is this chapter, more than any other, that distinguishes the applied orientation of *Population Estimation*. Few standard demographic texts deal with the problems surrounding spatial units. Academic demography tends to focus on demographic processes without regard for the community contexts in which they take place. Geography is encountered only as a convenient boundary for population or as general geographic contexts (such as urban/rural) which influence fertility, mortality and migration. Rather than centering on these demographic processes, applied research in marketing, planning and policy highlights the outcomes of these processes for actual places. Chapter 4 is an excellent treatment of concepts and measurement of places. It presents information critical to applied demography not found in other texts. Discussion of the concepts underlying geographic units and the problems encountered in estimating sub-state geographies are solidly grounded in 1980 and 1990 Census definitions. Chapter 5 builds upon this discussion, providing an overview of Census data sources available for different geographic units.

Having established a foundation in demographic terms and concepts, Chapters 6, 7 and 8 tackle the methods by which numbers are crunched and best guesses produced. The Chapter 6 discussion of inter-censal estimation methods (estimates for the years preceding a Census) is of less interest to most applied researchers. However, this chapter clearly lays out the methods and issues important to the more widely used post-censal estimation procedures covered in Chapter 7. Both chapters cover the strengths and limitations of all prevalent estimation approaches. Chapter 8 covers four broad categories of population projection methodology: ration-allocation, mathematical, econometric and cohort-component methods. Notable in all three chapters is Raymondo's continuing reminder that both projections and estimations are simply best guesses about unknown populations, a fact often overlooked in the application of these methods. Chapter 9 is an overview of practical considerations in

producing estimates and projections. In many ways this chapter is the most important to the ultimate users of these methods. It is intended to outline the strategies for producing and the limitations in using estimates and projections. The scant 6 pages devoted to these issues will disappoint the reader, particularly since there are many pragmatic gems of observations scattered throughout Chapters 6 through 8. These observations could well have been reintroduced and placed in a strategy context. Also missing from this chapter are guidelines for dealing with the prosaic issues confronting the ultimate consumers of these methods. How often should estimates be conducted? When do projection series become unreliable? Why should more complex (costly) methods be employed over simpler methods? When will simpler methods suffice? Rules of thumb for such questions are strewn throughout earlier chapters, yet not gathered for the final summary.

Nevertheless, the accumulation of practical observations supplies information customarily gained (painfully) through trial and error. For demographers, this is of inestimable value. The singular contribution of *Population Estimation*, however, is not its content but its clarity. It is a good introduction to these specific demographic methods. It is an excellent bridge between producers and users of estimates and projections that clarified what demographic prophecies are possible, reasonable and useful.

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Liah Greenfeld. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992. \$49.94 hardcover.

More and more younger sociologists are taking on projects that their older colleagues left to the end of long careers, if then. Liah Greenfeld's new book on nationalism is one of the most successful examples of this trend. Its scope is enormous, its learning staggering, and its argument generally persuasive, if controversial. The thin spots almost make the work more

impressive, for they remind the reader that this is not the culmination of a lifetime of study, but rather the intensive effort of a scholar ten years out of graduate school.

Greenfeld's investigation of nationalism is more one of intellectual history than of, say, social movements or institution building. For as she states, "Social reality is intrinsically cultural; it is necessarily a symbolic reality, created by the subjective meanings and perceptions of social actors" (p. 18). In this respect, nationalism is a form of social *identity*: it differs from and had to compete with other possible identities like Christian or Jew, aristocrat or peasant, Parisian or Burgundian. Nationalism did not always exist, and its emergence and success were not inevitable. Nor was it always and everywhere the same. Greenfeld attempts to show how it emerged and why it differed in five countries—England, France, Russia, Germany, and America.

Her analysis is ingenious. Nationalism often claims to be particularistic and populist, that is, the particular identity of the broad mass of *people*. On the contrary, argues Greenfeld, nationalism is a rather more global—and sometimes even universalistic—ideology, generally propagated by *elites*. Moreover, nationalism is not a unitary concept, but rather, is composed of two basic types. The first type of national identity is individualistic, libertarian, and democratic. The second type is collectivistic and authoritarian; but it may be more democratic (in the tradition of Rousseau) or more ethnic and particularistic. The two (or two and a half) types emerged in different settings for somewhat different reasons. But in all cases, nationalism emerged as an ideological weapon of contending social groups. Greenfeld traces this emergence in her accounts of the five cases.

The modern concept of nationalism or national identity first emerged, according to Greenfeld, in sixteenth century England in the matrix of "the transformation of the social hierarchy and the unprecedented increase in social mobility throughout the sixteenth century; the character and the needs of the successive Tudor reigns; and the Protestant Reformation" (p. 44). The Tudors ennobled large numbers of new aristocrats—mainly for their service to the Tudor state—who competed for social standing and power with the ancient hereditary nobility, whose

heritage was military. The authority of the new nobility was based on merit, not birth, and in seeking a rationalization or justification, "the idea of the nation—of the people as an elite—appealed to the new aristocracy" (p. 47). Here began a thread that ran through the beneficiaries of the Henrician Reformation, English Protestants opposed to a restoration of Catholicism, the Puritans, Parliamentarists, and Cromwellians, and ultimately, the settlers of North America. This tradition combined a sense of loyalty to the whole (domestic) people and resistance to outside (initially Papal) influence with adherence to individual liberty. It had an affinity for democracy which grew over time as its internal logic unfolded. From the first, this nationalism was an ideology in the service of elites contending for power; but its democratic content tended to expand the circle of those permitted to participate in public life.

Later nationalisms in France, Russia, Germany, and other countries were formed in reaction and opposition to earlier nationalisms, each in turn. According to Greenfeld, elites in these countries began by admiring the models of more successful neighboring countries. They wanted to build up their own country under their own leadership. But as the home country failed to keep up with the more advanced model, this admiration turned to anomie, envy, and ultimately *ressentiment* (a concept she adopts from Nietzsche and Scheler), and led to an ideological glorification of one's own country and denigration of the model country and all other countries. Most of these later nationalisms were collectivistic and nondemocratic, in part, because they were formed in opposition to the original Anglo-American models, which were individualistic and (proto-)democratic. And in part, they were so because they drew on indigenous traditions that were collectivistic and non-democratic, rather than stemming from a break with the past as in sixteenth century England. Thus, in France, absolutism claimed the dignity that the Christian Church had claimed, and the post-Revolutionary State claimed the same dignity. And in Germany, nationalism originated, not in the Reformation, but in the status-insecurity of intellectuals at the time of anti-Enlightenment Romanticism, and the reaction to the Napoleonic



invasion. French nationalism while collectivistic, eventually contained more democratic elements than did pre-1945 German nationalism.

This summary stresses the elite competition element of Greenfeld's analysis. Yet hers is an account of ideology, an intellectual history. While she combines structural and cultural elements well, her stress on the latter highlights inherent difficulties and limitations of the task she sets for herself. It is difficult enough to demonstrate that particular writers represent particular social structural interests or positions: intellectuals are notoriously difficult to pigeonhole in this fashion. But Greenfeld also wants to argue that certain structural situations led to certain psychological stresses and strains, and that these led to certain ideological formulations that were created by intellectuals and accepted by social masses and movements. Such claims are difficult enough to demonstrate in contemporary societies where we can measure popular and elite attitudes with surveys and interviews, and movements by other means. In earlier periods, such attitudes and activities must often be attributed to masses, according to what the "scribbling classes" said about them. These arguments risk circularity. Greenfeld does not seem insensitive to this problem, but she mostly stays in the traditional mode of analysis of intellectual history, which does not often go below face-value claims of intellectuals. A more structuralist approach might also have made her more skeptical of the idea that nationalistic ideology in countries like Germany led so inexorably to disaster. Some historians have argued recently that many ideological and social structural conditions in Germany did not differ substantially from those in England during the period, roughly, 1870-1933. Rather, it may have been the gridlock of the party system and the paralysis of coalition formation that caused voters to defect from democratic parties, and lent credence to the observer who said "this did not have to happen." Still, her chronicle of nationalists' attraction, disaffection, and rejection of advanced countries gives one pause as one observes the present-day steps of Eastern Europe toward—or not toward—democracy. Greenfeld herself, a native of Russia, has elsewhere expressed pessimism

about this progress. Yet if one does not take one's cues primarily from the ideologies of the past but also from the structural possibilities of the present, one must ask whether this pessimism is unavoidable: what would different analysts have predicted about Germany in 1945 or Spain in 1975?

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## BOOK NOTES

Calvin J. Larson. *Pure and Applied Sociological Theory: Problems and Issues*. Chicago, IL: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1993. \$28 hardcover.

The idea that sociological investigation should be dedicated to the improvement of society is as old as the discipline itself, but it has not been universally accepted. Most academic sociologists have endorsed the view that sociology ought to be a pure social science. Advocates of applied sociology have not only been in a minority, but have often been criticized by their colleagues for somehow contaminating the discipline's integrity.

Today, this situation has changed. Many more sociologists are employed in non-academic fields, and student demand for courses with a vocational orientation has intensified. In the academic setting, the involvement of sociologists in applied contract research has also increased. Today, few sociologists question the appropriateness of these trends. While many continue to believe in the virtues of a pure rather than applied sociology, few vociferously oppose the practical application of sociological knowledge.

Larson's book is a useful introduction to the field of applied sociology. Although its attempt to differentiate between pure and applied sociology from a theoretical perspective somewhat dilutes its impact, the book contains useful chapters on the history of applied sociology, the issue of ethics and values in sociological investigation and the role of sociology in social policy. Noticeably absent is a discussion of the relationship between applied sociology and social work, a subject which has historically been closely associated with sociology even though this is seldom acknowledged.

Stephen Crook, Jan Pakulski and Malcolm Waters. *Postmodernization: Change in Advanced Society*. London: Sage Publications, 1992. \$ 17.95.

Theoretical enterprise in sociology (and the social sciences generally) is usually a tortured affair. The language of speculation is invariably obscure, ambiguity frequently clouds the

theorist's meaning and often the creators of theoretical imagery delight in enigmatic discourse. Consequently, it is often necessary that new theoretical approaches be interpreted and clarified by sociological commentators before they come into general usage.

The current vogue for post-modernism is no exception. While nearly everybody has a general idea of what post-modernism entails, few can define it or describe its features with confidence. Crook, Pakulski and Waters are among the first to offer a definitive and helpful commentary on the post-modernist conception of society. The authors identify six major areas of social life which have been extensively influenced by post-modernist forces. These are the collapse of traditional culture; the erosion of the state; the fragmentation of the family; the decline of traditional political organizations and their replacement with new social movements; the emergence of new arrangements for labor utilization; and a declining faith in science and technology. Each of these topics is discussed in separate chapters which are readable and comprehensive. The book will be an essential reference not only for social scientists but for anyone who is interested in knowing more about the claim that the post-modern era has arrived.

James W. Russell. *Introduction to Macrosociology*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1992. \$ 15.50 papercover.

It has been claimed that sociology is not an integrated disciplinary field but a loose aggregation of scientific knowledge about different aspects of social life. This is manifested in the existence of discreet specialisms in the subject such as the sociology of the family, deviance, demography, organizational sociology and similar sub-fields. Following economics, sociology may also be sub-divided into micro and macro-specialisms. While the former deals with individual action, or the interactions of individuals in small social systems, the latter focuses on societies and their large scale structures, divisions, and institutions.

Russell's book is intended to serve as an introductory textbook to the field of macro-sociology but it is not clear how an introduction of this kind differs from a general introductory

textbook. Nor is it certain that introductory texts on macro-sociology (as distinct from general sociology) are needed. Indeed, the book is similar in many respects to a general introductory text. It contains chapters which are not specifically focused on macro-sociological issues and which will be found in all introductory texts. These chapters deal with topics such as the nature of sociology as a social science, the family and social research. The book also contains a chapter dealing with micro-sociological issues (including the self, roles, status, and norms) without specifying their relation to the book's overall macro-sociological perspective. Nevertheless, this is a well written book which will be helpful to students seeking general insights into key concepts and theoretical perspectives in the macro-field.

Henry Etzkowitz and Ronald M. Glassman. *The Renaissance of Sociological Theory*. Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock, 1991. \$ 42.00 hardcover.

Whether sociological theory is today experiencing a renaissance is a matter for academic conjecture. Some will question whether theoretical enterprise in the discipline has ever been in abeyance, and others will argue that the sociological imagination has always been vital and innovative. However, it would be fair to say that the influence of ideas from other countries and from non-sociological fields such as philosophy, literature and the arts is greater than ever before. This has indeed resulted in an explosion of speculative endeavor, and in an exponential increase in the corpus of theoretical knowledge about human behavior, social relationships and society in general. In this climate, it is very difficult for any except the most dedicated to keep abreast with the ever changing and novel insights of creative theorists.

Etzkowitz and Glassman have rendered a useful service by bringing together a collection of introductory articles on recent trends in sociological theory. These articles offer a readable and helpful account for the non-specialist, but do so at a level of sophistication which credits the reader's intelligence. The book contains valuable summaries of developments in structuralism, feminism, critical theory, neo-functionalism, socio-biology, neo-Marxism and many more conceptual fields. The articles are

preceded by an excellent introduction by the editors. A major omission is the post-modernist perspective which is rapidly becoming a cardinal topic for debate in theoretical circles. This apart, this useful book should be read by all social scientist interested in current theoretical debates.

Philip Manning. *Erving Goffman and Modern Sociology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992. \$39.95 hardcover; \$14.95 papercover.

Biographies of sociologists are rare; good biographies are even rarer. This is understandable since it is difficult to combine readable accounts of the personal lives of scholarly subjects with rigorous assessments of their academic work. Few popular biographers have the academic background to explain and evaluate a scholar's scientific contribution, and few academic authors have the literary skills to summarize a scientist's life and work within the rubric of a good story.

Philip Manning has written an interesting book about Erving Goffman and his influence on sociology's theoretical development. Although the book is not primarily intended to be a biography, its exposition of Goffman's ideas and evaluation of his work is remarkable for its ability to combine scholarly assessment with personalized narrative. Goffman is always present, a real human being whose life extends beyond the introductory biographic chapter and pervades Manning's scientific account. While analyzing and elucidating Goffman's work, Manning tells a good story. His book is highly recommended for anyone who wants to know more about Erving Goffman, his life and work.

Hans Joas. *Pragmatism and Social Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. \$16.95 papercover.

The American pragmatic philosophical tradition, which characterized the writings of Dewey, James and others, has not been fully integrated into sociological thought. Commentaries on sociological theory seldom make any reference to the pragmatic approach, and its relevance to sociological inquiry has not been properly assessed.

However, as Joas shows in this collection of essays, pragmatism has been a recurrent theme both in American and European sociology. In the introductory chapter, Joas traces the influence of pragmatism on the writings of George Herbert Mead and the empiricists of the Chicago School of urban sociology during the early decades of the century. Even though the influence of pragmatism is seldom recognized, Joas contends that it has continued to influence sociological work today. Both micro-sociological and large scale empiricist tendencies in current American sociology can be traced directly to the dominance of pragmatism at Chicago.

Joas observes that the influence of pragmatism can also be discerned in the writings of Durkheim and other continental sociologists. In several interesting although disconnected articles, Joas discusses the influence of pragmatism on Durkheim's work; examines the relation between German social thought and American pragmatism/ and reviews the significance of critical theory, Giddens's structuration thesis and the writings of Cornelius Castoriadis.

While this is a sophisticated collection of articles, they do not constitute a coherent treatise on pragmatism in sociology. Many of the articles have been published previously, and some deal tangentially with the book's central theme. Joas has, however, demonstrated the need for a more systematic treatment of the subject, and it is to be hoped that he or some equally accomplished scholar will produce it.





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