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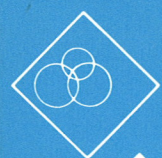
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Demographic Differences Between Sheltered Homeless Families and Housed Poor Families: Implications for Policy and Practice

ALICE K. JOHNSON

Case Western Reserve University
Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences

KAY YOUNG MCCHESENEY

University of Missouri—St. Louis
Department of Sociology

CYNTHIA J. ROCHA

University of Tennessee—Knoxville

WILLIAM H. BUTTERFIELD

Washington University of St. Louis
George Warren Brown School of Social Work

This study compares homeless families with a representative sample of low income family households in St. Louis city and county to determine how they differ on key demographic variables. The research addresses methodological problems in prior research by comparing the findings of this study's random sample to the findings of four previous comparison studies. Findings from this study's random comparison sample are presented. Homeless families are significantly younger, never married, female-headed families of color. Housed and homeless families are not significantly different in the number of children or in the educational level of the head of household but housed families are larger and have greater income. This suggests the presence of another adult earner in poor, housed families. Research implications include addressing sampling biases in comparative research through longitudinal studies. Policy and practice recommendations center on providing social and economic supports to homeless families to increase the number of supportive adults in the home.

Introduction

Considerable progress has been made in understanding the new phenomenon of family homelessness since 1980. Early arguments pitted micro-level versus macro-level explanations of the etiology of family homelessness (c.f., Bassuk, Rubin, & Lauriat, 1986; Wright & Lam, 1987). Researchers now agree that a shortage of housing affordable to the increasing numbers of poor households is the basic macro-economic cause of high levels of family homelessness (see, e.g., Burt, 1992; Edelman & Mihaly, 1989; McChesney, 1990; Rossi, 1989; Wright, 1989).

With this consensus, research has shifted toward examining risk factors for homelessness. While all poor households are vulnerable to homelessness in a tight housing market, which poor families are most vulnerable? One way to answer this question is to compare homeless families with poor housed families. Although four studies have previously compared various characteristics of homeless families with poor housed families, all but one were convenience or purposive samples. Moreover, the comparison groups consisted solely of families receiving public welfare. Poor families, however, include a diverse range of families, including those who work but remain in poverty. Therefore, the comparison samples used in previous research are not representative of all poor family households. Since comparing homeless families to non-random samples of AFDC-dependent families and generalizing these differences to all poor households is methodologically unsound, this paper argues that it is unknown whether homeless families differ from housed, poor families.

To address this methodological issue, the present study is the first to compare a sample of sheltered homeless families to a representative sample of poor, housed families. The housed comparison group is a large sample of poor families living below the poverty line. A family includes one or more adults caring for one or more children under the age of 18. These families are drawn from the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), a 5 percent random sample of households in St. Louis City and county that completed the Census long form in 1989. Demographic characteristics

of homeless and housed families are compared for significant differences between the two groups.

On the demographic variables that can be compared, the following null hypothesis is tested: There are no significant differences between homeless and housed poor families. If the null hypothesis is supported (no differences), family homelessness may be a random process essentially caused by the shortage of affordable housing and homeless families may simply be a subset of the urban poor. On the other hand, if there are enough significant differences, the circumstances that render families more vulnerable to homelessness may be evident. This hypothesis is tested by using several demographic variables that place families at risk of poverty. These include race, family composition, marital status, educational level, age of head of household, family size, total annual income, and annual income from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Based on significant differences between the two groups, implications for social policy and practice with homeless families are discussed.

Review of the Literature

Since the literature on homeless families has been extensively reviewed elsewhere (c.f., Johnson & Richards, in press; McChesney, in press), only those studies that have compared homeless families to housed poor families are reviewed here. Four research groups have published studies of homeless families that included a comparison sample of some kind (Bassuk & Rosenberg, 1988; Goodman, 1991a, 1991b; Shinn, Knickman, & Weitzman, 1991; Wood, Valdez, Hayashi, & Shen, 1990). This review concentrates on the methodological issues in the selection of the comparison samples in these four studies and on the divergent demographic picture that emerges.

Bassuk and Rosenberg (1988) used a case-control method to compare 49 homeless mothers to 81 housed, poor mothers. These researchers attempted to find a stratified random sample of households living in 28 blocks in Boston. According to the 1980 census, high percentages of poor, female-headed families lived in this area. There was, however, considerable difficulty in obtaining

the comparison sample. The response rate was only 10 percent, with 81 out of 820 families responding (464 families were not at home, 238 were not female-headed, and 37 refused to participate). This housed sample consisted solely of female-headed families who were on AFDC and living in public housing projects. Demographic variables showed an average age of 29 years. Thirty-two percent were white and 68 percent nonwhite. Thirty percent were graduated from high school and 64 percent had not received a high school diploma. Seventy-five percent were single, 24 percent were divorced, separated, or widowed, and 1 percent were married.

Goodman (1991a; 1991b) also selected a convenience sample of 50 homeless families from two Boston metropolitan area towns, Somerville and Cambridge. The 50 members of the housed comparison group were recruited from women waiting at the Somerville AFDC office. There was a 25 percent refusal rate for both groups and 10 percent were rejected because they spoke only Spanish. The comparison sample was limited to AFDC-dependent families. Moreover, the comparison sample was not geographically comparable to the homeless family sample since the comparison families came only from Somerville. Demographic findings showed a mean age of 29.7 years for the housed sample. Forty-six percent were white and 38 percent were black. Twenty-four percent graduated from high school while 42 percent had not received a high school diploma. Sixty percent were single, 34 percent were divorced or separated, and 6 percent were married.

In Los Angeles, Wood et al. (1990) interviewed 196 families systematically sampled from new entrants to the 10 largest shelters for homeless families. To obtain the comparison sample, poor families coming to four welfare offices were screened. The selection criteria consisted of having received AFDC continuously for a year or more and living in the current residence for six months or more. Two hundred forty families met the selection criteria. With a refusal rate of 19 percent, a net sample of 194 families was obtained. This comparison sample is more robust by the inclusion of both one- and two-parent families. Nonetheless, similar to the Goodman (1991a; 1991b) and Bassuk and Rosenberg (1988) studies, it is limited by its failure to select families from the geographic

areas represented by the last previous addresses of the homeless sample. In addition, it fails to include working poor families who were not on AFDC. Average age for the head-of-household in the comparison group was 29 years old. Fifteen percent were white and 70 percent were black. Data on educational levels were not available. Thirty-eight percent were married.

The only large-sample study compared 677 homeless mothers requesting shelter in New York with 448 housed mothers receiving public welfare benefits (Shinn et al., 1991). The homeless sample was a randomly selected sample with a 28 percent refusal rate. Housed families were randomly selected from families seeking public assistance recertification at 12 randomly selected income maintenance centers. These samples are much broader and systematically selected than the other studies reviewed here, but the comparison sample is still limited to families on public welfare. Demographic results show a mean age of 34 years old. Four percent were white and 33 percent were black. Twenty-six percent graduated from high school and 63 percent had not received their high school diploma. Forty-six percent were single, 47.5 percent were separated or divorced, and 6.5 percent were married.

The demographic characteristics of housed, poor families in these four studies are quite different. In Table I, these demographics are contrasted with the characteristics of housed, poor families in St. Louis city and county obtained from a random probability sample. The mean age of the randomly selected sample is much higher than those in all but the Shinn et al. (1991) study—a study that was also randomly selected. As expected, race varies geographically, but both education and marital status vary greatly from one non-random sample to another. Except for the Wood et al. (1990) study, this random sample shows greater likelihood that the housed poor are married; with the exception of the Shinn et al. (1991) study, this random sample shows greater likelihood that the housed poor are divorced or separated.

These disparate findings suggest the need to revisit the question whether homeless families differ from housed, poor families. This study's random probability sample of poor, housed families eliminates the bias from previous studies, i.e., non-comparable geographic bias, bias in favor of AFDC-recipient families, and bias

Table I

A Comparison of Poor, Housed Families on Key Demographic Variables

	St. Louis Random Sample	Study 1 Bassuk & Rosenberg, 1991	Study 2 Goodman, 1992	Study 3 Wood et al., 1990	Study 4 Shinn et al., 1991
Mean Age	34.8	29.0	29.7	29.0	34.5
% White	26.0	32.0	46.0	15.0	4.4
% Black	71.6	N/A	38.0	70.0	33.1
% H.S. Grad	29.6	30.0	24.0	N/A	26.3
% < H.S.	43.0	64.0	42.0	N/A	62.8
% Single	36.5	75.0	60.0	N/A	45.9
% Married	21.3	1.0	6.0	38.0	6.5
% Widowed Separated, Divorced	42.2	24.0	34.0	N/A	47.5

toward families living in public housing. Eliminating these biases provides insight into whether there are significant demographic differences between homeless families and housed families living under the poverty line.

Research Methods

The Sample of Poor Households

The comparison sample was drawn from the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS), a 5 percent random sample of family households in St. Louis city and county who completed the Census long form in 1989. Minority households were oversampled and weights were assigned for different kinds of households. Once the weights were assigned, the PUMS data consisted of a representative sample of the general and poverty population of 179,000 family households with children under the age of 18. For the purposes of comparison, only those families with children under the age of 18 who were *living under the poverty line* were

used. Out of 179,000 families, 24,194 households were living under the poverty line (based on family composition and number of people). A random subsample of 2000 families from the 24,194 poor households in the 5 percent weighted PUMS data made up the comparison sample. Demographic variables about family poverty such as minority status, family composition, marital status, educational level, age of head of household, family size, total annual income, and annual AFDC income, were selected for comparison.

In comparing the homeless families with this subsample of 2000 poor households, T-Tests established the independence of a sample from a population on continuous variables. Chi-squares assessed differences between the two groups on categorical variables. For both, the .01 level was the criterion for establishing significant difference. Although the Census admits to undercounting non-sheltered homeless persons, families that were in homeless shelters on the day of the Census and completed the Census long form are included in the PUMS sample. Therefore, any significant differences are likely to be lower-bound estimates because the hierarchical samples would tend to cause an *underestimation* of the true effect size.

The Sample of Homeless Families

The homeless sample is from 1989 making it comparable to the housed, poor sample from the PUMS data. The homeless sample consisted of 188 families who were residents of Family Haven or Community-In-Partnership, two shelters operated by The Salvation Army. Family Haven, a 54-bed shelter for homeless families in the city of St. Louis, Missouri, has been in operation since 1979. Family Haven's comprehensive social service program has been nationally recognized as a way to break the cycle of homelessness (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 1984; Whitman, 1988). Based on case management and community networking, the Homeless Continuum Model (HCM), moved families toward self-sufficiency through five sequential stages: 1) Prevention, 2) Crisis Intervention, 3) Stabilization, 4) Resettlement into Transitional or Permanent Housing, and 5) Follow-Up (Hutchison, Searight, & Stretch, 1986). Using the same model, Community-In-Partnership was established in 1987 to serve

homeless families in St. Louis County. By providing separate family rooms for all types of homeless families, i.e., two-parent families, extended family groups, single males with children, single females with children, and families with teenage children, Family Haven and Community-In-Partnership were unique among shelter programs in St. Louis. Single women unaccompanied by children were sometimes admitted (c.f. Johnson & Kreuger, 1989), but these cases are not reported here since this article focuses on homeless families. This open policy on family composition makes it likely that the homeless families reported here are representative of all types of homeless families.

Two other factors also suggest that the homeless family sample in this study represents all families who were homeless in St. Louis city and county in 1989. First, the homeless sample is, for the most part, geographically representative of families in St. Louis city and county. Before becoming homeless, 178 families (95 percent) were residents of St. Louis city or county. Only nine families (5 percent) said that they lived in another town in Missouri or in a nearby state before becoming homeless. Second, homeless individuals and families in St. Louis were referred to shelter through a centralized, citywide hotline. This centralized referral system was part of a court-ordered consent decree mandating the city of St. Louis to provide homeless shelter and services (c.f., Johnson, Kreuger, & Stretch, 1989). By 1989, the hotline and its process of referring homeless persons to shelters was well established. Workers in public welfare, child protection, soup kitchens, neighborhood centers, and local churches had knowledge of the hotline and understood it as the access point for shelter and services. Homeless persons who came to or called shelters directly were required to call the hotline for referral. In addition, media coverage, national awards, and a public education series made the public aware of the system. Purchase of service contracts also required local shelters to admit those who were referred through the hotline system (Johnson & Banerjee, 1992).

Depending on available bed space, homeless families who called the citywide hotline were referred to any one of several family shelters. One of these shelters was Hospitality House, an emergency shelter operated by The Salvation Army. At Hospitality House, the Crisis Intervention phase of the HCM took place. From

Hospitality House, families moved into Family Haven where a second intake and assessment procedure was completed. This process assured that families were truly homeless, i.e., those with no other housing options. County residents who called the hotline were referred in the same manner, except that they moved to the Community-In-Partnership shelter after their stay at Hospitality House.

The data reported here are from case records at Family Haven and Community-In-Partnership. The data were collected from case records completed at intake. Although the usual caveats on the reliability of case record data apply, The Salvation Army instituted academic research as part of its organizational milieu since 1979 (c.f., Hutchison, Stretch, Anderman, & Searight, 1981; Stretch, Kreuger, Johnson, & Hutchison, 1988). In 1987, as part of this program-based research, assessment forms and case records were computerized at both shelters (Kreuger, Stretch, & Johnson, 1989). T-tests and Chi-squares showed no significant differences between the Family Haven and the Community-In-Partnership samples, with one exception. Community-In-Partnership families had about \$1,000 higher annual incomes than Family Haven families. In this article, family case records from both shelters are combined in the analyses.

Demographic Differences Between Homeless and Housed Poor Families

Minority status, family composition, marital status, educational level, number of children, family size, and age of head of household, are identified by the literature as risk factors for family poverty (c.f. McChesney, 1991; Rodgers, 1990.) These demographic variables, and annual income and the sources of incomes, are those that allowed comparison between homeless families from the case records and housed poor families from the PUMS sample. Patterns occur in the following analysis which suggest that some risk factors related to poverty differentiate the two groups.

As shown in Table II, homeless families are significantly more likely to be black (St. Louis has small Hispanic and Native American populations) than housed poor families ($\chi^2=25.7$; $df=2$,

Table II

A Comparison of Homeless Families and Poor Households

Population Characteristics	Homeless Families	Poor Families
Race*		
Black	89.4	71.6
White	10.6	26.0
Other	0.0	2.4
Family Composition*		
Female/kids	88.3	74.6
Male/kids	3.7	5.6
Couples	8.0	19.9
Marital Status*		
Single	60.1	36.5
Married	9.0	21.3
Separated	22.9	15.6
Divorced	8.0	17.5
Widowed	0.0	9.1
Educational Level		
High School Dropout	36.1	43.0
High School Graduate	36.2	29.6
Some College	26.1	21.6
College Degree	1.6	3.4
Graduate School	0.0	2.4
Average Family Size**	3.25	3.90
Average Age Female Head of Household*	26.9 years	34.8 years
Average Annual Income**	\$4,990	\$6,120
Average Annual AFDC*	\$3,350	\$3,151

*p<.01, **p<.001

p<.01). Family composition was significant ($\chi^2=19.3$; $df=2$, $p<.01$), indicating that homeless families are more likely headed by single mothers than housed poor families. Marital status showed that homeless families were more likely to be single or separated, while poor housed families were more likely to be married, divorced, or widowed ($\chi^2=58.0$; $df=3$, $p<.01$). Homeless women

were much younger, with an average age of 26.9 years, than poor housed women, with an average age of 34.8 years ($t=16$; $df=187$, $p<.001$).

Two important economic differences occurred. Homeless families had significantly lower annual incomes than housed poor families ($t=4.93$; $df=187$, $p<.001$). However, average AFDC payments were slightly higher for homeless families. Homeless families averaged \$3350 per year in AFDC compared to the \$3151 per year received by housed, poor families ($t=3.03$; $df=187$, $p=.01$).

Finally, family size, the total number of people in the household, was significant ($t=4.64$; $df=187$, $p<.001$) with homeless families more likely to have fewer adults in the household. However, no significant differences were found between the educational level of homeless and housed poor families ($\chi^2=11.37$; $df=4$, $p<.05$) or in the number of children in homeless and housed poor families ($t=.77$; $df=187$, $p>.20$).

Discussion

These data provide preliminary empirical support for some differences between homeless families and housed poor families. These differences make homeless families poorer and more likely to become homeless in an expensive housing market—all other things (e.g., domestic violence, substance abuse) being equal.

The finding that homeless families are significantly more likely to be headed by people of color than poor housed families relates to the risk for poverty. In statistical analyses, skin color (termed "race" by the Census) serves as a marker for the effects of racism in society. Among other things, people of color have less opportunity to earn wages above the poverty level. Since blacks are discriminated against when they seek employment (Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991), they have higher unemployment and discouraged worker rates (McChesney, 1991). They also get paid less. According to Corcoran, Duncan, and Hill (1984), after taking human capital differences such as education, work experience, career interruptions and absenteeism into account, there is a net wage difference of about 30 percent less for black women in comparison to white men.

In this study, homeless mothers were one and a half times as likely to be single and never married than the housed poor

mothers. Being a single, never married mother is a strong risk factor for poverty. Compared to mothers who have never married, mothers who are divorced or separated have a greater possibility of receiving child support payments. Mothers who are widowed usually have access to Social Security survivor's benefits for their children. This gives considerably more regular income to these mothers than mothers who only have child support awards (Ellwood, 1988).

Marital status is the main determinant of family income, regardless of a person's background (Cohen & Tyree, 1986). In this study, poor families were two and one half times as likely to be headed by a couple than homeless families. While the earnings of the spouse were not enough to bring the family above the poverty level, they may have been enough to keep the family from becoming homeless.

The significantly younger age of the homeless heads-of-households—about 8 years younger than the poor heads-of-households—also increases the risk of poverty. Among other associations, the younger the mother, the more likely she is to have preschool children and the less likely she is to be in the labor force, especially in the absence of affordable child care.

If all that was known about homeless families was that they were significantly more likely to be headed by young, single, never-married, women of color (c.f., Johnson, 1989), it could be predicted that they would be significantly poorer than housed poor families. This is exactly what this study finds. Both groups are very poor—well under the poverty line. However, the \$6,120 average annual income of the poor housed families is 123 percent of the \$4,990 average annual income of the homeless families. This difference in income itself may be enough to prevent homelessness. The likelihood of being out of the labor force is further suggested by the finding that AFDC makes up 67 percent of the homeless family's annual income compared to only 51 percent of the housed family's annual income.

In part, these slight economic differences may be explained by family size. While the number of children in homeless and housed poor families does not differ, housed families are larger, indicating the presence of an additional adult in the household. The minimal, perhaps even seasonal employment, of the additional adult in

the poor household may explain the marginal income difference between homeless and housed families. Finally, relatively low levels of education were found in both the homeless and poor family samples. Since education is the primary determinant of work income in the United States, especially for people whose families of origin were poor (Cohen & Tyree, 1986), the finding of no significant difference suggests that low level education has more to do with poverty than homelessness.

Implications for Social Policy and Practice

The data reported here are preliminary and the conclusions that can be drawn are limited. More exhaustive multivariate analyses and more complex research designs, particularly longitudinal panel studies, are needed to fully understand the mechanisms underlying differences between homeless families and housed poor families. However, no previous studies have used a random comparison sample of poor households to assess whether homeless families differ from housed poor families on key demographic variables.

In summary, homeless families, in comparison to housed, poor families, appear to be headed by relatively young, minority single mothers, 83 percent of whom have never married or are separated from their spouse. Housed poor families, while still predominantly minority and headed by single mothers, are much older. While homeless and housed families do not differ in the number of children or in the level of education of the head-of-household, the presence of an additional adult in the household and the fact that nearly 50 percent are married, divorced or widowed suggests that they have access to additional household income. The slight economic edge suggested by these demographic differences may be all that is preventing a family from becoming homeless.

In developing policy and practices to rehouse homeless families and prevent poor, housed families from becoming homeless, these demographic differences suggest several areas for social intervention. First, programs and services should emphasize reconstituting and rebuilding families. Family preservation models, for example, might include homelessness prevention services for

housed, poor families. By the same token, family preservation models should be extended to homeless families in shelter so that the process of rehousing the family includes reconnecting the father with the female-headed family. Other interventions should center on rebuilding the homeless family's support networks through shelter-based groups that involve significant others (fathers, boyfriends, extended family members, etc.). In cases in which it is not possible to reconnect the homeless family to its extended family or reconstitute the family's previous social network, homeless women can be encouraged to pool their resources by sharing an apartment and child care responsibilities. Women in shelters often develop one or two close friendships and sustain these relationships when they are no longer homeless (Johnson, 1995). Shelters that focus only on housing the intact homeless family and do not address relationship issues, may have initial success when families are first rehoused, but later find that families are unable to sustain their housing.

Second, although Census data cannot confirm the presence of individual risk factors such as domestic violence, teen pregnancy, or the recent birth of a child, these factors often tip the balance in personal relationships. If a breakdown in personal relationships results in the loss of the additional adult in the household, this may be enough to cause a poor family to become homeless. Again in attending to the family's immediate housing crisis, shelter programs may overlook the family's long-term economic needs. If a family has become homeless because of the loss of support from an additional adult in the household, legal services may be a remedy. For example, obtaining protection orders in abuse cases, filing for divorce and requesting child support and alimony, and establishing paternity for new births are legal actions that not only protect homeless families from abusive relationships, but also provide additional income for the single-headed, poor household. While legal services are usually available in programs for battered women, they are generally unavailable in homeless shelters (c.f., Johnson, 1990).

Third, the data suggest that AFDC benefits alone are not sufficient for keeping families from homelessness. Although homeless families are more likely to get AFDC, the one month difference in their total yearly benefits shows that homeless families don't

stay continuously on AFDC and this loss of benefits probably contributes to their homeless situation. In this study, the larger total income of poor households suggests that they work part of the time. This safety net, albeit thin, may prevent homelessness even though they remain extremely poor. Since more than one half (51 percent) of women on welfare have some contact with the labor force (Harris, 1993), subsidized child care that allows single mothers to work may prevent homelessness. For homeless families who have worked and still become homeless, services that assist them to file income tax forms and claim their Earned Income Tax Credit can help solve their immediate problem of homelessness.

Finally, the data show no significant overall difference between the educational level of homeless and housed, poor families. However, homeless families are more likely to finish high school and more likely to attend college, but less likely to finish college. Thus, while many homeless parents have two-year degrees, this level of training typically results in low-paying technical jobs that are not sufficient to prevent homelessness. Unless efforts are made to substantially raise the level of education of homeless families, homeless programs can only expect, at best, to rehouse these families as working poor households. The JOBS program's current focus on training for service sector jobs suggests that even longer term, transitional shelters that actively link homeless families to such programs should not expect homeless families to exit poverty. A concerted effort, therefore, is needed to change social welfare policy to allow AFDC-dependent women to obtain college degrees through the JOBS program.

Conclusion

There is much research that is required to understand the dynamic state between being a homeless family and an extremely poor but housed welfare or working poor family. Longitudinal studies are particularly needed to understand how families change status in both directions—from homeless to housed, and vice versa. This study also begs for systematic program evaluation of the impact of services in rehousing homeless families. In the meantime, social workers should pay special attention to the

demographic differences between homeless families and poor households that are suggested here. This preliminary information can be used to design programs that reconstitute and rebuild families through social support, increase the educational level of single heads-of-households, and provide additional income through various means. Although the literature currently contains little evidence of these types of homeless programs and services, they are possible strategies that might be used to prevent poor households from becoming homeless and formerly homeless families from becoming homeless again.

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The Problematics of Representation in Community Mediation Hearings: Implications for Mediation Practice

ANGELA GARCIA

University of Cincinnati
Department of Sociology

Empowering disputants to represent themselves and create their own agreement is a frequently cited goal of community mediation programs. This paper explores how disputants' positions and interests are represented in mediation, and investigates the implications of such representation for the negotiation process. This narrative analysis of transcripts of videotaped community mediation hearings shows that disputant self-representation in mediation is never unconstrained. The interactional organization of mediation and the actions of mediators work to limit and define how disputants formulate their utterances. Mediator representation of disputants varies in the degree of intervention or coercion applied. Mediators may limit themselves to rephrasing, restating, or elaborating a disputant's position. However, in some cases mediators take the place of disputants in negotiations. The implications of these various types of representation for disputant autonomy, mediator neutrality and agreement compliance are discussed.

Introduction

Mediation is a non-adversarial conflict resolution procedure which provides an alternative to litigation in divorce and child custody cases (Saposnek, 1983), civil disputes, juvenile cases, and even criminal cases (Felstiner and Williams, 1978). Rather than handing authority for making a decision over to a judge, disputants in mediation hearings retain that authority and negotiate an agreement with the help of a third party (Merry and Silbey, 1986; Cobb and Rifkin, 1991, p. 47). Mediation emphasizes cooperation and compromise (Worley and Schwebel, 1985; Cahn, 1992), and de-emphasizes the adversarial nature of disputing

which tends to be exacerbated in litigation (Girdner, 1985). Mediation practitioners believe this approach reduces the antagonism between disputants, gives them the opportunity to listen to and understand each other's position, and promotes reconciliation (Bottomley, 1985, p. 162; Dingwall, 1986, p. 10; Roberts, 1988, p. 538; Folberg, 1983, p. 9). When compared to adjudication, mediation strives to empower the disputants, to allow them to represent themselves, and to limit the authority of the mediator (Moore, 1986, p. 14).

However, some critics have suggested that the very characteristics of mediation that provide these advantages over more legalistic approaches to conflict resolution also create some potential problems (e.g., Merry, 1989). Bottomley (1985) argues that although intended to empower the powerless, informal justice may be less just than traditional processes. The informality of the process allows more powerful interactants to gain the upper hand, and allows the powers that be to define and impose community norms and moral standards (Bottomley, 1985).

Cobb and Rifkin's (1991) study of community-based mediation hearings shows that although there is a rhetoric of neutrality among mediation practitioners and advocates, the nature of the mediation process militates against actual neutrality. The first storyteller in the mediation hearing uses that opportunity to set the moral stage for the hearing: characterizing their own position as right and good, and that of the opposing disputant as wrong and bad. Mediators unwittingly aid in the process of reaffirming the "primary narrative" by orienting to the issues raised by the first story as they facilitate the hearing. Unless mediators successfully aid the second disputant in promoting an "alternative narrative" which challenges the moral framework established by the primary narrative, they have failed in their goal of constructing the mediation hearing as a "neutral" process (Cobb and Rifkin, 1991). In fact, Cobb and Rifkin argue that the possibility of a neutral mediation process may be a chimera because of the power of narratives to create moral frameworks, establish positions, and define right and wrong.

Greatbatch and Dingwall (1989) discovered in their study of British divorce mediation hearings that mediators can exert a great deal of control over the outcome of the hearing by controlling

what topics are discussed. Even without explicitly violating neutrality (e.g., by taking a position relative to a disputant's complaint or proposed solution) a mediator can shape that complaint or proposal by shifting the discussion from one topic to the next. Greatbatch and Dingwall (1989) refer to this strategy as "Selective Facilitation." In the example they cite in their paper, the mediator moves talk away from the proposal supported by one disputant to the other disputant's favored proposal. The second proposal gets adopted, in part because the first one was not discussed. Mediators' actions thus shape the narrative which is conjointly produced by the coordinated actions of the participants.

Kolb (1981) found that mediators differ in the amount of control they attempt to exercise over the dispute resolution process. Kolb's (1981) research on state and federal labor mediators identified two strategies of mediation: deal-making and orchestration. Kolb characterizes the orchestrating mediator as one who sees his or her role primarily as that of facilitator or go-between. His or her job is to represent each side's position to the other. The deal-making mediator, on the other hand, takes a much more active role in the process. He or she will argue with disputants, state opinions relative to proposals, decide what is a reasonable solution and try to achieve that outcome.

Kolb's study shows how state and federal labor mediators are able to help disputants create an agreement. However, because the philosophy and goals of community-based mediation programs differ from that of labor mediation, mediator strategies such as the "deal-making" role Kolb (1983) identifies may not be appropriate in this context. A primary goal of community mediation is to provide a mode of conflict resolution which empowers disputants to make their own decisions instead of having a third party impose a solution on them. Do mediators in community mediation programs employ roles similar to the "deal-making" role state labor mediators use? If so, is this an appropriate use of power in the community mediation context?

In this paper I address this issue by analyzing how disputants' positions are represented in mediation hearings. While disputants do have opportunities to represent themselves in mediation, their options for self-expression are limited in terms of when, to whom, and about what they may speak. When mediators represent

disputants, which occurs frequently, there are three types of representation possible. First, mediators may represent a disputant's expressed position by repeating or rephrasing it. Second, mediators may make statements consistent with a disputant's expressed position, but which go beyond merely rephrasing what was actually said. Third, mediators may create their own arguments, without specific reference to what the disputant has stated. In this case the mediator is not simply representing the position of a disputant, she or he is taking the place of the disputant and acting as if she or he were a first party to the dispute rather than a neutral third party.¹ When mediators replace a disputant in an exchange with the opposing disputant, they are also engaged in intervening in that disputant's *self* representation.

Thus, the types of representation which occur in mediation may be described as a continuum, with disputant self expression providing the most autonomy, and mediators replacing the disputant providing the least. In the concluding section I discuss the implications of these findings for the practice of mediation.

Data

The setting I analyze is a mediation program sponsored by a California county. This program serves as an alternative to small claims court for cases such as landlord-tenant disputes, consumer complaints, monetary disputes, and disputes between neighbors or family members.

I videotaped all nine hearings held during a six month period. The hearings ranged from forty minutes to almost three hours in length. The entire collection consists of over twenty hours of tape, and involves forty-three participants. Audio tapes were transcribed using a modified version of Gail Jefferson's transcription system (see Atkinson and Heritage, 1984).

In the program I study, each hearing is chaired by two mediators.² The disputants (referred to as "complainant" and "respondent") represent themselves, and may bring witnesses or written statements from witnesses to support their case. If a mediated agreement is not reached, the mediators become arbitrators and make a decision for the disputants. Mediation proponents see arbitration as a less desirable alternative because the decision is made by a third party rather than the disputants (Girdner, 1985).

Methods

I conduct a narrative analysis of the tapes and transcripts of these hearings. I also draw upon ethnomethodological conversation analytic research on the organization of interaction and mediation. Conversation analysis involves a detailed, qualitative study of talk in its sequential context (see, for example, Heritage, 1984; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974).

Although much previous research addresses mediation and related topics such as negotiation and bargaining, there are two major gaps in these bodies of research. The first is a lack of focus on the mediation hearing as an interactional event. For example, evaluation studies of mediation tend to treat mediation as a "black box," studying the impact of various variables (e.g., difficulty of dispute, skill of mediator) on outcomes (e.g., Bahr, 1981; Felstiner and Williams, 1978; Girdner, 1985; Thoennes and Pearson, 1985; Kelly and Gigy, 1989). But as Dingwall (1986) argues, such survey or questionnaire-based research doesn't capture what actually happens in the hearing. Such studies neglect the process of mediation, or only study it indirectly via post hoc reports of participants.

Research on negotiation is concerned with predicting the effect of various negotiation strategies (e.g., Pruitt, 1991) and negotiator characteristics and perspectives (e.g., Carrol and Paynes, 1991; Pinkley, 1990; Rubin, Kim, and Peretz, 1990) on outcomes. This generally experimental research also neglects to explore the interactional process. Research on bargaining exchanges focuses on power differences between participants in different positions in networks, but does not study the process of bargaining itself, and does not study the participants' role in creating social structure and bargaining outcomes through their actions (e.g., Cook and Emerson, 1978; Cook, Emerson, Gillmore, and Yamagishi, 1983; Molm, 1987; Skvoretz and Willer, 1991). By analyzing the interactional process of these hearings the current paper will show how the actions of mediators affect negotiations.

The second gap is failure to make the connection between the interactional organization of talk in an institutional setting and how participants accomplish the goals of that setting. Studies that do focus on the interactional process, and conduct direct examinations of participants' behavior in mediation hearings

(e.g., Greatbatch and Dingwall, 1989; Kolb, 1983; Cobb and Rifkin, 1991; Garcia 1991) have not as yet addressed the question of how disputants' positions are represented.

The Interactional Organization of Mediation

In these data a mediator opens the hearing, explains the mediation process, makes introductions, and then solicits the complainant's story. The complainant's story thus precedes the respondent's. Disputants do not begin their stories until after the mediator solicits them. After the initial stories are completed, mediators may solicit second or even third stories from the disputants. The disputants may not interrupt each other during their stories, but the mediators may interrupt to ask questions or refocus the topic.

The turn-taking system of mediation differs in several respects from that of ordinary conversation (Garcia 1991).³ While disputants have the floor to tell their stories, they are free to self-select as next speaker, and to speak even when not selected by a mediator. However, they do not use the full range of turn-taking options that would be available to them in ordinary conversation. Specifically, disputants generally refrain from selecting an opposing disputant to speak. However, they may select a mediator by asking a question. Disputants rarely speak during the opposing disputant's story (Garcia 1991).

These hearings also have extended periods of discussion, primarily comprised of question-and-answer sequences. The organization of the discussion phase differs from ordinary conversation in that mediators control the topic of discussion and who participates. The mediators use directed questions to switch the talk from one disputant to the other (Garcia 1991).

While participants in ordinary conversation are not restricted as to when they can be the recipient of an utterance or select specific others to speak (Sacks et al., 1974), disputants' participation statuses in mediation hearings are predetermined.⁴ Disputants address their utterances to the mediators rather than to their co-disputants. The mediators can address utterances to either disputant, and can conduct dyadic exchanges with each disputant in turn. The disputants, on the other hand, address their utterances to mediators, not the other disputant (Garcia 1991).

In sum, the speech exchange system of mediation provides for specific types of actions by disputants and mediators. The next sections show how this interactional organization affects the representation of disputants' positions.

Disputant Self-Representation

Disputants participate in mediation because they were not able to resolve their dispute informally. Thus the less restrictive type of speech exchange system, that of ordinary conversation, is not likely to be productive in the mediation context. Disputants rarely use the format of ordinary conversation during mediation hearings, but when they do, they often argue (Garcia 1991). These types of exchanges may be counter-productive to the dispute resolution process. Disputants expressing themselves without regard to mediation format are generally sanctioned by mediators (Garcia 1991).

For example, consider Excerpt 1 from a dispute between a divorced couple over custody, child support, and visitation arrangements for their three children.⁵ In lines 1–3 the complainant explains why he doesn't want to give up some of his visitation time with the children. The respondent, his former wife, overlaps his utterance in lines 4 and 5, accusing him of wanting her to abort their first child ("Sharon"), thus discrediting and undermining his claim to be a caring father. The mediator tries to intervene in the incipient dispute (line 6), but is interrupted by the complainant who produces another disputing move in lines 7, 9, 10 and 12). As the argument escalates, the Mediator again intervenes and stops the dispute (lines 13–16).

Excerpt 1

- 1 C: YEAH, I you know? I still don't feel good about it,
 2 because like this is my flesh and blood! You know, and
 3 you know, uh, I['m yeah-]
 4 R: [But] you shouted abortion, for nine
 5 months! [with Sharon]
 6 M: [Listen, we] are not=
 7 C: =Hey,=
 8 M: =talking (a[bout])
 9 C: [WHO]
 10 had the abortion? Y[ou want to get] SMART?

- 11 M: [Wait a minute!]
 12 C: DIDN'T SH[E JUST] HAVE ONE?
 13 M: [Hey wait!]
 14 M: HOLD IT! WE'RE NOT IN HERE TO TALK ABOUT THAT.
 15 I DIDN'T TALK ABOUT MY PROBLEMS, OR WHATEVER
 16 WE'VE ALL GOT A STORY. That's no one's business.

Even when the disputants speak for themselves, they are still under control of the mediators. Here, a mediator exercises her right and responsibility to sanction and stop arguments, which are a breach of the speech exchange system of mediation. Mediators also control disputant's self-representations by limiting the topic of talk. In the example above, the mediator specifically identifies some unacceptable topics of talk in lines 14–16. This example also shows that disputant self-representation may not facilitate conflict resolution, because it may lead to arguing or irrelevant utterances.

The more common scenario in these hearings is for disputants to speak for themselves, but within the constraints of the speech exchange system of mediation. Excerpt 2 from a hearing between a divorced father and his children's step father shows a complaint and the response to that complaint. The mediator's only participation in this exchange is to solicit the respondent's answer to the complaint (line 9). In the speech exchange system of mediation disputants are supposed to address their remarks to the mediators, rather than to each other, and to wait until selected to speak by the mediator instead of selecting themselves as next speaker (Garcia 1991). Thus the interactional organization of mediation constrains how disputants can represent themselves in mediation.

Excerpt 2

- 1 RA: All I do want, from Mart, is civility, yes, and number one,
 2 on the list, before civility is I want to be free, to raise my
 3 children, in a manner that I want to. And I don't want any
 4 interruptions. And that's all! It's very simple. The only
 5 time we, you know, the only time that there are problems is
 6 when he either comes out with some sort of antagonistic,
 7 you know, sarcastic response, or, he tries to manipulate my
 8 seeing my children. And that's it! ((claps hand))
 9 MB: Mart?
 10 C: Well, uh, I think the .. I don't know what he wants of me.
 11 He says he wants me to leave him alone while he's raising
 12 his children I have never been in the way.

By controlling the exchange of turns between the disputants, the mediator limits the types of exchanges that can occur between them. For example, when disputants' utterances are directed to the mediators, they refer to the opposing disputant via the third person. Their complaint is thus constructed as a story told to the mediator rather than an accusation directed at the opposing disputant (Garcia 1991).

In sum, disputants' self-representations in mediation vary in terms of level of compliance with the speech exchange system of mediation and mediator control, but are never completely unconstrained. Disputants representing themselves display an orientation to the speech exchange system of mediation. Mediator representation of disputant's positions will be considered in the next section.

Mediator Representation: Paraphrasing, Extending, and Replacing

Disputants in these data are often represented by mediators who speak for them. The types of mediator representation that occur, paraphrasing, extending, and replacing, will be discussed in the order of the least to most intrusive. When paraphrasing, a mediator repeats or rephrases a position expressed by a disputant. When "extending," a mediator elaborates or revises a position stated by a disputant, going beyond what was actually said by that disputant. When "replacing," a mediator takes the place of a disputant in the negotiation, expressing positions or justifications that were not expressed by the disputant.

1. Paraphrasing a Disputant's Position. Paraphrasing (restating, reframing or rephrasing) is a technique often recommended for enhancing communication in mediation (Donohue, Allen and Burrell, 1988; Roberts, 1988, p. 65, 74; Cahn, 1992). Summarizing a disputant's position may make that person feel understood and may make the opposing disputant more willing to listen to the position.

Excerpts 3, 4, and 5 show how a mediator may represent a disputant by paraphrasing a disputant's expressed position. These examples are from the dispute described above in which a divorced couple negotiates visitation arrangements. In Excerpt 3 the complainant offers to give up two of his visitation days a month (two Thursdays).

Excerpt 3

"The twins said well what happened to Thursdays they, you know they specifically brought that up to me and I said well, it looks like Mom wants to spend more time with you two. So if you know you want to do Thursday, Friday one week, and then just a Friday the next week, that's compromising a little bit . . ."

A few minutes later the mediator "repeats" the complainant's offer (Excerpt 4).⁶

Excerpt 4

- 1 M: And then what I hear, is the last month or so, it's been
- 2 every other Thursday, and then that next week is uh for the
- 3 Friday, and you're not willing
- 4 R: Uh=
- 5 M: =to he's willing to relinquish! He used the word. Uh one
- 6 of those Fridays.
- 7 C: No=
- 8 M: =Instead of making it cons[iste]nt I MEAN THURSDAYS!
- 9 C: [No]
- 10 C: Thursdays ri:ght.
- 11 M: Instead of [mak]ing it I just
- 12 C: [I]
- 13 C: I'm willing to go along with the schedule that she said just
- 14 to keep the status quo and keep her happy that she's you
- 15 know,
- 16 M: Um hmh. He's offering the two Thursday night.

The mediator's reformulation of the complainant's offer differs from it in several ways. First, the complainant's offer was directed at the mediator and referred to the respondent in the third person. The mediator's reformulation is directed at the respondent and refers to the complainant in the third person (in line 5). Second, the mediator describes the complainant as "relinquishing" two days of visitation, while the complainant originally characterized his offer as a "compromise." The mediator's paraphrase thus presents the complainant's offer as giving something up to the respondent.

After the mediator's reformulation, the complainant repeats his position and gives a reason for this position (lines 13 and 14). The complainant does not explicitly disagree with the mediator's

representation of his position, but by rephrasing it and elaborating the reason for his position, he revises the version she presented. In this version he deletes his initial use of "compromise," and says he's willing to do what she (the respondent) proposed. The mediator's second rephrasing (line 16) again emphasizes that the complainant is offering something or giving something to the respondent. However, the mediator's restatement does not repeat the reasons for the position the complainant gave (line 14, "to keep her happy").

A few minutes later in the hearing, the proposal to eliminate two Thursdays of visitation a month is again under discussion. In Excerpt 5 the mediator again "repeats" the complainant's offer, emphasizing that the complainant is giving up something to the respondent (line 1). The respondent acknowledges this restatement in line 2, but does not accept the proposal. The mediator then adds to her characterization of the offer by repeating the complainant's reason for his offer (lines 3 and 4). It is not until this final representation of the offer that we see the first tentative move towards acceptance on the part of the respondent (line 5).

Excerpt 5

- 1 M: And he is willing to give up two of those Thursdays.
- 2 R: I know.
- 3 M: Number one I heard it to make it consistent for the children,
- 4 and that that would please you!
- 5 R: I'll just I'll do it, just to meet him half way, ..

In sum, mediator paraphrases are never exact repetitions of disputant's statements. Each time the mediator repeated the complainant's offer, she changed it slightly and emphasized different aspects of it than the complainant had emphasized. How an offer is presented or represented may have an impact on how it will be responded to by the opposing disputant. Paraphrasing is therefore part of the work towards dispute resolution.

2. *Extending or Elaborating a Disputant's Stated Position.* The second type of mediator representation in these data is extending or elaborating a disputant's stated position. A mediator makes an argument consistent with a disputant's expressed position, but goes beyond what was actually said.

For example, in Excerpt 6 from the dispute between the divorced couple, the respondent argues that their children should spend more time at her house and less at the complainant's because they are spending too much time away from the "home base" (lines 1–5). The complainant interrupts to challenge this argument (lines 6 and 7). The mediator sanctions this breach of mediation format (line 8), but then goes on to represent the complainant's (Stan) expressed position in a dyadic exchange with the respondent.

Excerpt 6

- 1 R: That I got the base, the home, family, and I feel that
- 2 Thursday, Friday, and Saturday without them being,
- 3 consistently at home, is too much. I feel that it's too much.
- 4 Even though you don't get to see them, they're not at home, and
- 5 they're at school, and they're on the road,=
- 6 C: =They're home
- 7 seventy five percent of the time.
- 8 M: Stan wait.
- 9 C: Okay.
- 10 M: That's your feeling,
- 11 R: Right.
- 12 M: And you have every right to that. That is not his feeling,
- 13 a[nd that's] not how he sees his home base.
- 14 R: [I know]
- 15 R: I know.
- 16 M: You know he sees it very loving, very whole, very consistent,
- 17 very disciplined.
- 18 R: I know!
- 19 M: Okay. For him that's what he sees and what we have to discuss.
- 20 R: I know.
- 21 M: And he's a fifty percent a parent, and you're fifty percent a
- 22 parent.

The mediator's explanation that the complainant also sees his "home base" as loving, whole, consistent and disciplined is not a restatement of what the complainant said, but it is consistent with his position that the children should spend more time at his house. Her statement "he's a fifty percent a parent, and you're fifty percent a parent," is consistent with his complaint that "they're home seventy five percent of the time," because that utterance shows he's concerned about the inequality of the visitation arrangements.

In sum, “extension” includes instances where mediators represent a disputant by elaborating or extending a position taken by that disputant in a previous utterance. This category differs from paraphrasing, because the mediator goes beyond what was actually said by the disputant. Thus the mediator is representing a disputant’s expressed position rather than re-presenting his or her utterances.

3. *Replacing the Disputant*. When “replacing” the disputant, the mediator does not restrict him or herself to representing the disputant’s expressed positions, she or he goes beyond what the disputant said and argues in place of him or her. The mediator acts as if he or she were a principal in the dispute, directly engaging in negotiations with the opposing disputant.

For example, in Excerpt 7 from a hearing about the location of the boundary line between two neighbors’ properties, Mediators A and B take the place of the complainant in a negotiation with Respondent A. The respondent had paid the county several thousand dollars to build a culvert between the two properties to solve a serious erosion problem. The respondent wanted the complainant to reimburse him for part of this expense.

The respondent makes a proposal in lines 1 to 4. Mediator B counters this proposal by explaining why the respondent should not be compensated for his expenses (lines 5 - 8). The respondent replies to this challenge (line 9) by referring to the history of the agreement to put in the culvert which he had outlined earlier in the hearing (“I went with a compromise with the county”). Mediator A challenges this argument by pointing out it was the *respondent* who made the agreement, not the *complainant* (lines 13 and 14). The respondent explains why he made the agreement without the complainant’s participation (line 15). Mediator A responds that he did it for his benefit (lines 16–17). The respondent (lines 18 and 19) replies that it wasn’t only himself that benefitted, the complainant benefitted also. Mediator A challenges this argument as well, claiming that the respondent did not have the right to make an agreement for the complainant (lines 20 to 23). Having attacked the proposal on logical grounds, Mediator A introduces procedural grounds for not considering the respondent’s proposal (lines 23 to 28).

Excerpt 7

- 1 RA: Damned for my troubles that I went through, and the money
 2 that I paid the county to improve his property and getting
 3 the base rock fill, and everything else, that he should
 4 compensate me for part of my expenses.
- 5 MB: Let's try to understand one thing, Mister Cartel, the work
 6 and the money that you expended in putting in this culvert,
 7 and actually rescuing your property from destruction, you
 8 did it, for your sake.
- 9 RA: I went with a compromise with the county,
- 10 MA: Yes.
- 11 MB: Yes.
- 12 RA: That I would take my fences and they would accept the
- 13 MA: You went with the compromise with the county, not these
 14 folks. You went there. You did it.
- 15 RA: They wouldn't have done it,
- 16 MA: You decided it was worth it to you to do it, otherwise you
 17 wouldn't [have]
- 18 RA: [It's not] only to my advantage, though I'm
 19 protecting my neighbor's advantage also.
- 20 MA: THAT is something you were giving your neighbors
 21 unwittingly. You were between a rock and a hard place. I
 22 will agree! But you can not, you could not have committed
 23 them to something they didn't agree to. Now, if you feel that
 24 equity is on your side. Then you can after the fact sue them
 25 for their share. If you feel that you want to do arbitration on
 26 that you can do that. But we're talking about something else
 27 here. Remember we defined the area. You put five thousand
 28 dollars in there but that wasn't his statement of the problem.

In this excerpt both mediators, while representing the complainant's interests, go beyond what the complainant actually said in the hearing.

In sum, when "replacing" a disputant in a negotiation with the opposing disputant, the mediator is representing their interests in a far more radical way than when paraphrasing or extending. The mediators negotiate instead of the disputant, rather than merely representing what that disputant has expressed.

When mediators represent a disputant by "replacing" him or her in an exchange, they also intervene in the opposing disputant's *self* representation, by challenging that disputant's positions. The opposing disputant is thus led to change their position, or their justification for that position. For example, in excerpt 7

above mediators A and B refused to accept Respondent A's position, and refuted every justification for that position he attempted.

Summary

In sum, there are no instances of "pure" self-representation in these hearings, because disputants' actions are shaped in orientation to the speech exchange system of mediation. By such actions as addressing their remarks to the mediator rather than the opposing disputant, speaking only when offered the floor by a mediator, referring to the opposing disputant in the third person, and limiting their remarks to the topics specified by the mediators, the disputants exhibit a controlled degree of freedom of expression. Thus, the greatest disputant autonomy in these mediation hearings occurs when disputants represent themselves within the confines of the speech exchange system of mediation.

The three types of mediator representation of disputants' positions involve varying degrees of intervention into disputants' statements. Mediators' paraphrasing of disputants' positions reproduce most closely what the disputants actually said. However, as shown above, even restating or rephrasing may change the message produced by the disputant. The mediator may choose to convey only parts of the disputant's position in their restatement or may reformulate it. Mediators' restatements of disputant's positions and offers thus change them in ways that may have implications for the resolution of the dispute. When extending or elaborating a disputant's position, mediators go beyond what the disputant actually said, although their utterances remain consistent with the disputant's stated position.

Finally, mediators may go beyond representation to replacement of the disputant in the negotiation process. In these cases mediators take the place of a disputant in an exchange with the opposing disputant. In the next section I explore the implications of mediators' "replacement" for the dispute resolution process.

Implications of "Replacement" for the Dispute Resolution Process

When "Replacement" is used to challenge a disputant's position, they may be put under great pressure to change their

position. Excerpts 8, 9, and 10 are from a dispute between an auto repair shop and a vehicle owner over repairs done to that vehicle. As excerpt 8 begins, the complainant reminds the mediators that in addition to the items that were not repaired correctly, a new problem emerged when the car was at the repair shop—a cracked water pump housing. Mediator A then replaces the respondents in order to disagree with the complainant.

Excerpt 8

- C: We're also forgetting the water pump was not leaking when I brought it in there. Somebody could have whacked it with a hammer for all I know.
- MA: Who cares? And, and you could have broken two minutes after you drove out of the garage. Nobody's ever going to be able to decide when it cracked.

Such aggressive mediator representation, and intrusion into disputants' *self* representation, may lead to resolution, but at a cost. For example, the complainant in this hearing eventually agrees with the solution proposed by the mediators, but only reluctantly. Excerpt 9 shows the complainant's response to being told he would have to pay about \$400 more for the vehicle repair than expected.

Excerpt 9

"I'm not happy with it at all. Well I mean there's got to be some, some recourse for people who don't know any better, that take vehicles to people, and this, they let them go out like that. They had it a week and a half, they had the vehicle."

After another two minutes of discussion in which Mediators A and B work to persuade the complainant that his desire for a lower bill is not warranted, the complainant reluctantly agrees to the amount the Mediators suggested:

Excerpt 10

"Well I guess I have no other recourse. Basically, so, pay it up and uh . . ."

Although the mediators were able to get the complainant to agree to the solution they suggested, he did so only reluctantly, and with explicitly stated reservations.

Implications of "Replacement" for Disputant Autonomy, Mediator Neutrality, and Disputant Compliance

This sociological analysis of the interactional process of mediation hearings has shown how disputants' positions are represented by disputants and mediators, and explored the implications of those representations for the unfolding negotiation. Both constructive and potentially problematic results of representation were identified. With regard to disputant self representation, I showed how the interactional organization of mediation and the actions of the mediators created a safe and constructive environment for disputants to represent themselves, such that the inflammatory effects of conflictual utterances are lessened (see also Garcia 1991).

The impact of mediator representation varies with the type of representation. Paraphrasing can contribute to the dispute resolution process by allowing the mediator to reframe or repackage a disputant's position in a form more acceptable to the opposing disputant. When extending a disputant's position, mediators can effectively communicate that perspective without allowing direct confrontation between the parties.

Forms of mediator representation such as paraphrasing and extending a disputant's position may thus have positive consequences for the dispute resolution process. By representing disputants with limited ability to speak for themselves, mediators may create equality between the disputants, thus "leveling the playing field" (Cooks and Hale, 1994, p. 63-4; Irving and Benjamin, 1987; Regehr, 1994, p. 366). Mediator representation of disputants' positions is therefore not in itself a problem.

However, several potential problems became apparent in these data with the third type of mediator representation, replacing the disputant. Disputant autonomy is decreased for both the disputant who is being replaced (whose interests are represented by the mediator) and the disputant who is being challenged by the mediator. The replaced disputant loses the opportunity to present his or her own reasons and justifications for his or her positions. The opposing disputant who is challenged is further pressured to revise his or her positions. Replacement may lead to the opposing disputant being pressured to accept a solution. The

moral force of the mediator, and their authority in the hearing may give them the persuasive or coercive power to get a disputant to give in. Thus, the extent of mediator intervention in the dispute resolution process which "replacement" entails may not be appropriate for community mediation.

In addition, an examination of research on mediation suggests several other possible outcomes of mediator replacement of disputants.

1. *"Replacement" may decrease success and user satisfaction.*

In general, research shows high rates of success (generally defined as reaching agreement) and user satisfaction for mediation programs.⁷ Active mediator intervention has been shown by some researchers to be positively related to success and satisfaction (e.g., Bercovitch, Anagnoson, and Wille, 1991, p. 16, and Kimsey, Fuller, Bell, and McKinney, 1994). However, the types of intervention described by these researchers is much less coercive than the "replacement" type of representation found in these data (for example, see Tidwell, 1994, and Donohue, et al., 1988).

Some research connects dis-empowerment of disputants with failure to reach an agreement (Kelly and Gigy, 1989, p. 274). Merry's (1989) study suggests that settlement may be related to mediators avoiding appearing to coerce or pressure disputants (p. 244). Kelly and Gigy's (1989, p. 279) results also suggest that there may be a relationship between successful mediation and mediator restraint: 75% of the divorcing couples reaching an agreement felt the mediators "did not impose their viewpoint, and were impartial." Thus the more extreme type of mediator intervention, replacement, may reduce mediation's success rate and user satisfaction.

2. *"Replacement" may decrease compliance with agreements.*

Another potential risk of mediator replacement of disputants in negotiations is that disputants may feel pressured to accept a solution they are unenthusiastic about. In general, mediation practitioners agree that compliance will be greater when disputants create their own agreement than when a third party imposes a solution on them (Silbey 1987, p. 415; Cahn, 1992, p.43). Blades (1985), Burrell, Donohue, and Allen, 1990, and Pearson

and Thoennes (1984; 1988) found that compliance with mediated agreements was greater than with adjudicated agreements. Reluctant agreement with solutions may reduce compliance rates, and hence mediation's effectiveness (Regehr, 1994, p. 361; Irving and Benjamin, 1987).

3. *"Replacement" may decrease mediator impartiality or neutrality.*

When a mediator directly supports a disputant's position, and disagrees with the opposing disputant's position, a posture of neutrality may be difficult to support (see Cook and Hale, 1994, p. 63 and Cobb and Rifkin, 1991, p. 70 for similar arguments). Research has identified a relationship between mediator trust, impartiality, or neutrality and mediation outcomes (Karim and Dilts, 1990; Fuller, Kimsey and McKinney, 1992, Kimsey, et al., 1994, p. 89). Cooks and Hale (1994) include disputant self-determination, informed consent, mediator impartiality, and mediator neutrality as essential components of ethical mediation.

Because of the frequent occurrence of "replacement" in these data, I conclude that the style of mediation practiced in the program studied is more similar to the "deal-making" style than the "orchestrating" style Kolb (1983) identified. The informal structure of mediation, and the less rigidly defined roles and procedures give the mediators several avenues of more or less subtle influence over the outcome of the process. If the goal of alternative conflict resolution procedures, such as mediation, is empowering disputants to make their own decisions, perhaps the role of the mediator needs to be re-thought. If mediators are taking an active role in negotiation, shaping and revising disputants' positions, and speaking in their place, a less than optimal degree of disputant autonomy may exist.

Mediation programs in the U.S. vary greatly in their structure and in how the role of mediator is enacted.⁸ Thus these results should not be considered generalizable to other mediation programs until empirically tested. Cahn (1992, p. 70) points out that "the role of the interventionist in divorce mediation" has been understudied. Further research is also necessary on the relationship between interventionist mediator strategies, such as replacement, and disputant's compliance with agreements.

Notes

1. Cobb and Rifkin (1991) point out that in some mediation ideologies this type of representation is considered legitimate mediator practice, as long as it is applied to both sides in a dispute.
2. One hearing, a dispute between a divorced couple over care of their children, is chaired by only one mediator.
3. The turn-taking system (Sacks et al., 1974, pp. 703–4), consists of the rules and procedures participants use to exchange turns talking. In ordinary conversation, turn transition properly occurs at the end of a “unit type” (e.g., sentence, clause, or phrase). Speakers can select another to speak (e.g., by asking a question). If current speaker does not select a next, any participant may speak. If a next speaker does not self select, the current speaker may continue. Turns at talking and types of turns (e.g., questions and answers) are not predetermined or controlled by conventions, structures, or individuals outside the interaction, but are negotiated in the context of the talk itself. Turn-taking in mediation is partly pre-allocated, as in trials (Atkinson and Drew, 1979), and news interviews (Clayman, 1987; Greatbatch, 1988; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991).
4. For any given interaction, the participation framework describes what patterns of participation and address occur (Goffman, 1981). Participants in ordinary conversation negotiate their participation status (e.g., ratified participant vs. bystander, addressed vs. non-addressed recipient) in the context of the talk.
5. Speakers in the transcript excerpts are identified with the initials of their institutional roles: C is a complainant; R is a respondent; M is a mediator. If more than one person holds a specific role, the parties are labelled A and B (e.g., MA is Mediator A). The transcripts have been simplified for ease of reading. Pseudonyms have been used for all proper nouns. The following symbols are adopted from Gail Jefferson’s system for transcription (see Atkinson and Heritage, 1984): A dash indicates a word was cut off abruptly. Underlining indicates stress or emphasis. Capital letters indicate increased volume. Words in parentheses are tentative transcriptions. Brackets indicate when two or more people are speaking simultaneously. Equal signs indicate one word is attached to another.
6. Post-modernists argue that representation as conceived by modernists is not possible. There is no such thing as simple representation. The message is always changed when it is repeated.

The underlying assumption of modern representation that it is possible to present something over again, to replace one object (concept, person, place, or time) with another, without loss of content or violation of intention. The post-modernists say this is impossible. (Rosenau, 1992, p. xiv).

While agreeing that “pure” representation may not be possible, I would argue that people still “do” representation, and act as if a position has been

represented. Representation as a practical accomplishment is the focus of this paper.

7. For example, Kressell (1985) found divorce mediation settlement rates ranging from 22–97%, with most programs settling 40–70% of cases. Kelly and Gigy (1989) found that 57% of divorce mediation cases in the program studied reach agreement. Silbey (1987, p. 419) found that 84% of families using a parent-adolescent mediation program reached agreement. 83% of these families were satisfied with the mediation process. Kelly and Gigy's study (1989, p. 278) also found that 78% of the men, and 72% of the women, were satisfied with mediation. Bautz and Hill (1989) found that 70–90% of divorced couples were satisfied with mediation. Kressell (1987, p. 69) found that 70–90% of the couples surveyed were pleased with mediation, a significantly higher rate than those whose divorces were handled by the courts.
8. For example, hearings may be chaired by one to three or more mediators (Cerino and Rainone, 1984). Mediation may be accomplished through caucuses (a series of private meetings between the mediator and individual disputants), through joint sessions, or through some combination of the two (Wahrhaftig, 1983; Felstiner and Williams, 1978; Kolb, 1981).

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Between Family Obligation and Social Care—the Significance of Institutional Care for the Elderly in Japan

RAIJA HASHIMOTO

Shisei Home
Tokyo, Japan

and

MUTSUKO TAKAHASHI

University of Tampere
Department of Social Policy
Tampere, Finland

The multifaceted significance of institutional care for elderly people in contemporary Japan is analyzed. An overview of the changes in the demographic structure in Japan is provided. Changes in the social environment of care for elderly people in the postwar period are discussed. In regard to the recent trends of welfare policy for elderly people, development of the variety of institutional care for the elderly is briefly described. By providing concrete examples of cases observed at an institution where the first author of this article has been working for many years, analysis is made of what causes individuals to opt for institutional care instead of other alternatives, such as family care. In all, we hope to enhance the understanding of the meanings of institutional care for the elderly by exploring the interface between family obligation and social care in the changing social environment of contemporary Japan.

Longevity and the Aging of Society in Contemporary Japan

A life of 80 years - *jinsei hachijû-nen* - has become common as an expression for average life expectancy in contemporary Japan. The first Annual Report of the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) reports that in 1947 the average life expectancy of women

was 53.96 years and men 50.06 years. In 1992 the corresponding figures were 82.22 and 76.09. In September 1991 there were 3,625 centenarians or older. Japanese society is aging at a pace unequalled throughout the world, as the proportion of those aged 65 and over exceeded seven per cent in 1970, and is estimated to reach 14 per cent by 1995, only 25 years. The same demographic change took longer in other societies: in France 115 years (1865–1980), in Sweden 85 years (1890–1975), in Britain 50 years (1930–1980), and in what was then West Germany 45 years (1930–1975). (Management and Coordination Agency, 1994) In Japan in October 1993 the number of those aged 65 and over reached 16.9 million, making up 13.5 per cent of the whole population, and in 2000 the percentage of those of and over 65 years is anticipated to be 17 per cent and in 2020 as high as 25.5 per cent.

The aging of society has been manifested in Japan by on-going phenomena like the prolonged average life expectancy and the decline of birth rate particularly since the late 1980s. In 1991 a woman gives birth on average to only 1.53 children. This is one of the world's lowest birth rate (MHW, 1993, p. 143). As these phenomena are often seen as 'problems', the aging of society tends to be understood as a source of visible and invisible stress on individuals and on society, and as a crucial challenge to social development. We do not by this mean to regard elderly people, especially the very old, as a problem group or a burden. Instead, what seems problematic in Japan is a sense of uncertainty surrounding all the efforts to cope with concerns related to the aging of society, or more precisely, to aged society. Over half of those aged 65 and over have some health problem and the numbers of bedridden elderly people and of the senile are both rising constantly. In 1990 there were about 700,000 bedridden elderly, making 4.6 per cent of those aged 65 and over, and about one million senile, making 6.7 per cent. The numbers are expected to increase towards the beginning of the 21st century (MHW, 1993, p. 282).

In 1990, of about one million senile, total of 255,000 are sheltered either in hospitals or care institutions: The large majority are to be found in at hospitals, namely 60,000 in ordinary hospitals, 54,000 in hospitals specialized in elderly care, 33,000 in mental hospitals (MWH, 1993, p. 283). This may be partly because social

mores endorse expert health care for the ailing. Behind this, however, there seems also to be reluctance to seek help or advice in time from the institution for elderly, no matter how that reluctance should be identified—either a filial sense of family obligation or prejudice against social care. For those sheltered elderly people, hospitalization is often long-term, over a year for one third of patients aged 65 or over.

In Japan, the aging of society and its social impacts have been discussed in terms of 'aging of society' (*kôreika shakai*) and also of 'longevity society' (*chôju shakai*). These terms marking 'aging' (*kôreika*) or 'long life' (*chôju*) both refer to basic anticipation for increase of care required for the elderly in the 'aged society' (*kôrei shakai*). The expression of 'longevity society' has been used since the mid 1980s mainly by the governmental agencies in attempting to discuss in more a positive sense how to make socio-economic systems more flexible for an age when human life lasts eighty years (see Miyajima, 1993, p. 7). In fact, longevity should itself be good news both for individuals and for society, because it implies the physical and mental vitality of individuals and improved living standard in a society. In the first place, a long life for an individual is an achievement to be celebrated rather than a worry in Japan, as it is the case with many other societies.

Changing Social Environment and Its Impacts on the Family

Welfare of the aged can be understood through two major categories: first, for those who are at home and second, for those receiving care in an institution. The first alternative has been the family taking care of the old person with practically no support from outside. While even the elderly of tomorrow are still going to live with their offspring to some extent, the care of the whole family is also becoming a new target of welfare for the aged. The more Japanese society ages, the more the social practice in which cultural codes are embodied is challenged by changes in social environment. In relation to the cultural codes concerning the care for elderly people, it is important to review the impacts of changed social environment on the family.

Before 1945 it was exclusively the family that ensured the care for the elderly in Japan. In those days institutional care was

one of the most disgraceful alternatives for the elderly and their families, because to enter such an institution was regarded as an explicit sign of unsuccessful family life. Such a prejudicial attitude towards the institutional care for the elderly is compatible with the family-duty-oriented idea that family and relatives should take care of each other. An aged person in particular should be looked after by her/his family, according to hierarchical relationships among family members. It may partly still be maintained by some of those who are now themselves 'elderly people' in Japan.

The idea of family obligation is expressed in the legislation like the Civil Code: Article 730 says, "Lineal relatives by blood and the relatives living together shall mutually cooperate" (*Law Bulletin Series*, 1992, p. FAA 123). In our discussions, however, the family obligation in question is essentially concerned with a moral code of family obligation rather than as a matter of legal 'rights and duties'. According to the prewar-style family practice, it was spouse of the eldest son who should do care-giving work for her parents-in-law. In the prewar family system this idea was materialized through the succession of family property and of status of 'head of the family' from father to eldest son. Today, due to legislative reform, there is no longer such status of head of the family to succeed to, except for inheritance of property. Although a woman as a spouse of the eldest son may be still expected to engage in care-giving work to some extent in contemporary Japan, such expectation is at the level of practice but not of law.

What happened to the Japanese family in postwar period represents a fairly ordinary impact of industrialization accompanied by a process of defunctionalization of the family which is no more than a last resort for emotional comfort for the individuals (Linhart, 1984, p. 55). Before the rapid economic growth between the mid 1960s and early 1970s, the family was often central for individuals even in an economic sense, functioning as a place of work. As 'salaried' labor has prevailed in Japan since around 1960, the function of family was reduced to reproduction and maintenance of man-power (Ueno, 1990, p. 195).

Simultaneously, the size of family has become smaller in postwar Japan, as in 1990 the average number of persons in a household was 2.99, having declined from 3.23 in 1985, 4.05 in 1965, and 4.97 in 1955. (Mitsuyoshi, 1992) Moreover, nuclear family has

become most typical, referring to a type of family which consists of either a (married) couple or a couple with unmarried children. The National Census of 1990 indicates that nuclear family households account for 59.5 per cent of all households and single-person households for 23.1 per cent. In practice, these changes mean that elderly people increasingly live alone. Of all households including person(s) of and over 65 years, nuclear family households accounted for 31.3 per cent and single-person households for 12.7 in 1985, while in 1990 the corresponding figures were 35.4 and 15.1 per cent.

In the meantime, the wish to cohabit with the family of one's own child is often presented by opinion polls emphasizing it as a distinctive feature in Japan in comparison with other industrialized societies. Whereas in 1960 nearly 90 per cent of those over 65 lived with the families of their married children, in 1985 the figure was 65.6 per cent. The estimate for the year 2000 is 60.3 per cent and for the year 2025, 52.1 per cent (Hashimoto, 1990b). These changes in social environment and their impacts on the family are all irreversible making it very hard to regain such close ties and extensive functions of family kinship and local community as before as a sole source of securing the welfare of the aged and their families (Naoi, 1990, p. 11–15). When mental and physical health is no longer intact, the idealistic view on the care by family means testing the limits in the capacity of families in contemporary Japan.

For individual cases, the care for the elderly at home is realized through human relationships between family members rather than according to a manual given under the title of 'filial piety'. To be cared for at home or to be involved in care-giving work for aged family is far from a static state for individuals. Rather, it is constantly questioned whether the individuals involved have a common understanding on a favorable state of life. When such understanding is missing, discrepancy is displayed implicitly or explicitly and satisfactory results are not always guaranteed, even though the care for aged person(s) is provided in the framework of family obligation.

Despite such ambivalence concerning the family in contemporary Japan, discourses since the late 1970s on 'welfare society'—rather than on 'welfare state'—demonstrates that the family has

repeatedly risen to prominence as playing an essential role in arranging the care for the elderly. As characteristics of the 'Japanese model of welfare', special emphasis has been placed on the need to enforce the solidarity in local community and the family (Naoi, 1990, p. 16–9). However, the emphasis on self-help, mutual help and family is not necessarily a unique phenomenon reserved only for Japanese society (Shinkawa, 1993, p. 128). It is pointed out that the family and the community belong to 'two familiar themes of conservative welfare discourses' (Bryson, 1992, p. 108). In Japanese welfare discourses, to refer to the family seems to have been effective in rhetoric seeking legitimacy for the ideology of care, leaving the care for the elderly in the capacity of each family.

On the Cultural Approach to the Family

To discuss the care for the elderly in relation to the family tends to unveil discrepancy between cultural codes and realities on various levels. It is not simply a question as to whether family care or social care is the best. Rather, individuals' ideals and experiences of family life are unique, and their opinions and preferences concerning real arrangements for the needed care may vary much from what is often presented by the opinion surveys. The wish for co-residence as a reason for family care which is generally expressed on enquiry may be incompatible with the real solutions arrived at when faced with a specific situation.

To refer to the filial ideal of the family as one of specialities with Japanese culture is one way to seek a cultural explanation for the reserved attitude of 'some Japanese' towards institutional care for the elderly in Japanese society. To emphasize cultural codes in relation to the family is to seek its basic framework from an assumption on the cultural homogeneity of 'Japanese as monolith' (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986, pp. 129–155). Such an approach, often combined with a 'group model', starts with an assumption of Japanese ethnicity, is certainly one attempt to understand cultural meanings of phenomena in a society. On the other hand, it tends to be easily manipulated, for example, through presentation of results of opinion polls concerning alternatives of the care for the elderly. The approach with emphasis on distinctive features with Japanese culture has been controversial due to its methodological

limits in social scientific studies targeting contemporary Japan (see e.g. Sugimoto and Mouer, 1989).

In contrast to the trends of increasing human mobilities mainly because of borderless impacts of economy, the present family system contains elements to distinguish individuals between Japanese and non-Japanese through the overlap between family registry and Japanese nationality (Takahashi 1993). In this sense, to refer to the family in the Japanese context means more than to touch the familiar themes of conservative welfare discourses. Although it is out of the primary scope of this paper, cross-cultural perspectives, in addition to cross-national ones, are becoming more meaningful to studies of social welfare and welfare policy in Japan, replacing the assumption on cultural homogeneity with more attention to ethnicity in Japanese society.

Gender in the Care of Elderly People

The care-giving work for the elderly at home is not always referred to explicitly as 'woman's work' in official documents on welfare policy. It is still women—rather than men—whose life sphere is most close to family and local communities and who tend to be involved in the invisible work fulfilling the increasing needs for social welfare services for aged family members or neighbors. In particular, the bedridden elderly and senile living at home are mostly nursed by women: in 35 cases out of 100, it is the daughters-in-law who looked after the well-being of the bedridden elderly in 1984 (see e.g. Kataoka, 1990a, p. 45). The spouse/wife of the bedridden elderly is the next after the daughter-in-law. Woman meets old age three times—her parents (-in-law), her husband and her own (Komatsu, 1993, p. 292).

It is argued that a woman in Japan leaves her working place twice—for bearing children and for looking after her aged relatives (Ichibangase, 1992, p. 87). When a woman is involved in care-giving work for her aged parents, parents-in-law or husband, she often has to give up working outside home (Kataoka, 1990b). On the other hand, in 1991, a total of 26,510,000 women were involved in the labor market, and of them 16,860,000 were married women: The labor force participation rate of women in total was 50.7 and married women 53.2 per cent (Komatsu, 1993, p. 84). From a viewpoint of woman's lifestyle, there exist two confronting trends, as

the gender divisions of labor prefers woman's care-giving work at home to her working career.

The tension between family obligation and working life grows, especially when the health of an aged family member breaks down. The governmental agencies have been discussing how to realize a law of 'care leave' for those who wish to take care of their aged family member(s) at home in addition to working (Furuhashi, 1993, p. 130). This law of 'care leave', passed at the Diet in 1995, will certainly increase flexibility for family and working life by making family care possible without losing a job, insofar as legislation is properly used in practice. On the other hand, because in legislation it is usually hard to mark the gender of the person in care-giving work—as it is the case with the Law on Leave for Child Care since April 1992, the result may be a reinforcement of the gender divisions of labor in the care of the aged unless an individual is highly motivated to work or encouraged to return to work after the leave (see Takahashi 1994).

Recent Trends in Social Welfare Policy for Elderly People in Japan

Article 25 of the Japanese Constitution states that "All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living", and that "The State shall use its endeavors for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security and of public health" (*Law Bulletin Series*, 1992, p. AA 6). It can be understood from this that the state has the duty and obligation in principle, while in practice it is the local authorities (the prefectural and municipal governments) which have done a great deal of the 'work'.

Without any doubt, pensions have a profound impact on the economic life of the elderly. Japan's pensions are basically on a par with those of Britain and the Nordic countries, but for many elderly widows or divorcees who never drew a salary or had any other independent source of income, the pension level is usually low and in some cases these women are not entitled to a pension at all. The amendment of the Pension Law of 1985 established the right of married women (including widowed and divorced women) to receive their own pensions.

Generally speaking, at state level the MHW has the last word and responsibility at the level of residential institutions for the aged and other services. However, in the revision of the Law for the Welfare of the Aged in 1990, both the responsibility and realization of various services were delegated to the local governments. The *Welfare Vision*, a strategy for constructing such a society where "the elderly can lead a happy and care-free life", as was declared by the Japanese government in October 1988, is on the way to accomplishment, being followed by another declaration of December 1989, the *Ten-Year Strategy on Health and Welfare of the Aged*, or, the *Gold Plan* to cope especially with the ever growing number of bedridden or senile old people. (see e.g. Campbell, 1992, p. 244-6) This 'ten years' refers to the decade between 1991 and 2000. The *Gold Plan* includes the 'Three Important Pillars' that would make possible the care of the elderly at home. These pillars are (1) a home help service, (2) a short stay in residential care service, and (3) a day care service.

In particular, the home help service, which comprises the important work of home helpers, seems to be still in its infancy in contemporary Japan. In a country with a population of 123.25 million there were only 31,405 home helpers in 1989. In 1992 their number was increased to 46,405, while the whole population was 124.52 million. The target of the *Gold Plan* is to increase this number to 100,000 by the end of the century. As for the short stay in residential care service, the plan is to increase the number of beds from 4,274 in 1989 (15,674 in 1992) to 50,000 by the year 2000. As far as the day care service is concerned, the government is planning to increase the number of day care centers from 1,080 in 1989 (3,480 in 1992) to 10,000 by the end of this century. Counselling services for families with aged persons will also be a major target of increase. (MHW, 1992)

The efficient realization of the *Gold Plan* ultimately relies on recruitment and training of sufficient human resources for the welfare sector. It is estimated that until the year 2000 this sector will need 3,460,000 persons (2,350,000 for health and medical care, 1,110,000 for social welfare) (MHW, 1993, p. 163). MHW presents two scenarios how the share of welfare sector will grow in the whole labor force. In one estimation based on the recent trend in the labor market in Japan, the welfare sector will make 5.1 per cent

of the labor force in 2000. In the other case that 'women and those aged over 60' will be available for the labor market in maximum, the welfare sector is assumed to have its share of 4.7 per cent of the labor force. (Ibid., p. 164)

These estimations do not immediately manifest that women and those aged over 60 are those who are expected to make contributions to the *Gold Plan*, nor specify whether the labor is meant to be exclusively 'Japanese' or not. 'Women, the aged or foreign workers' are those groups who tend to remain in peripheries in the labor market due to their gender, age and ethnicity, provided with less benefits than those who—mainly men—are in the major core in the labor market. In regard to the labor force in welfare sector in Japan, until today little attention is paid to the issue on foreign workers, while their number has been increasing since the late 1980s primarily in construction work or the services not specified to welfare sector. In brief, the urgent recruitment of more labor to welfare sector may not be easy to be carried out without sufficient coordination of the labor and welfare policies.

Residential Institutions for Elderly People

Of some 3,000 officially subsidized residential institutions for the aged, two thirds are run by private organizations. These non-profit private organizations are expected to continue their work in the field of social welfare. The financial management of these institutions is born half by the state and half by the prefectural and municipal government together. If a private organization wishes to build a new institution, half of the construction costs are born by the state and local governments, one quarter by the prefecture and the rest by the organization itself. There may be differences between areas, and the actual cost paid by the organization is also frequently larger than the numbers written on paper. In return for their support and assistance, the authorities have the right to make regular checks on the financial and other affairs of the homes. We call it 'miraculous marriage' between the authorities and private welfare organizations in Japan. As in 1990 about 1.6 per cent (220,000) of the 14 million elderly in Japan, i.e. those over 65 years of age, lived in about 3,000 government-subsidized shelters for the elderly.

Residential institutions as welfare facilities for the elderly are basically classified into three types. In Japanese terminology, the term *hōmu*, taken from the English word 'home', ironically refers mostly to residential institutions for the aged but not to one's own home or residence.

- 1 *Yōgo hōmu* or institutions for the low income bracket aged are for those over 65 who have difficulties in receiving necessary care at home because of their physical or mental condition or because of the living environment. In 1992 there were 65,163 elderly people living in 948 *yōgo hōmu* institutions throughout the country: In 1988, there were 65,480 people in 945 *yōgo hōmu* institutions. Over two thirds (68 per cent) of these were public homes and the rest run by private persons or organizations.
- 2 *Tokubetsu yōgo rōjin hōmu* or *tokuyō hōmu* (special care institutions for the aged) are for those who, due to a major physical or mental disorder, require constant support and supervision which they cannot receive at home. Of the *tokuyō hōmu* institutions 80 per cent are run by officially subsidized private organizations. In 1992, 181,083 people over 65 years of age lived in the 2,576 *tokuyō hōmu* institutions: In 1988, there were 118,959 people in 1,619 *tokuyō hōmu* institutions. The urgent growth of *tokuyō hōmu* institutions is based on the estimation that the number of bedridden elderly and senile will increase at a rapid pace in the near future (MHW, 1993, p. 153).
- 3 The *keihi rōjin hōmu*, low cost institutions for the aged (or *hōmu* institutions with moderate fees) are for those aged 60 or over who receive less than a certain level of income and who find it difficult to live at home because of family or housing circumstances. In 1988 there were 280 *keihi hōmu* institutions with 16,139 residents in Japan. Of these 242 were the so-called *keihi A* type institutions whose 14,712 residents pay only for the actual living costs, while management and other fees are paid by the authorities (MHW, 1991). In the 38 *keihi B* type institutions all the costs are paid by residents themselves. In *keihi B* institutions, unlike *keihi A*, no meals are served; in this case the term 'residential flat' would be more suitable for *keihi B* institutions. In 1992 there were 337 *keihi hōmu* with 17,829 residents.

Entrance to an institution for the aged depends on the nature of the home. The *yôgo* and *tokuyô hômu* institutions are entered by application to the local authorities, mainly the municipal Welfare Board. There are no economic criteria for entering *tokuyô hômu* institutions, the only criterion is being dependent both mentally and physically. A portion of the total cost of the care of the aged person is required to be paid by the person in question and his family according to their economic situation. The criteria are the same for the *yôgo hômu* institution: some people pay nothing, while others pay the total cost of care.

In the case of the *keihi hômu* institutions, the application is sent directly to the home. The fees that the residents pay depend on their income, and the suitability is judged by the home. At present a typical fee for a *keihi hômu* institution is around 20,000 yen per month. *Keihi hômu* institutions are for those who are not rich enough to enter the expensive private institutions. With the improvement of the pension system and thus the greater purchasing power of elderly people, various services outside the public ones have appeared.

In 1985 about 600,000 elderly Japanese needed regular nursing care. Of these 250,000 were hospitalized long-term, 120,000 were looked after in special care institutions (*tokuyô hômu*) and the rest at their own residences. Many of the elderly were hospitalized not because of an illness but because they could not receive proper care at home. In response to this situation health service facilities for the aged that are halfway between hospitals and welfare institutions were established after 1986. These 'intermediate health care facilities' (*rôjin hoken shisetsu*) have fewer doctors than hospitals, but more than special care institutions. The capacity of the 'intermediate health care facilities' has developed rapidly from 27,811 beds/places in 1989 to 91,811 in 1992, targeting 280,000 before the year 2000. The patients of these facilities are those elderly who, before returning to their homes, need rehabilitation and adaptation together with care.

The Central Social Welfare Advisory Committee submitted a report in 1989 concerning the situation of homes for aged persons. The Committee recommended the introduction of a type of facility to be called *kea hausu* (responding English words 'care house')—'sheltered accommodation'—where emphasis is on the

quality of both residence and welfare. The *kea hausu* aims to provide single-room accommodation for aged persons living alone or as a couple. Special attention is paid to residential needs like use of wheelchair and bathing and kitchen facilities in order to ensure the safety of aged residents. Focus is essentially on physical independence of residents who have a slight physical impairment, minimizing unnecessary hospitalization. The *kea hausu* accommodation started with capacity for 200 persons in 1989 and increased to 9,700 in 1992, targeting 100,000 in the year 2000.

In fact, the most often mentioned reasons for finding it difficult to live at home are the small size and overcrowding of housing especially in metropolitan areas and inconvenient housing facilities. Narrow steps, floors and hallways where wheelchairs cannot be used, inconvenience with kitchen, bathing and toilet facilities and lack of sunlight combine to deprive convalescents of opportunities to move within a house and make it difficult for elderly people to regain physical independence. (Hayakawa, 1990) The inconvenience of housing tends to increase such hospitalization and institutionalized care that are otherwise medically unnecessary. Without better housing conditions, more adequate and satisfactory care at home will not be made possible, and the effects of pensions, medical treatment, and other social security programs and services will be impeded. In this sense, *kea hausu* accommodation is meaningful as an attempt to respond to the needs of the aged on the level of housing.

In addition, in Japan there are also privately-run homes that offer luxurious facilities at steep prices. This so-called *sirubâ sangyô* ('silver industry/business'; 'silver' meaning 'aged'), business using old people's money, is a rapidly growing sector and attracting much attention. The main feature of this business is the expensive residential facilities (*yûryô rôjin hômu*): There were 228 of these establishments in 1992. A total of 17,570 people have chosen this luxurious type of living in an institution of which the cost at its highest may rise to tens of millions of yen at admission plus from one to two hundred thousand yen for various services each month.

This business for the elderly in Japan is anticipated to become one of the alternatives for those who have means to buy the services provided by companies and to ease the financial burden

in the public sector. However, it seems still questionable whether such a business-oriented solution will ever be a total substitute for the welfare of the aged in Japan. In the same way as officially subsidized institutions, the institutions run by the 'silver business' have also lately been targeted for inspection and checks because of suspicion of possible malpractices. However, this means that the public sector has in a way approved the co-existence of this alternative in welfare for the aged.

The Case of the *Shisei Hômu* Institution in Tokyo

The *Shisei hômu* in Tachikawa city, one hour's drive from downtown Tokyo, is an example of the cooperation which we have referred to as 'marriage' between the authorities and the private welfare organizations. Established in 1951, the *Shisei hômu* has devoted all its energy to the activities that would duly be expected from a private non-profit institution in Japan. Starting residential services for 30 people only six years after the end of the Second World War under the then Daily Security Law (later changed to the Law for the Welfare of the Aged), the *Shisei hômu* at present can boast of being a complete service center for the aged in its community with residential services in three different types of residences: *yôgo hômu* (60 beds), *tokuyô hômu* (140 beds) and *keihi A hômu* (50 beds). There are also *kea hausu* (sheltered accommodation), an apartment house with services and 15 rooms, a day care facility, short stay services providing bathing and meal services, a day service for the senile as well as a medical clinic with 19 beds. The amount of payment for residence is determined by the income of the resident.

The average age of the residents is 81.2 years, depending slightly on the types of facilities; the *tokuyô hômu* has the oldest residents, the average in 1991 being 82.3 years. The ratio of women to men in the *yôgo hômu* is 45 to 15, in the *keihi hômu* 39 to 21 and in the *tokuyô hômu* 110 to 30. These residents do not even need to go to hospital to die—for most of them, the *Shisei kurinikku* (clinic) is the place where they die.

A total of 200 competent, mostly young staff cater for the needs of the elderly residents. One quarter of the staff has already taken the qualification for workers of social institutions

stipulated by the 1988 Certified Social Worker and Certified Care Worker Law. In addition to the staff of 200, including 2 doctors, rehabilitation specialists, nutritionists, who keep the menu for the residents healthy, around 4,500 volunteers per year, mainly middle-aged women, come to the *Shisei hômu* to lend a hand. The number of elderly volunteers from the community is also increasing. Briefly, the *Shisei hômu* is itself a complex which covers all kinds of needs of elderly people: It is also in a relationship of cooperation and mutual assistance with Tachikawa City, where it is located, and four other neighbor towns, providing services and, in turn, beds funded by them.

The Case of Mrs. T

Born in 1904, at the age of 18 she got married and gave birth to five children, of whom four survived. When she was 31, her husband died in a traffic accident: The children were 9, 7, 4 and 1 at that time. In order to support her children and herself she tried different kinds of jobs in small business selling commodities. The eldest son died during the Second World War and two of her daughters are still alive. Since Mrs. T had never been on very good terms with her first daughter, Mrs. T hoped to live with her second daughter. However, as the second daughter left home on getting married, Mrs. T did not dare to express her own wish of living together with her second daughter and lived alone for a while until the age of 67. Close to the age of 70, she sold the tiny shop she owned, gave the money to her second daughter and moved in with daughter's family. In return for having a place to live with her daughter's family, she helped the family economy by offering her pension as well as the allowance from her son who died in the war.

When Mrs. T was 80, her daughter's health deteriorated, which finally made Mrs. T visit on her own initiative the local welfare office to ask advice: She asked to be admitted to an institution for the aged. On hearing this the daughter was anxious about her mother's independent decision. However, five months later, Mrs. T found herself in the *Shisei yôgo hômu*, and today the relations with her daughter's family are good. Although seemingly in poor physical condition, Mrs. T is mentally active for her age. She enjoys various activities in the institution as if she were indicating

to the people that she is independent, free and able to do whatever she wishes. Having had only three years' school education in her childhood, she, although slightly deficient in knowledge, shows a keen interest in learning new things. Among other things she surprised her fellow residents by joining the English conversation course for *yôgo hômu*. The feeling that she is independent and not a burden to anyone is important for her.

The Case of Mrs. M

Born in 1908, at the age of 28 she was married and gave birth to a son and a daughter. Soon after the Second World War the son died, and as a result of the shock Mrs. M's hearing was impaired. At the age of 42 she gave birth to another baby boy: It was a difficult delivery. Mrs. M started working again, this time as a conference stenographer, but because of her impaired hearing she had to quit this job soon. After this she tried various jobs such as one in an advertising agency. Retired from factory work in 1971, her husband started a printing press of his own and Mr. and Mrs. M worked together in their own small enterprise until the death of Mr. M in 1974. After her husband's death Mrs. M continued the family business with her son. She lived alone in a council house apartment, but when her son got married in 1979, she came to live with him. Mainly due to conflicts in the relationship with her daughter-in-law, Mrs. M moved three years later to an apartment which she rented for herself near her daughter's house.

When Mrs. M noticed that her life alone was becoming difficult, she visited the *Shisei hômu* to discuss the possibility of moving into the *keihi A hômu*. However, because of her bad hearing and walking problems, she was instead advised to try entrance into the *yôgo hômu*. Finally she decided to continue to live in her rented apartment and attend the day care for the aged through which she could have rehabilitation and other activities.

Life went on like this for a year and a half, after which she entered the *yôgo hômu*. Even at the *yôgo hômu*, she fell into the category of the physically weakest people and eventually sent an application for admission to the *tokuyô hômu*. Being independent and unwilling to admit to any weakness, Mrs. M came to her solution to get her legs treated in hospital through an operation on the legs. During the operation, however, she suffered a heart attack and had to stay in hospital for several months. Consequently, she

entered the *tokuyô hômu*, where she is still an active member of several hobby groups. Her poor hearing, however, makes communication with others difficult.

Mrs. M could not get along with her family members under the same roof, although she was never refused by the family: They were always by her side whatever she decided to do. She takes pride in herself for what she is and what she has done. She wishes to make her own decisions until the very end of life. She hopes to know definitely where she herself stands. She may be one model for those Japanese elderly of the near future who wish to decide where to live and how to live.

The Case of Mr. K

Born in 1907, he lives with his wife and the family of his son, who has one son. Mr. K, a tall man with a charming smile, had a brain hemorrhage some 12 years ago. What is left of that illness is a paralyzed right side of his body, hearing difficulties and a speech defect. After one month in hospital, he has been looked after at home, at the same time receiving rehabilitation and other services at the day care for the aged at the *Shisei hômu*. Soon after the stroke he attended only bathing services, and gradually transferred to the day care and short-stay programmes. Presently he is quite capable of managing a simple daily routine by himself, for example, of taking a bath at home. Despite difficulties in communicating with people, he eagerly attends the activities of the institution with other elderly colleagues. He joins regular physiotherapy sessions, as well as occupational and speech therapy. His favorite hobby is pottery-making: To watch him handling clay with his left hand in the pottery class is an amazing sight, a real show of courage and latent human energy. He has been able to live at home with his family in spite of his handicap for over a decade, thanks to the warm family relationship, his zest for life, his optimism, those many possibilities which the short-stay and day care institution services bring to the family, and the rehabilitation that strengthens the independence of the individual.

Discussion

The elderly people in contemporary Japan are those who were born in the early decades of the twentieth century and have in

their lifetimes experienced such drastic changes that the people who were born and grew in later periods will hardly face: the great earthquake in Tokyo of 1923, the militarism in the 1930s, Japan's defeat in the Pacific War, which was followed by the occupation period between 1945 and 1952, urbanization and industrialization since the late 1950s onwards until today. (see Hashimoto, 1990a) The cases above presented are three persons at similar ages, born in 1904, 1907 and 1908, with the richness of experiences of life. What is common to them, in addition to age group, is some health problems that had essential impact on the change in lifestyle of these aged persons. The case of the *Shisei hômu* indicates that there is a high risk of physical impairment for aged persons themselves (in the case of Mrs. M and Mr. K) that to look after the aged at home is not easy work for family of an aged person (in the case of Mrs. T).

The case of the *Shisei hômu* highlights that it is their own decision and not necessarily 'being forced or abandoned' that brought themselves to the institutional care for the elderly. The cases of Mrs. M and Mrs. T reveal that to rely on co-residence with the family of one's child is not always the optional solution as regards the level of individual's lifestyle. Moreover, in the case of Mr. K, the short-stay and related services proved that, if an aged person receives proper care, treatment and help from outside, the ideal place for him seems to be his own home, to live there alone or with relatives as long as possible. However, there are still many obstacles to such a state of affairs in contemporary Japan.

The case of the *Shisei hômu* certainly represents 'success stories' about the social care. The three cases demonstrate that the social care provided by the *Shisei hômu* can well respond to the welfare needs both those who wish to living in an institution and of those staying at home. On the other hand, for those who do not try to share this success, the expression *rôjin hômu* referring to residential institutions in general may still have a connotation with the other outdated term *yôrôin*, a poorly facilitated house to which helpless aged people were abandoned alone. While some have come to accept the idea of social care for the elderly, some seem to be hesitant to take advantage of it. In cases where due to prejudice against institutional care one feels hesitant to use it in any mode and relies exclusively on the care by family of her/his

child(-in-law), the solution may not be sustainable because of the risk of weakening health.

It is also pointed out that "institutionalization of the elderly highlights the disjuncture between the cultural norm of filial piety (and its expression in the ideal of coresidence) and a changing social reality" (Bethel 1992, p. 109). However, the residential institutions for the elderly seem to display more than passive withdrawal from the ideal of 'filial piety', as the *Shisei hômu* has become a multi-functional service center for the welfare of the aged and their families in their communities. Those institutions for the aged generally called *rôjin hômu*, being now more freed from a sanctionizing nuance of shelters for the poor, are becoming places for all the elderly citizens with physical impairment of some sort. The present *rôjin hômu* needs to be reconsidered from this viewpoint of social context in contemporary Japan (Naoi and Hashimoto, 1990).

Conclusions

Unlike economic recession that arises with little warning, the timing and extent of population aging are rather predictable (see Johnson et al, 1993, p. 254). However, it is not easy to draw a rosy picture for the well-being of the elderly people and their families in the near future in a society. What is most distinctive with Japan's case in the light of the aging of society and of concern with the aged society, is the unusually rapid pace of profound change of social environment throughout the postwar period. Impacts of the social change on the family show that ideal pictures of family life tend to become fast outdated and even illusive in contemporary Japan. Recent trends of social welfare policy for the aged and the concrete cases observed in the *Shisei hômu* shed light on multifacet dimensions in exploring the significance of institutional care in contemporary Japan. As the case of the *Shisei hômu* manifests, institutional care has been extending its scope of functions from the care offered only for those residents within an institution to the care open to those in the local community where the institution is located. The significance of institutional care for the elderly in Japan does not remain to be limited within 'institutionalization'—gathering people into a place removed from society. In supplying

different modes of care and services in community care by involving professional social workers and volunteers, the institutional care for the elderly is meaningful, promoting integration of the local community beyond the dichotomous framework of 'either family obligation or social care'.

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Amerasian Refugees: Social Characteristics, Service Needs, and Mental Health

HISASHI HIRAYAMA

and

MUAMMER CETINGOK

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville
College of Social Work, Memphis

Since 1983, more than 34,000 Amerasians and their 48,000 accompanying family members from Vietnam have been resettled in the United States of America. Having American fathers whose race and ethnicity are very different from traditional Vietnamese, these children were considered outcasts by members of their own culture and, for the most part, led marginal lives in Vietnam. This article presents findings of a study conducted on a sample of 80 Amerasian refugees who have resettled in a large Southern city within the last two years. The study's intent was to identify the current social characteristics, service needs, and mental health status of the Amerasians. Implications for social work practice with Amerasians are also discussed.

Since the end of the Vietnam war in 1975, nearly one million Southeast Asian refugees have been resettled in the United States. Since 1983, this immigration has included more than 34,000 Amerasians, offspring of United States military personnel and Vietnamese women, and 48,000 of their accompanying family members (Refugee Reports, 1993). During the first half of FY 1993, a total of 60,170 refugees came to the U.S. Of them, about 6,620, or 11% were Amerasian refugees and their accompanying family members (Refugee Reports, 1993). The decision to admit the Amerasian children as refugees was based on the judgment that they had been subject to discrimination and penalties in Vietnam due to their mixed parentage and close ties with the United States. Having American fathers whose race and ethnicity are very different from traditional Vietnamese, these children were considered outcasts by members of their own culture and for the most part led marginal lives.

The Amerasians thus constitute a special subgroup of the Southeast Asian population. Alcohol and drug abuse, psychiatric problems such as depression and psychosomatic complaints, family relationship problems, and other adjustment problems have already surfaced and are reported by refugee assistance workers. While systematic study on this population is rare, one such study by Nicassio and his associates (1986) on the psychosocial adjustment of 24 Amerasian youths indicated that there was a significant degree of mood disturbance as well as the prevalence of depression, somatization, and withdrawal which are consistent with the clinical and field data from other refugee studies (Flaskerund & Anh, 1988; Hirayama & Hirayama, 1988; Rumbart and Ima, 1988; Westermeyer, 1988; Williams and Berry, 1991).

Their problematic social history and family life, the suddenness with which they were uprooted, and the numerous practical obstacles, e.g., language barriers, conflicts in values and social norms, and involvement in culture change, can cause Amerasian refugees to find their resettlement in the United States especially difficult. Data on their adaptation processes and problems have not yet appeared in the professional literature in sufficient numbers to draw conclusions. As an initial attempt to explore the general characteristics, service needs, and mental health status of the Amerasians, this article presents findings of a study conducted on a sample of Amerasian refugees who have resettled in a large Southern city within the last two years.

Review of the Literature

Voluminous studies on immigrants and refugees have identified the variables which are known to profoundly affect refugees' adaptation to a new society. Although the results are not conclusive, Berry and his associates (1987), for example, found that females in the various acculturating groups—immigrants, refugees, sojourners, native peoples, and ethnic groups—had higher stress than males. Similarly, among Southeast Asian refugees, females reported more anxiety than men though no gender differences were found in the level of depression (Berry & Kim, 1988). Income and employment are often major problems for refugees (Baker, 1989; Jones & Strand, 1986). These variables have been consistently found to be significant predictors of cross-cultural

adaptation. For instance, among the second- and third-generations of Japanese-Americans, Fugita and O'Brien (1985) found that income was one of the key predictors for their integration into a society. Other studies (Kuo & Tsai, 1986; Van Tran, 1987; Van Tran & Wright, 1987) also indicated income as a significant predictor for adaptation. Likewise, employment status was correlated with adaptation level. After migrating to a new society, refugees are often underemployed or unemployed. In other cases, wives might make more money than husbands, and this might contradict the social values of their own cultures. These situations create status or role inconsistency that produces stress in a family.

One of the most salient aspects in personal factors is language proficiency. For immigrant groups in this country, the ability to communicate in English is a significant predictor of labor force participation and income (Van Tran & Wright, 1986). Hence, lack of this ability can prevent one from successfully living and interacting with the dominant society. The relationship between language proficiency and cross-cultural adaptation have been supported by empirical studies concerning Southeast Asian refugees in the U.S. (Lin et al., 1979; Van Tran, 1987; Van Tran & Wright, 1986; Van Tran, Wright, & Mindel, 1987; Westermeyer, Neider, and Callies, 1987) and Korean immigrants in Canada (Hurh & Kim, 1984). Berry and his associates (1987) have found that educational level was a consistent predictor of intensity of stress. Since the educated people are often able to speak English and have some knowledge about a new society, they tend to have lower stress. The same result has been found in the studies of Vietnamese refugees (Van Tran & Wright, 1986; Van Tran et al., 1987). Educational level is thus another factor affecting cross-cultural adaptation.

Social support can be obtained from ethnic groups such as extended families, ethnic friends, and national and local ethnic organizations, as well as from elements in the dominant society such as neighbors, friends, the host community, and more formal human service institutions (Berry, 1990). Some studies have pointed out that social support from a dominant society rather than from ethnic groups is more important because strong ties with one's own ethnic group retard acculturation (Kagan & Cohen, 1990). In another study, Hmong refugees who relied on

external social support systems (an American sponsor, American friends, and social services in the community-at-large) were likely to have less stress than those relying on internal social support systems within the Hmong community (Hirayama & Hirayama, 1988).

Methods and Procedures

In consultation with Southeast Asian workers at the Refugee Program Center, a questionnaire was constructed with closed-ended and open-ended questions in order to yield both quantitative and qualitative data on respondents characteristics as well as their perceptions, thoughts, feelings about their lives, jobs, and service needs. Social characteristics included such items as housing, employment status, self-assessment of English language proficiency, social relationships and social activities, life satisfaction, and life aspiration. For mental health status evaluation, a standardized instrument, the Generalized Contentment Scale by Walter Hudson (1982) was used. Both the questionnaire and the Generalized Contentment Scale were translated into Vietnamese by a bilingual Vietnamese worker. Loyalty to meaning in both languages, rather than literal accuracy, was the guiding principle in translating individual items. A second bilingual worker independently checked the accuracy of the original translation, and necessary modifications were made. The Vietnamese version of the questionnaire and the Generalized Contentment Scale were administered by a bilingual resettlement worker at each respondent's home. Descriptive and multivariate statistics and content analyses were used to analyze the data.

Study Sample

With the assistance of a local refugee resettlement agency, a random sample of 90 Amerasians from a population of 200 were selected. A sampling method was used due to the length of interviews and cost considerations. Complete data on 80 subjects were obtained while still preserving the representativeness of the sample.

As presented in Table 1, the sample was composed of more females than males. Mean age was about 22 years for the respondents of American/Caucasian male and Vietnamese female

Table 1

Sample Characteristics

	Mean	SD
Age	21.9 yr.	2.4 yr.
Length of residence	11.7 mo.	8.2 mo.
Income	\$807.50	\$155.00
	%	n
Gender		
Female	56.3	45
Male	43.7	35
Country of origin		
Vietnam	93.0	77
Cambodia	7.0	3
Marital status		
Single	55.0	44
Married	38.8	30
Divorced	3.7	3
Separated	2.5	2
Number of children		
One or more	32.5	25
None	67.8	52
Having family in the U.S		
Yes	75.0	60
No	25.0	20
Formal Education received in the country of origin		
Less than 5 years	26.3	21
4-6 years	40.0	32
7-9 years	22.5	18
Attended high school*	11.2	9

* 15% (4) completed high school.

parentage. The respondents had been living in the study area for about a year. In Vietnam, many of these respondents had lived with their extended family relatives, mostly their grandmothers in the country, rather than with their natural mothers in the city. Their educational levels in Vietnam were uniformly low.

Findings

Housing:

Upon a refugee's arrival, the assistance agency arranged a rented apartment. Thus, findings on housing indicate that 85% (68) lived in rented apartments. Without exception, all of these apartments were located in deteriorated neighborhoods where illegal drugs and crime are rampant. Most, 83.7% (67), shared their present dwellings for an average of 8.6 months and paid an average monthly rent of \$221.50. Despite residing in the city's deteriorated sections, the majority, 73.4% (58), were satisfied with their housing conditions; only one was not.

Employment:

As presented in Table 2, 71.2% (57) of the respondents were currently employed, 66.3% (53) full-time and 5.0% (4) part-time.

Table 2

Employment Status, Type of Jobs, Number of Work Hours, and Job Satisfaction

	%	n
Employment status		
Employed (full or part-time)	71.2	57
Unemployed	22.5	18
Student & employed	6.3	5
Type of jobs (full time)		
Mechanical/factory	54.0	31
Service	46.0	26
Work Hours (full time)		
40 hours/week	70.2	40
40 plus hours/week	24.6	14
No answer	5.2	3
Satisfaction with job		
Satisfied	81.0	45
Neutral	17.4	10
Dissatisfied	1.1	1

Eighteen (22.5%) were unemployed. For 70.2% (40) of full-time workers, the work week was 40 hours, and for 24.6% (14) more than 40. Income was \$807.50 per month. It ranged from \$350 to \$1200 a month. Respondents had been holding their jobs for an average of 6.9 months.

Among the eighteen unemployed, 50% (9) had been out of a job for 1–2 months and the other 50% for 3–11 months. All but one were receiving unemployment benefits, and 50% (9) were actively searching for jobs. As to present sources of income, most respondents indicated that their jobs were the primary source. Some pointed to AFDC and refugee resettlement help.

English Language Proficiency

As presented in Table 3, the language barrier, as for other Southeast Asian groups, was singled out by respondents as the hardest obstacle to manage or overcome in making a successful adaptation to American society. Currently 57.5% (46) were attending an English language class, and 42.5% (34) were not. Among those attending, 39% (18) were in classes for three hours a week, 15.2% (7) for four hours, and 43.5% (20) for 5 or more hours. Those not attending indicated they had other things to do (47.0%; 16), the classes were more than they could master (11.4%; 9), and other reasons (11.4%; 9).

Table 3

Self-Perceived English Language Competency

	%	n
Spoken English		
Very good	0	0
Good	26.3	21
Poor	58.7	47
Very poor	15.0	12
Written English		
Very good	1.3	1
Good	16.2	13
Poor	62.5	50
Very poor	21.3	17

Social Relationships:

Respondents had an average of four (4) friends among their native countrymen/women, and an average of 1.3. Data indicated that Amerasians' social relationships, similar to other refugee groups, were limited to their own group of people because of the language barrier, their customs, and ethnic and cultural differences. However, several respondents commented that their inability to make American friends was one of their problems.

For 14, or 15.1% of the respondents, sports combined with another activity were the most popular leisure activity followed by music, housework, and time with family and friends. The rest (20%; 16) engaged in activities like reading, sewing, shopping, drinking, playing cards, and studying English.

Life Satisfaction:

Regarding satisfaction with life in the United States, 81.3% (65) were satisfied and 17.5% (17) were neutral. Nevertheless, 86.3% (69) also indicated that they experienced difficult and troublesome problems while 13.7% (11) reported not having any difficulty. The language barrier proved to be the single most difficult problem for 45.9% (34) of the respondents, trailed by language barriers and employment combined (25.7%; 19). Language barriers and culture shock combined bothered 8.1% (6) respondents. The remaining 18.8% (15) cited issues like making friends, finding a place to live, homesickness, family and medical problems, or some combinations of the above problems.

Sources of Assistance and Service Needs:

The majority (67.0%; 47) tried to solve their problems by seeking the assistance of the Refugee Resettlement Program, while 13.8% (11) went to friends and teachers for help. A few (5.0%; 4) were able to mobilize both the Refugee Resettlement Program and their friends. Sixty-four percent (51) thought that their problems were resolved effectively.

Regarding the service needs, 27.5% (22) indicated that they needed transportation; 12.5% (10) needed help with family matters; 11.3% (9), with employment/jobs; 32.5% (26) of the cases needed eleven different individual or combinational items. The three most important needs that required special and immediate attention were learning to drive/getting a driver's license and a

car, taking care of family-related matters, and going to school and learning English.

Mental Health Status:

The respondents' mental health status was assessed by Hudson's Generalized Contentment Scale (GCS), which purports to measure the state of reactive depression affected by environmental factors, exclusive of biological or organic ones. Along with GCS, a series of open-ended questions whose intent was to solicit thoughts and feelings were used as part of assessments. With GCS, thirty is the cut-off point. For the purposes of this study, two points above (32) and two below (28) the cut-off point were considered borderline points. The respondents who scored 33 and above were categorized as at-risk of nonpsychotic depression, and 27 and below as free of nonpsychotic depression. Accordingly, the findings indicate that 16.3% (13) fell in the borderline group and 25% (20) in the at-risk group, while 58.7% (47) were in the no-risk group. Of the 20 in the at-risk group, females and males were equally represented. However, females in general showed significantly higher at-risk scores than males. As a matter of fact, four of the high scoring respondents were female. Their qualitative data indicated a generally high level of tension and stress in their life situations, such as severe intrafamilial conflicts, abandonment by a boy friend after the respondent became pregnant, conflict in job situations, and not receiving support from one's husband. This finding, though a concern, is by no means a surprise to us, since other studies on the mental health of Southeast Asian refugees and all other refugees have shown similar results (Lin, 1986; Vega, Kolody & Valle, 1987; Westermeyer, 1988): a higher incidence of mental disturbance, particularly depression, and somatic complaints than in the general population.

Because of the importance ascribed to the mental health status of refugees in general and Amerasians in particular, single step and stepwise regression analyses were conducted to explore the contributions of a selected set of variables to mental health status (Table 4). These variables were chosen on the basis of their recurring appearances in practice situations. Single step results indicate that the variable set used had a multiple correlation (R) of .80, thus accounting for 64 percent of variation in mental health status. Stepwise regression analysis findings reveal that the "high" and

Table 4

Regression of Mental Health Status (Single Step and Stepwise Solutions)

Variables	Single Step	Step 1	Stepwise
	B/Beta	B/Beta(t)*	Step 2** B/Beta(t)
Female	2.17 / -0.09		
Age	0.22 / 0.05		
Single	- 3.78 / 0.16		
Married	- 1.60 / -0.07		
With One Child	- 2.34 / -0.07		
Grade Education	1.89 / -0.06		
High School Education	1.82 / 8.08		
Living with Friends	1.84 / 0.06		
Living with Family	2.22 / 0.09		
Living with Family and Friends	- 8.99 / -0.16		
Employed	- 6.51 / -0.25		
High Level of Spoken English	-17.07 / -0.68	-10.82 / -0.43(3.73)	-20.04 / -0.79(5.22)
Medium Level of Spoken English	- 5.12 / -0.22		-11.86 / -0.51(3.37)
High Level of Written English	- 3.67 / -0.12		
Medium Level of Written English	- 2.10 / -0.09		
Involved in Leisure Activity	7.36 / -0.31		
Had Difficulty with Language	- 5.12 / 0.24		

Had Difficulty with Making Friends	-16.77 / 0.39
Had Difficulty with Finding Employment	2.63 / 0.06
Had Difficulty with Finding Place to Live	- 0.67 / -0.02
Had Difficulty with Homesickness/ Culture Shock	- 4.99 / -0.19
Were Able to Solve Difficulties	7.95 / 0.33
Efforts Were Effective	- 5.75 / 0.22
Want to Have a House/Family	- 0.63 / -0.02
Want Business/Career	- 2.18 / -0.06
Want Education	0.99 / 0.03
Want to Visit/Invite Relatives	0.28 / 0.01
No Plans	11.74 / 0.37
Want to Do Many Things	4.83 / 0.17
F VALUE	2.07
CONSTANT	13.89
R SQUARED	33.55
	29.98
	0.18
	0.31

* One tailed t statistics are used. Absolute t statistics values appear in parentheses. Levels of significance for the t statistics are 1.65 for 5% and 2.33 for 1%. The size of the samples was 64. As for the overall F values are concerned, the single step F value is significant at 0.02 level (with 29 and 34 degrees of freedom); step one value is significant beyond the 1% level (with 1 and 62 degrees of freedom); step two is significant beyond the 1% level (with 2 and 61 degrees of freedom).

** F levels and tolerance insufficient for further stepping. F-to-enter/remove were 4.00 and 3.9. Tolerance was 0.01.

"medium" levels of spoken English variables are the two most important ones, jointly accounting for 31 percent of the variation, in the direction of improving the mental health status of Amerasians. The contribution of all the other 27 variables combined is 33 percent. The qualitative findings also confirm this conclusion.

Discussion

Our findings suggest that a typical profile of an Amerasian in this study is the mixed parentage of Vietnamese woman and Caucasian man, single with no children, of either gender, 22 years old with almost a year of residence in the community, and with six years of formal education or less. Furthermore, the respondents also tended to have at least a mother or sibling living with them, and about half of them reported that they have close relatives living in Vietnam. The majority of respondents were employed full-time and divided almost equally between mechanical/factory and service types of jobs; they earned an average monthly salary of about \$800, had been employed for about seven months, and were satisfied with their work. Comparing this profile with that of other Southeast Asian refugees, Amerasians appear to be different in their lower socioeconomic background in their native country; lower educational level; younger in ages, and the absence of fathers in the family.

The study also indicated a number of problematic areas for Amerasians making the transition from their culture of origin to the culture of adoption. One of the major problems is a high unemployment rate, 22.5%. The number is significantly higher than for the general population and other minority populations in this country. Even those who are fully employed, as most work with small enterprises, are under constant threat of lay-offs by their employers at a time of economic recession or company restructuring.

Given the strong relationship observed between the mental health status and language, the most important concern is the respondents' English proficiency, i.e., low spoken and written skills. Although the majority were able to attend language classes, the percent of those not attending any class was still large enough to cause concern. In considering the limited formal education most Amerasians have received, which is a unique aspect of this group, learning a foreign language is by no means an easy task

to undertake. Ordinary means of teaching English in classes to Amerasians may not be as effective as it is meant to be, and alternative approaches need to be considered.

Similar to all other refugee groups, the Amerasians were more socially interactive with the Vietnamese parentage refugees as well as among themselves than they were with the natives of the country. Although they had been subjected to harsh treatment by the natives of their country when they were still in Vietnam, here in the U.S. they did not experience any animosity and rejection by the Vietnamese parentage people according to the qualitative data and clinical observations made by the refugee center workers. They seemed to be isolated from mainstream America. Although a great majority rated life in the United States as "satisfactory" in general, still many reported experiencing difficult problems since coming to their new country. However, their future aspirations reflect those of a person native to the United States, indicating that the new country's ideals of life had already taken them over.

The mental health status of Amerasians posed challenging concerns. Similar to other Southeast Asian groups, approximately 20–25% of the respondents suffered from reactive depression (Hirayama, Hirayama, and Cetingok, 1992). However, cautious interpretation of the data is necessary here in view of the absence of tested reliability and validity of interpreted version of the instrument used for this particular group of people whose cultural backgrounds differ markedly from those of the general American population. Although a few measurement instruments for the Vietnamese population are available, the validity and reliability of these instruments have not yet been sufficiently tested. The absence of appropriate measures for Southeast Asians continues to be one of the major drawbacks in mental health research in the refugee population.

Despite many difficulties and obstacles identified by the respondents, the majority reported that they were satisfied with their work and social lives in the United States. The data also suggest that there are significant enough variations in the individual adaptation process that it is not possible to make a conclusive statement pointing out a particular adaptation phase the respondents as a group could be placed in at this time.

Regarding the Amerasians' issues with self-identity, many respondents appear to be experiencing a greater sense of freedom

here than in their native country, because of living in a multiracial and ethnic society where their mixed racial parentage is deemphasized. As they are still in the early stage of adaptation to the new society, and they are directing their activities and mental energies to their daily living situations, they appear not yet to have developed a discernible new self-identity of their own.

Implications for Social Work Practice

Currently the bulk of services provided for refugees are short-term and concrete in nature to help them to settle in the community as quickly as they can by providing such services as locating apartments and employment. Although these services are indispensable, what is lacking are long-term concrete services, such as job training to prepare Amerasian youth for the acquisition of higher skills with better wages, consistent English language training that includes innovative approaches such as arranging individual or family-centered tutorials by volunteers, and other types of services to promote acculturation of refugees into mainstream American society. Thus, we recommend the development of services which are organized around the following practice concepts: 1) empowerment, 2) work with the family as a unit of service, and 3) work with ethnic organizations.

Empowerment helps refugees increase their capacity to be connected to many social systems. To empower refugees, the social worker may need to supply them with power resources: 1) information on how to obtain resources; 2) knowledge of civil, political, and legal systems, 3) attitudes and behaviors that are effective in dealing with social systems and culture-specific methods of problem-solving; 4) creating opportunities to build networks of friends and acquaintances within and outside the refugees' community (Hirayama & Cetingok, 1988). In order to empower refugees, the worker uses the family as the unit of service. The fact is that not only the Amerasian children themselves but, for the most, also their mothers and other Vietnam-born siblings had been brought to the United States to live with the children. In addition, 39% (30) of the Amerasians are married and 32.5% (25) have children of their own born in the United States. Consequently, it would be reasonable to conclude that almost three-fourths (71%) of the Amerasian refugees live in the

family units consisting of their mothers, siblings, extended family members, or any combination of these individuals as well as including their spouses and offspring. It is therefore reasonable to focus the service efforts on the current make up of the family units. Strengthening this unit is more effective and efficient in the long run than working with individual clients one by one. Traditionally ethnic organizations have played indispensable roles as catalysts for socialization of their members, social service providers, emergency helpers, and above all, social support systems. Strengthening such organizations or working through the organization appears to be more beneficial to clients in the long run, as they maintain cohesion and natural helping networks in the ethnic community.

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From Welfare State to Social Compacts: Welfare Transformation in Poland

DAVID STOESZ

Virginia Commonwealth University
School of Social Work

and

MARK W. LUSK

Boise State University
School of Social Work

*Our nature is fluid, open,
conditioned.*

—Gary Snyder

Recent social, political, and economic development have strained the credibility of conventional constructs for organizing social welfare. In contrast to the "welfare state" construct that evolved during the industrial era, a "Social Compact" model is presented as more consonant with a post-industrial context. Features of the social compact are discussed, as well as its applicability to Poland.

If the New World Order requires a new paradigm for conducting diplomatic and military affairs, this is no less true for social welfare. The multiple and interrelated global developments which grow out of the emergence of a new international order will have substantial consequences for domestic social policies. International markets continue to evolve rapidly, with national welfare tied to the ebb and flow of capital and labor. The institutional manifestation of global capitalism, the stateless corporation, is disconnected from national government, effectively undermining economic planning. The emergence of regional trade syndicates, such as the European Economic Community (EEC), further subverts the ability of nations to establish their own domestic policy agenda. Finally, the explosive development of information technology has advantaged those institutions with the economic

and intellectual assets to participate in the service economy over the more lumbering bureaucracies of the industrial era. These developments have quite simply overwhelmed our conventional understanding of social welfare policy. The implications of this transformation are as significant for the post-industrial economies of the West as they are the former command economies of Eastern Europe.

In response to the economic and political events reshaping the world, the authors propose a "social compact" as a sequel to the "welfare state". Historically, the concept of the welfare state is consistent with the evolution of industrial societies; a social compact is posited as synchronous with a post-industrial context. As proposed, a social compact is an ideal type in the Weberian sense: it is not a utopian construct, but one that has heuristic value because it clarifies conceptual differences. In all probability, the implementation of social compacts would be as problematic as that of earlier welfare state methods of human service provision. It follows that advocates of social justice will be better equipped to design future social programs to the extent they grasp the full range of options before them.

Erosion of the Welfare State

Historically, the interplay between public social programs and a market economy has not been particularly stable. Conventional wisdom holds that governmental welfare programs serve to socialize the costs of capitalism. As economies grow, social policy evolves; when markets convulse, public programs expand to meet increasing need. Within nations, this connection has been understood fairly well.

Accordingly, traditional welfare state ideology was premised on the presumed need for a preeminent role for the state in the administration and finance of social welfare programs and benefits. In the wake of the conservative revolution in the United States, Great Britain and Latin America, however, the role of the state in economic policy in general, and in welfare policy in particular, has come under critical scrutiny. Even advanced European welfare states have been challenged by the combined assault of worldwide recession, an aging population, and declining European competitiveness. As early as 1981, *Time* reported

that "welfarism is threatening bankruptcy in some [European] countries" (Painton, 1981).

Reassessment of universal entitlements in many nations in northern Europe led policy analysts to conclude that the future of social programs resided not with governmental bureaucracies, but "less bureaucratized, more decentralized and in cases more privatized" programs (Lash & Urry, 1987). Citing conservative political victories in Scandinavia, Britain, and the United States, Gosta Esping-Anderson concluded that, "voters have not only rejected flawed and expensive programs, they have renounced the very idea of the welfare state. It seems an out-dated and naive vision whose time has come and gone" (Esping-Anderson, 1992).

By the early 1990's even that exemplar of welfare states, Sweden, was moving decidedly toward a mixed economy in which the nonprofit and corporate sectors played a more prominent role, indicative of a "shift from state to market" (Marklund, 1992). Economic stagnation compounded by massive revenue diversion to social programs drove other European nations to reconsider their commitment to the welfare state. With social programs adding up to fifty percent of labor costs, the welfare state was becoming an unmanageable burden to increasingly precarious economies. "The ballooning costs of social welfare programs of the disabled, the infirm, the elderly and the unemployed in Europe are threatening the Continent's economic future," observed the *New York Times* (Cohen, 1993). Citing budget deficits and slow economic growth, Germany's Chancellor Kohl proposed over \$45 billion in social benefit cuts (Lane & Waldrop, 1993).

While most critics of the modern welfare state have been on the political right, growing disenchantment with centralized state social policy has also been emerging among non-conservatives—most notably progressives. Increasing pressure to reassess the role of the national government in social policy has been exerted with the emergence and consolidation of regional trade blocs, such as the European Economic Community (EEC) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Gradually, anomalies have subverted the welfare state paradigm. These problems have been influential by identifying weaknesses in governmental hegemony over welfare: the intrinsic limits of state social policy (Glazer, 1988; Jencks, 1992), the ineffectiveness and

inefficiencies of state programs (Janicke, 1990), the importance of the informal sector (Lusk, 1992), rent-seeking behavior (Tullock, 1988), and the importance of localism (Morgan; Butler, Kondratas, 1987).

Social Policy in a Borderless World

The emergence of global capitalism introduces a critical anomaly to an already shaky welfare state paradigm. The profundity of global transitions in economic, political, and social affairs has been captured by Milton and Rose Friedman. The Friedmans posit three "tides" of political-economic events that have swept over entire nations: (1) the rise of laissez-faire (the Adam Smith Tide) through the 19th century; (2) the rise of the paternalistic welfare state (the Fabian Tide) through the 20th century; and (3) the resurgence of free markets and individual liberty (the Hayek Tide) portending the 21st century (Friedman, 1988). Social program paradigms are compatible with these broad transformations. For example, in response to the massive dislocations of industrialism accompanying the rise of laissez-faire, residual welfare emerged. As a solution to the labor force dislocations of capitalism, the modern institutional welfare state followed. In its varied forms, it suited the divergent requirements of the nations of the first world sufficiently well to contribute to their triumph over the command economies of the second world.

While the globalization of capitalism has proceeded virtually unimpeded, it has produced an equally profound political consequence: the decline of the geo-political nation state. Japanese corporatist, Kenichi Ohmae argues poignantly that, "The nation state has become an unnatural, even dysfunctional, unit for organizing human activity and managing economic endeavor in a functionally borderless world" (Ohmae, 1993). Insofar as the proliferation of international markets antiquates more provincial understandings of capitalism and its corollaries, the decline of the jurisdictional integrity of the nation state poses impossible problems for conventional solutions to social need.

Most scholars' consideration of the various types of welfare state presume a nation state. Assuming a governable, sovereign territory—the reasoning follows a predictable line of inquiry—

what are differences in type and degree of government commitment, directly or through surrogates, to social needs, such as housing, health, employment, income, and pensions? Analyses of the experiences of various countries typically leads to an ideological continuum or, in the case of more sophisticated treatments, the identification of various types of welfare state.

But, what if there is no governable territory *per se*? The demise of the nation state wreaks havoc on conventional definitions of the welfare state. Indeed, the essential functions through which a welfare state evolves presuppose a sovereign state. First, the welfare state is a construct of public policy, the legislation of enactments by a representative national political body. Second, a primary resource of the welfare state consists of funds derived from taxation. Finally, funds are legislatively designated to finance programs which are incrementally deployed to complete a whole fabric designed to anticipate and meet basic social needs of the citizenry. Each of these precepts makes sense insofar as a public has authority over a geo-political boundary. Legislation, taxation, and programming all exist within a policy context in which nations control their destinies. A welfare state is irrelevant for a functionally borderless world for the same reason that the Germans do not make public policy for the Japanese, that the French do not tax Canadians to finance their programs, and that the American Social Security program is unrelated to the retirement needs of Poles (except for those who have moved to Chicago, of course).

Thus, fundamental shifts in economy and polity necessarily affect social welfare. Indeed, the magnitude of these changes suggest a question that is, in some ultimate sense, unavoidable: what is the sequel to the welfare state? What would a "post-welfare state" formulation mean for the nations of Eastern Europe, more specifically, Poland?

Types of Organized Response to Need

Variations on the welfare state theme have been explored by numerous scholars, and Bob Deacon has provided a particularly lucid analysis of their contributions. What makes Deacon's comparative analysis prescient is his observation that the "bureaucratic state collectivist system of welfare" has become obsolete

as a result of the political and economic events just discussed (Deacon, 1992). Yet, for the same reason that a borderless world overwhelms the conventional idea of a welfare state, it also provides an outline for its successor. One way to clarify this transformation is to use ideal types (Gerth & Mills, 1974), in other words to contrast "the welfare state" with a notion of "social compacts." Principle elements are presented in Figure One.

Figure One

Types of Organized Response to Need

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Welfare State</i>	<i>Social Compact</i>
Era	Industrial	Post-industrial
Auspice	Nation state	Trans-national accords
Ideology	Democratic-Socialist	Democratic-Capitalist
Dominant norm	Equality	Equity
Benefit archetype	Entitlements as Rights	Benefits conditioned on productivity
Standard of benefits	Uniform nationwide	Vary regionally
Role of state	Provides benefits- services	Brokers policy accords
Role of beneficiary	Recipient	Consumer
Method of finance	Compulsory taxes	Elected contributions
Organizational structure	Public bureaucracy	Private membership organization

Social Compacts

Consistent with the emergence of sub-global trading blocs, such as the EEC and NAFTA, social compacts would be trans-national agreements sanctioning provider organizations to compete in the provision of social welfare. The social compact would articulate the structure and process of enrolling participants and providing benefits. Because benefits would be closely related to productivity, the social compact would include rules regarding workers' pay and benefits, health care, unemployment, job training, and pensions¹. In this respect the social compact would be similar to the "social charter" of the EEC, although the financing and methods of service delivery would differ. Benefits for the social compact would be funded similarly to social insurance,

from separate pools created by mandatory contributions of workers and employers, in some instances supplemented by general revenues to insure those outside the labor market. The role of the state would be restricted to fiscal and program accountability and regulatory oversight. The provision of benefits would be contracted out to private providers that would agree to conditions of provision specified in the social compact. Citizens would be free to enroll with the provider of their choosing, and providers would be prohibited by law from turning down any prospective enrollee. Benefits would be calibrated according to standard of living indices for various economic regions, effectively eliminating nation-wide standard benefits. Government responsibilities for program oversight and monitoring would be complemented by the political accountability of collective bargaining units of consumer and professional providers.

The social compact diverges from the welfare state in several important ways. Rather than being a source of welfare provision, the state would be instrumental in reaching and ratifying accords about the content of the social compact and overseeing program quality and accountability. Provision of benefits would be removed from government and contracted out to competitors, thus reducing public bureaucracy. Rather than having to receive service from a government welfare monopoly, consumers would have a choice, providers would have reason to be responsive to consumers—an incentive structure which is presently absent in social welfare. Significantly, benefits would be calibrated according to variations in the cost of living of different economic regions, eliminating standard benefit levels².

Applications to Eastern Europe and Poland

How would social compacts evolve in the nations in which command economies were dominant not so long ago? One approach involves the privatization of collectivized property. The simplest privatization strategy is to divide the value of a state monopoly by the number of citizens and issue them shares. This is similar to the Polish “mass privatization plan” used to divest the state of selected state-owned enterprises (SOE’s) (Sachs, 1992). This mass approach may be conceptually appealing because of its

simplicity, but is fraught with problems. For one, it is exceedingly difficult to price the value of a social asset, enterprise or program. While physical assets such as clinics and offices may be easy to divest, the value of a social enterprise, particularly in a formerly communist state, is practically negligible. Moreover, support for rapid privatization among the Polish people is not strong. Even though sixty percent of the Polish economy is now private, the shock of post-communism has made Poles doubtful about privatization reform (Lewandowski, 1993).

An alternate approach to privatization conceives of both the country conditions and enterprise conditions necessary for the effective transfer of an SOE to the private or non-profit sectors (Kikeri, Nellis, & Shirley, 1992). When competitive enterprise conditions are coupled with country conditions that are market-friendly and in which there is a high capacity for state regulation, experience indicates that the best strategy is to sell the SOE. A state-owned automobile factory in Hungary or a state airline in England would exemplify these conditions. A non-competitive enterprise in a country with a low capacity to regulate and which is less market friendly indicates a more gradual approach. These conditions suggest a strategy which is premised on promoting conditions of economic and social development by installing a policy framework which is market-friendly, developing a stable regulatory environment, and gradually privatizing management. It presumes the need to steadily privatize selected social programs, learn from the experimentation, and move agencies and programs into a competitive environment. Social enterprises in Eastern Europe fulfill these conditions.

The primary difference between the privatization of conventionally-productive assets in a competitive environment and the creation of a social market is that the nation(s) involved in the social compact must establish minimal benefit levels that would be assured to its consumer members. Beyond a basic state-funded floor benefit available to all families (such as an earned income tax credit), compacts would permit the private development of various benefit packages, the costs of which would be covered by members' premiums. Under such an arrangement, it is conceivable that many welfare benefits could be commodified; health, housing, training, and child care are examples.

A prototype of the social compact organization exists in the health maintenance organization (HMO), a prepaid membership form of health care provision common in the United States. A second example reflects the corporatization of welfare in industrial societies—the employee assistance program (EAP). These programs provide social services to workers and their families (Karger & Stoesz, 1994). While HMO's and EAP's have been associated with corporate practices that have traditionally been associated with social and economic dislocations that generate welfare programs, under certain circumstances—worker control, nonprofit auspice, among others—their social value can be accentuated. Both the HMO and the EAP have their corollary in the cooperative. Paid cooperative membership entitles one to participation in collective benefits—a model for which there is at least some functional precedent in Eastern Europe.

Under a social compact form of social welfare, human service professionals would be employees or contracted agents of membership groups or they might form independently owned organizations that would solicit members. As social compact associations adjusted to the preferences of members and employees, the more dynamic firms would flourish while unresponsive firms would wither. More successful organizations would also be able to extend existing service and plan innovations. Over time, the provision of services would be continually renewed and refined as members and employees sought better providers in an open market.

In order to be an effective method for providing social welfare, the social compact model has preconditions. Foremost, governments must sanction the operation of free-standing organizations that are independent of the governmental and commercial sectors. The social compact model works only when genuine competition exists between providers, and this cannot be assured unless new organizations and a supportive market climate can be created. In addition, allowance must be made for joint ventures between indigenous provider organizations and foreign and domestic firms. If we can forge joint ventures to build tractors, why can't we create them to provide health care?

Privatization has been proceeding rapidly in Poland utilizing both large and small scale strategies. Most state-owned retail

trade is now private and the number of private trade firms is growing at rates of over 100% per year. The best progress seems to be in small scale privatization of modest property components, shops, and firms. A crucial area of success has been in joint ventures between local businesses and the Polish government or between Polish entrepreneurs and foreign firms and banks. By the end of 1990, there were 1,306 joint-venture companies, double the number from the previous year (Mujzel, 1992).

Among the most notable of joint ventures is one which uses micro-enterprise as its strategy. The Polish American Enterprise Fund has, in a little over two years since its creation, parlayed \$5 million in capital into \$48 million for fixed-interest rate loans that are guaranteed by the Polish government. A joint venture between Chicago's South Shore Bank and the Polish state banks, the Fund has made more than two thousand loans (averaging \$25,450) that have generated 7,700 jobs. Richard Turner of the South Shore Bank has observed that while the loans have financed a variety of activities, none have been in the human services (Personal communication, August 11, 1993). Ventures such as the Enterprise Fund could be instrumental in stimulating the emergence of a vigorous social sector. The potential of the Catholic Church as a catalyst for the evolution of an independent sector (Deacon, 1992) has not yet been developed fully and could do much to improve "the miserable state of basic social services" (Mujzel, 1992).

Equally important is the question of capitalization. Under conditions of diminishing resources, privatization of the social sector has the potential of contributing to the collapse of the social infrastructure. Capital to finance social compacts can be derived from several sources. Again, joint ventures with foreign firms can be a source of financing and technical assistance essential for specific activities. Yet another method for capitalization would be to encourage Individual Development Accounts (IDA's). IDA's are accounts through which government matches an individual's contribution to create tax-sheltered accounts which may be used for selected purposes: completing vocational training or university education, buying a home, establishing a business, or supplementing a pension (Sherraden, 1991). The initial capital for such accounts could be bolstered by investments of shares created

under the privatization of social monopolies. Since government contributions could be held until an individual actually uses the IDA, capital would be saved for years before the government would have to honor its commitment, thereby creating a pool for social investments.

Regarding Poland, the discipline and organization associated with the Catholic Church make it a particularly good candidate for the administration of a successful IDA program. Conceivably, the Church could take the lead by initiating such a program as a social compact provider utilizing state funds and the IDA pool account. Another promising development is the use of Employee Stock Ownership Plans (ESOP's) to privatize collective property (Mujzel, 1992). If ESOP's can be used to restructure the industrial sector, why not use them to restructure the social welfare sector as well?

Conclusion

The Social Compact represents a new paradigm for social welfare, one that is more responsive to market requirements than the welfare state³. In emphasizing the role of the private sector vis-a-vis government, the Social Compact paradigm calls for a state that is less central to social policy. This should not be mistaken for a rationale for government to divest itself of its social obligations, however. Our view is not that government has no role in pursuing the welfare of those who have not been beneficiaries of democratic capitalism. It is rather that social programs should be constructed, to the extent possible, in a manner that is consistent with principles of freedom of choice and market economics. The task is not to replace capitalism, but, as has been said before, to make it successful in human terms. Governments must be innovative in establishing social policies that will be relevant to sub-global markets of the twenty-first century.

Reconciling market economics and social justice requires a tolerance of inequity and patience in the legislative process even under the most optimal of circumstances. When basic social protections have been suddenly withdrawn for the sake of economic progress, as has been the case in Poland, the challenge is more acute (Gebert, 1993). Jeffrey Sachs, an economic advisor to the

Polish government, observes that "maintaining a proper balance between social needs and budgetary possibilities is a key economic and political challenge that has no easy solution in sight" (Sachs, 1992). Such pessimism notwithstanding, Poland brings to the world stage considerable assets, among them an industrious work force, visionary political leaders, and a moral constitution that is soundly anchored. To be sure, the insecurities generated by economic transition are troublesome, leading some to wish for the old securities that accompanied command economics. Yet, such nostalgia is illusory. In analyzing a public opinion poll conducted shortly before the fall of the communist government, Adam Sarapata concluded that most Poles seemed resigned to "the permanent monotony of life," (Sarapata, 1992) hardly a just condition for an illustrious people. Indeed, the many strengths of Poland will become more obvious—and more valued—as the lower-cost, more vigorous nations of Eastern Europe begin to compete with EEC (Marshall, 1993).

In these respects, Poland is advantaged to a significant extent compared to its brethren of the former Warsaw Pact. Poland shows little evidence of those cultural divisions that have torn apart Yugoslavia, and which threaten Romania and the nations of the former Soviet Union (Huntington, 1993). In response to the leveling and modernizing influences of global capitalism, some developing nations are shaping their identity on atavistic tribal vengeance and internecine bloodshed (Barber, 1992). Poland is unlikely to follow this path. As Bob Deacon has concluded, the very different circumstances of the former Eastern Bloc lead ineluctably to disparate social policy strategies. Of the options dictated by circumstances, Poland appears among the more favored.

Notes

1. For details see, Commission of the European Communities, *The Community Charter of Fundamental Social Rights for Workers* (Brussels, 1990); *Proposal for a Council Recommendation on the Convergence of Social Protection Objectives and Policies* (Brussels, June 27, 1991).
2. This part of the Social Compact would apply to cash benefits, not to other services, such as health care, training, etc.
3. The social compact is probably unsuited for application in developing nations since it presumes a degree of industrial development, education of workers,

and existing technology not evident in the Third World. For a model of sustainable development, see M. W. Lusk and D. T. Mason, "Development Theory for Rural Practice," *Human Services in the Rural Environment* 16, 1, (Summer 1992), pp. 5–10.

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Maximizing Credibility and Accountability in Qualitative Data Collection and Data Analysis: A Social Work Research Case Example

SANDRA K. BEEMAN

University of Minnesota
School of Social Work

A case example demonstrates the use of qualitative methods of data collection and data analysis that balance structure and flexibility, and maximize credibility and accountability. Data collection methods use sensitizing concepts from past research and theory and allow for the discovery of respondent-defined meanings. This approach comparatively analyzes cases, structures and documents data analysis steps, and utilizes external reviewers of case materials. The development and use of methods that maximize credibility and accountability will increase their acceptance among social workers and will benefit the profession by adding empirically-grounded depth and insight to its knowledge base.

Over the past ten years, social work journals have reflected a growing interest in the use of qualitative methods for social work research. Articles in these journals have primarily focused on a debate about the philosophical and epistemological foundations of research—most often pitting qualitative methods against quantitative methods. As Piele (1988), Berlin (1990), and Goldstein (1991) have described, this debate has often taken the form of arguing for the “best” or “right” way to do social work research. While many authors have taken “sides” based on epistemological grounds, others have criticized the dichotomization of research methods and have called for a resolution of the debate. Most often, the recommended resolution involves the acceptance of a pluralistic view of science (Berlin, 1990; Brekke, 1986; Reid, 1994) or a synthesis of research methods which encompasses both quantitative and qualitative views into a new paradigm for research (Piele, 1988.) Although some social work researchers will undoubtedly remain committed to a single methodology—either quantitative or qualitative—others will and do accept a more

pluralistic view of science and scientific methods. However, the mainstream acceptance of qualitative research methods among social workers—on equal grounds with quantitative methods—is hampered by a lack of understanding about what qualitative research is, when it is most appropriately used in social work research, and how to evaluate the credibility of its findings.

Although recent social work research textbooks have begun to expand beyond the obligatory chapter on ethnography to include discussions of sampling, data collection and data analysis issues in qualitative research (see, for example, Rubin and Babbie, 1993), the social work researcher still must turn to other disciplines for more in-depth and sophisticated discussions of qualitative research methods. Even with these resources, students, teachers, and practitioners of qualitative social work research have available few illustrations of the actual execution of qualitative research studies within the field of social work. Particularly lacking are illustrations of qualitative data collection and data analysis techniques. Goldstein (1991) argues that the methods of qualitative research become more understandable when their applications can be demonstrated. A better understanding will in turn lead to the responsible use of such methods, ultimately increasing their credibility among social work researchers.

This article provides a case example of conducting a qualitative research study in social work, focusing in particular on the application of qualitative methods of data collection and data analysis. It describes an approach to data collection and data analysis that strikes a balance between structure and flexibility, and that maximizes both credibility (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and accountability. Specifically, it describes data collection methods which, by means of repeated semi-structured interviewing and the use of sensitizing concepts, guide the analysis without overly restricting the gathering of data. It describes an approach to inductive data analysis that comparatively analyzes cases, structures analysis so as not to overwhelm the analyst, documents data analysis steps through a field journal, data matrices, data reduction forms and memos to external reviewers in order to leave a paper trail, and utilizes external reviewers of case materials to maximize intersubjectivity (Rubin and Babbie, 1993.) This case example aims to begin to fill the gap between abstract

methods of data collection and data analysis and their responsible application.

Qualitative Features of the Study

One difficulty in the general acceptance of qualitative research methods has been a lack of agreement among both proponents and opponents about what exactly qualitative research is and is not. The terms “qualitative” and “quantitative” can be used to refer to various aspects of a research study—including the research design, the research setting, the method of gathering data, the type of data gathered, and the approach to data analysis. In addition, those who practice qualitative research base their work on a variety of philosophical and theoretical foundations—including ethnography, ethnomethodology, phenomenology, and grounded theory—all of which have related but distinctive implications for the practice of research. Thus it is important to identify the particular features of a research study that warrant the “qualitative” label. Or, as Lofland and Lofland (1984) say, to look beyond the “terminological jungle” to the activities in which the researcher actually engages.

Several related features of this research, when taken together, make it a qualitative study. These include the research setting, the sample size and selection characteristics, techniques for obtaining the sample, data collection methods, and the data analysis techniques. The choice of these methodological features were related to the goals of the study and the identified type of knowledge required about the phenomenon under study.

The goal of this study was to better understand the concept of social support as it relates to parenting and child neglect. Although parents who neglect their children have long been thought to be socially isolated, a thorough review of the literature revealed conceptual and methodological weaknesses in past research which called this assumption into question (see Beeman, 1993, for an in-depth review of this literature; see also Seagull, 1987.) For example, the concepts of social relationship, social interaction, and social support were used interchangeably, the existence of potential support resources was taken to represent the receipt of social support, negative aspects of social relationships

were overlooked, and a variety of definitions and measures of social support were used. Also, although research on social support had concluded that it is the individual's perception of being supported that is important, it was not clear from past research which aspects of relationships and interactions are related to the individual's perception of being supported. In addition, few studies utilized comparison groups of nonneglecting parents of similar sociodemographic backgrounds in order to begin to identify the characteristics of social networks which might be targets of intervention for neglecting and high-risk parents. Thus there was a clear need for research that: 1) differentiated between social relationships, social interaction and social support; 2) identified the characteristics and dimensions of social relationships and social interactions which the individual him/herself perceived as "supportive"; and 3) compared and contrasted these characteristics for parents who have neglected their children and parents who have not.

There were several methodological implications of the research goal. First, the concept of the social network and social network analysis were utilized to operationalize the distinction between social relationships, social interaction, and social support and to explore the importance of characteristics of social relationships as described in the social network literature (see Beeman, 1993, for a review of this literature). Second, a type of comparative analysis was used to compare social network characteristics of a group of mothers who had neglected their children to those of a group of socio-demographically similar mothers who were identified by key community contacts as successfully raising their children in a high-risk environment—in this case, low-income, single, African-American mothers living in the same inner-city neighborhood. Finally, qualitative data collection and data analysis methods were used which allowed for the discovery of important aspects of social relationships and social interaction from the respondent's perspective. These data collection and data analysis methods are the focus of the remainder of the paper.

Data Collection: Balancing Structure and Flexibility

In order to allow for the discovery of important aspects of social relationships and social interaction from the respondents'

perspective, data collection methods for this study needed to be flexible enough to allow for the identification of important features in the respondent's own words, yet structured enough to guide data gathering and data analysis. Thus the main method of data collection chosen for this study was repeated, semi-structured interviewing. An interview guide consisting of open-ended questions was developed with input from other researchers experienced in interviewing mothers living in high-risk environments and extensive piloting and pre-testing with representatives of both groups of mothers. This interview guide was guided by past theory and research, and thus made use of sensitizing concepts. Sensitizing concepts are those that the analyst brings to the data—they give the analyst a "general sense of reference" and "provide directions along which to look." (Blumer, 1969: 148; see also Denzin, 1978; and Patton, 1990). In this study, many of these sensitizing concepts came from past research on social networks. For example, one characteristic of social network relationships which had been identified in past research is the direction or reciprocity of the relationship between two network members (e.g. Mitchell, 1969). Do the network members both give and receive tangible and/or intangible assistance? A bi-directional or reciprocal relationship is one in which both network members are giving and receiving; a uni-directional or nonreciprocal relationship is one in which one network member is on the receiving end and the other on the giving end. In theory, this concept seems simple enough to measure. However, as was discovered during fieldwork, the concept is much more complex than it seems.

During the series of interviews, each respondent was asked both about ways she and each network member "helped each other out" and about the types of assistance (both tangible and intangible) that were typically exchanged. In addition, each respondent was asked whether she felt that she and each network member "exchanged on an equal or unequal basis." Thus using reciprocity as a sensitizing concept, these questions were used to explore whether the respondent and each of her network members did about the same amount for each other. However, a different, "indigenous" (Patton, 1990) meaning of this concept emerged during data collection and thus led to the identification of a new inductively-driven characteristic of network relationships. This

characteristic represented the extent to which a respondent judged exchange between her network members and herself to be "fair" or "just." In this study, the extent to which there was equal exchange seemed less important than a sense of mutual, fair exchange—of "sharing" and "trading back and forth." This inductively-driven meaning of reciprocity was represented in such statements by nonneglecting mothers as: "If she need it, I got it, come and get it, and the same for me;" "She gives me money now 'cause I need it, I'll give it to her later when she needs it;" "I give her money, she gives me (emotional) support, it evens out."

The interview guide contained a list of topics and question areas addressed by the interviewer over the course of three to four interviews with each respondent. While all topics were covered during these interviews, the order in which they were tapped was not rigid and was determined by the natural course of conversation with the respondent. Repeated interviews contributed to the building of rapport between the interviewer and respondent. In this study, all interviews were conducted by the same researcher. While the use of one researcher for all data collection and data analysis can increase the risk of systematic biases in interpretation, the use of external reviewers of case materials throughout the process reduced that risk in this study.

Respondents were given the option of being interviewed at a local settlement house or in their own home. Most respondents chose to be interviewed at their home, a setting which was most comfortable for the respondent, and most convenient for those who were caring for one or more young children. With the permission of respondents, all interviews were tape-recorded to permit more complete and accurate transcription of interview materials and to allow the interviewer greater freedom to become involved in the interview process.

Tape-recording also allowed the researcher to review the tapes between interviews. Immediately following each interview, tapes were reviewed, noting inconsistencies or incomplete information to be clarified during the next interview. Also at this time, following a semi-structured observation guide, the researcher recorded observations of the home and community, and when possible, interaction with children and interactions with network members. As in most qualitative research, data collection and

data analysis ran concurrently (Lofland and Lofland, 1984; Miles and Huberman, 1984), thus preliminary data reduction was conducted between interviews. For example, during the first interview, respondents were consistently asked to list all individuals who were "involved" in the lives of the mother and her family. "Involved" was a sensitizing concept used to help determine the boundaries of the mothers' social networks. During and after this interview, a preliminary list of network members was constructed on which the remaining interviews focused. This list was open to modification by the respondent at any point during the interviews. Based on this list of network members, two matrices were constructed which allowed for the recording of characteristics of network relationships and interactions to be used during and between the remaining interviews. These matrices also served as data reduction forms (Miles and Huberman, 1984) which aided the process of data analysis.

Finally, during the interview process, the researcher recorded emerging insights, data themes and patterns in a field journal (Lofland and Lofland, 1984; Miles and Huberman, 1984). This journal served as an ongoing record of preliminary case comparisons and contrasts, and served as a beginning guide to data analysis. These emerging insights and themes, along with portions of the transcripts which represented those themes, were discussed at regular meetings with the external case reviewers. The following example illustrates the importance of the field journal in the identification of data patterns and as the basis for discussion with the external case reviewers.

During an interview with Jackie, a non-neglecting mother, it became clear that although she regularly exchanged material and other types of assistance with her network members, she did not see herself as depending on them for assistance, and in fact believed it was important that she be able to count on herself. After the interview, this was noted in the field journal as follows:

For Jackie, self-reliance and self-sufficiency is important. Today she talked about the importance of being able to count on herself so that if she needed something and someone couldn't help, she wasn't "stuck." This reminds me of Barbara, Brenda, and Ruth (other non-neglecting mothers) who made similar statements about counting on themselves."

A later entry in the field journal noted additional respondents who made statements about relying on themselves. This entry was followed by a question to be raised at the next meeting with the case reviewers: how does this self-reliance reconcile with "the give and take," the mutual exchange, described by the same respondents?

These entries from the field journal along with corresponding excerpts from transcripts then became the basis for an on-going discussion with the reviewers. One reviewer in particular encouraged me to keep exploring these seemingly contradictory characteristics during data analysis. Based on her own research on social network relationships, she encouraged me to view the self-reliance and the mutual exchange as complementary rather than contradictory—while in response to any particular situation an individual may choose either to rely on her own resources, or to go to others for help, perhaps it was the overall balance of the two that was important in distinguishing non-neglecting mothers from neglecting mothers. This theme later evolved into a major pattern of difference between neglecting and non-neglecting mothers and is further discussed later in this article (see Beeman, 1993 for an extensive discussion of the findings.)

The use of these data collection procedures and techniques resulted in rich, detailed information on social relationships and interactions which made use of existing theory and research on social networks, but also left room for the discovery of grounded, unanticipated characteristics. This approach has several advantages over a more structured, forced-choice approach to asking questions.

Past research on social support and child neglect often "pre-defined" the meaning of social ties, rather than recognizing that interpersonal relationships are both complex and dynamic (see Beeman, 1993, for review of this research). For example, it was assumed that because a tie exists, a person is supported; or a social tie was treated as a simple and fixed dichotomy: either a relationship is supportive or it is not. Yet as this research revealed, not all social relationships which supply an individual with assistance—either tangible or intangible—are necessarily seen by that person as supportive. In addition, some relationships which are perceived as supportive at one point in time, may be perceived as

stressful at another point; or supportive in some aspects, but not in others. The following example illustrates the potential of semi-structured interviewing to reveal the complex and dynamic nature of social ties from the respondent's perspective.

Caroline was found by the State child welfare agency to have neglected her youngest child. She currently lived on the second floor of her parents' home. One of the people that Caroline included in her social network was her mother, and at first, she described their relationship in this way:

I can talk to my mom about anything in the world, and . . . I don't have to sit back and let her use, she won't use it against me.

However during a later interview, as she talked about some of the different ways her mother was involved in her life, Caroline described their relationship in a different way:

I give her (her daughter) the twenty-five dollars to go get her a pair of shoes. And she comes back, naturally, with gym shoes . . . so now my mother, she's really fussing, she's mad—"You went behind my back, you did this, you did that." And I just thought, I said well, this is my daughter, if I wanna buy her a thousand and one pair of gym shoes it's my business. "Caroline, you buy her too much, you give her too much"—which I don't think I do. Sometimes she make me feel like I'm guilty . . . Me and my mom, we stay in conflict constantly about her.

While a one-shot interview may only have revealed one or the other of Caroline's characterizations of her relationship with her mother, repeated semi-structured interviewing allowed the complex nature of this relationship to emerge. In addition, rather than forcing Caroline to characterize her relationship with her mother as either supportive or not supportive with a forced-choice question, this approach provided a more valid depiction of Caroline's assessment of her relationship with her mother.

Data Analysis: Credibility and Accountability

Repeated, semi-structured interviewing results in a voluminous amount of data in the form of transcripts. The next step for the qualitative researcher is to "make sense" of the data—a task which can be difficult for the researcher who is often trained and

experienced in more traditional methods of data analysis. But with the right balance of structure and flexibility, creativity and objectivity, the process of data analysis can result in a credible and accountable interpretation of the data.

As was described earlier, the analysis of data in this study began during the data collection phase. Characteristics which were guided by past research and theory and thus anticipated in advance, were systematically recorded on data matrices during the interview process. These matrices guided and aided the analysis of this data. After the interview tapes were transcribed, data on the matrices were rechecked against the transcripts for verification. Several computerized spreadsheets were developed which described demographic and social network characteristics, and aided in the summarizing and comparison of these characteristics.

The second part of the analysis took an inductive approach to understanding the data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Bogdan and Biklen, 1992). This approach to data analysis, delineated by Uehara (1987), was based on Glaser's (1969) constant comparative analysis. Data analysis consisted of five stages:

- 1) preparing the raw field material for content analysis
- 2) developing a general scheme for categorizing the data
- 3) analyzing a subset of cases and further revising and developing categories and subcategories
- 4) comparing the cases in the subset and preliminarily identifying dimensions of similarities and differences
- 5) adding the remaining cases into analysis and refining and revising dimensions.

By following these five stages and utilizing coding procedures recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1990), data analysis emphasized the "emergence" of important patterns or themes in the data and the systematic comparison and verification of these themes. The following section describes these five stages and provides an example of their use.

1. Preparing the Raw Field Material for Content Analysis

Interview tapes for all 19 research respondents (70 partial or full 60 minute tapes) were transcribed verbatim, resulting in

approximately 150 to 200 pages of transcripts per respondent. These transcripts, along with observation notes, completed matrices and a record of emerging insights from the field journal formed the data base for the analysis. As described in Step 5 below, the material was later further prepared for analysis using a computer software program which aids in the analysis of text-based data.

2. Developing a General Scheme for Categorizing the Field Data

The next step was to develop a preliminary scheme for coding or categorizing the transcripts. At this step, Strauss and Corbin's (1990) notion of "open coding" was utilized. In open coding, the analyst begins identifying themes or categories in the data and placing a preliminary label on them. These themes are identified through a process in which the analyst alternates between asking questions about the data (e.g. who is this like? different from? what does this represent?) and returning to the data to verify and compare. A data reduction form was developed, on which data (direct quotes from transcripts, summaries of portions of transcripts) could be recorded according to themes. The choice of themes to be included on this form was based on data collection themes from the interview guide, and the identification of emerging insights and themes recorded in the field journal during data collection. The "self-reliance" theme among non-neglecting mothers described earlier in this article is one example of an open coding theme. Another open coding theme was labelled "easiness/difficulty of exchange process." Excerpts of interview transcripts which were listed under this theme included the following statements from neglecting mothers: "stopped borrowing from Marie because its a hassle to get carfare to get to her house"; "I have to sit and beg for maybe four hours and then maybe she'll give me a few dollars"; "I have to go out of my way to find somebody to take me grocery shopping." This data reduction form, which represented the preliminary scheme for coding data, was revised and refined during the next stage.

3. Analyzing a Subset of Cases

Next, four cases were chosen—two from the sample of neglecting mothers, and two from the sample of nonneglecting

mothers—on which to focus the initial comparative analysis. While there is no best way to choose the initial subset of cases, cases were chosen which didn't seem atypical of other cases in their group in any obvious way, and for which a large amount of data were available in order to maximize the possibility of discovering important differences. These transcripts were read and reread and data from them were recorded on the data reduction form described above. This data reduction form was continually revised during this process. As more information related to these themes or categories was identified and summarized, they were refined and subcategories developed.

4. Comparing the Subset and Preliminarily Identifying Dimensions of Similarity and Difference

During this process of summarizing the four cases, key areas of differences between neglecting and nonneglecting mothers began to emerge. Some of these differences and a summary of the differences for the four cases were described in a memo to two external advisers and reviewers (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This memo served as a record of the process of analysis, and provided a means by which external reviewers could review case material and provide feedback on the credibility of the interpretation. Memos, the data reduction forms, data matrices, and the field journal provided a chronology of the identification and evolution of data collection themes and served as documentation of the process of data collection and data analysis.

5. Adding the Remaining Cases into the Analysis

In order to add the remaining cases into the analysis, the data were further prepared for analysis through the use of the computer software package, *The Ethnograph* (Siedel, Kjolseth, and Seymour, 1988). This software is designed to aid in the analysis of text-based data by sorting data according to codewords identified and labelled by the researcher. After the researcher labels portions of the transcript according to themes or codewords, *The Ethnograph* generates a document which contains portions of transcripts from all files or transcripts which have been labelled with that codeword. In this study, these documents were then reviewed

by the researcher to further identify patterns of similarities and differences between the two groups under study. This stage of the analysis identified 5 major data themes related to network relationships which differentiated neglecting and nonneglecting respondents (see Beeman, 1993).

An example from this study's analysis illustrates this approach to data analysis. One general content area which was first identified as a potentially important dimension during the data collection phase broadly had to do with the respondent's ideas and expectations about seeking and receiving help. Many nonneglecting mothers mentioned the notion of believing that "grown people should take care of their own things". This dimension was originally labelled "Ideas about receiving/seeking help" on the data summary form. Several questions regarding this dimension were noted in a memo and discussed with the outside reviewers.

During coding using *The Ethnograph*, all statements made by respondents relating to this concept were labelled "IDEAHELP." After data from all respondents were grouped under this theme, the data were further analyzed: additional dimensions and sub-categories of this concept were identified and the patterns prevalent for each group explored and verified. Figure 1 describes the evolution of this data analysis theme.

In the category, "expectations of others," nonneglecting mothers felt that they should not and did not rely on or depend on others to get by, while neglecting mothers often approached relationships in terms of what others could do for them. The following statements, the first from a nonneglecting mother, the second from a neglecting mother, represent the pattern of differences which emerged.

That's how its supposed to be. When you get independent and try to do things on your own, you don't rely on other people all the time, and when you need that help, then they'll come through, of course.

You never have to pay them back . . . you just make sure that you take perfect care of the things that people give you so that you can always get something . . . its as simple as that.

Figure 1

Evolution of a Sample Data Collection Theme: Ideas/Beliefs about Seeking and Receiving Help from Others

STEP 1:	Idea originated in ongoing field journal during data collection. Noted pattern of “desire to be self-sufficient” among nonneglecting mothers; pattern of “depends on others” among neglecting mothers.
STEP 2:	General category listed on summary form in stage 2 of data analysis as “Ideas about seeking/receiving help.”
STEP 3:	At end of stage 3 data analysis, category further refined to include several dimensions: 1) general philosophy/beliefs about help-seeking; 2) respondent’s view of role of network members in her ability to “make it”; 3) extent to which respondent depends on self vs. others.
STEP 4:	During phase 4 and 5 of analysis, category split into two categories: 1) expectations of others; 2) perspective on when to go for help. General patterns within each group identified and compared.

Implications for the Practice of Qualitative Research

This article presented an illustration of qualitative methods of data collection and data analysis that systematically explore and analyze while still leaving room for the discovery of grounded research findings. It described a process of research which left “footprints”—thus maximizing accountability—at the same time that it enabled the researcher to discover and identify meaning from the respondent’s perspective—thus maximizing credibility.

Repeated, semi-structured interviewing utilized past research and theory to identify sensitizing concepts which guided data collection but allowed and encouraged the identification of meaning

from the respondent's perspective. Multiple interviews encouraged the development of rapport and ensured adequate coverage of all interview topics. Data analysis techniques provided the structure to guide the analyst and help protect the analyst from being overwhelmed by the data. These techniques encouraged the researcher to ask questions about the data, compare cases, and ground interpretations in the data itself. The process of data analysis utilized methods of documentation and external reviewers of case materials to maximize intersubjectivity and accountability.

The acceptance of qualitative research on equal grounds with quantitative research depends upon the documentation, illustration, and use of data collection and data analysis methods that maximize both the credibility of its findings and its external accountability. With that acceptance will come realization of the full potential of qualitative research to add empirically-grounded depth and insight to the knowledge base of the social work profession.

Note

This article focuses specifically on data collection and data analysis because these are the areas most lacking in the literature. A complete description of the qualitative nature of the research setting, the sample size and selection characteristics, and techniques for obtaining the sample can be found in the author's dissertation, 1993.

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A Study of Reasons for Non-Payment of Child Support by Non-Custodial Parents

SUMATI N. DUBEY

University of Illinois at Chicago
Jane Addams College of Social Work

Historical Overview of Child Support Enforcement Program

The federal government became involved with child support in 1935 when it established Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) under the Social Security Act, 1935 to allow communities to be financially responsible for children whose parents had died or had deserted them. (Lieberman, 1986). The Child Support and Establishment of Paternity Act (1975) created title IV-D of the Social Security Act (PL93-647), made the Department of Health and Human Services responsible for administering the Child Support Enforcement Program, and created the Federal Office of Child Support Enforcement. Title IV-D required all states to: 1) Establish a parent locator service, 2) Establish paternity, 3) Obtain court orders of support and, 4) Enforce child support orders, and 5) Make services available to AFDC and non-AFDC families (Lieberman, 1986). Services to non-AFDC families were intended to be a preventative measure against welfare dependency. It was felt that assisting them to obtain child support would prevent them from later having to apply for AFDC.

The Child Support Enforcement Act of 1984 (PL98-378) which amended title IV-D of the Social Security Act, (i) required income withholding for those non-custodial parents who were at least one month delinquent with their child support payments; (ii) provided for an expedited process to enforce support obligations in cases which were brought before family courts; and (iii) for the first time developed the Comptroller Intercept Program to extend services to non-AFDC families whose child support was past due.

A significant piece of legislation dealing with child support is Title I: Child Support and Establishment of Paternity of the Family Support Act of 1988 (PL100-485) and its three sub-titles: A, B and C. Title I (A), *Child Support*, requires states to provide immediate

income withholding from non-custodial parents to satisfy their child support obligations; to implement automated child support monitoring and tracking systems; to provide a disregard clause for all timely payments made even though payments were received in a later month; and to send out timely notices of support payment collection to custodial parents. Title I (B), *Establishment of Paternity*, mandates the states to conduct a genetic test for all cases where the paternity is contested. Title I (C), *Improved Procedures for Child Support*, requires states to put in place an automated tracking and monitoring system, for which they will receive 90% of the cost from the federal government, to include additional information sources for parent locator service (e.g., data from the Department of Labor or state employment security agencies), to use social security numbers to establish the identity of parents, and to establish a commission for interstate tracking of child support.

The government's spending on the child support program has increased dramatically since 1978. Total administrative expenditure by the federal government grew from \$808.450 million in 1978 to \$1.343 trillion in 1993. Spending by states has also grown rapidly during this period: \$366.263 million in 1988 to \$651.80 million in 1993. Combined federal and state expenditures on child support enforcement grew from \$1.70 billion in fiscal year 1988 to \$1.998.649 billion in 1993 (OCSW, 1993:68). With the government's interest in child support enforcement, the media—newspapers, magazines, radio, and television,—have increased attention to the child support program. Popular magazines, especially those with a large portion of black and women readers, carry stories on deadbeat dads, performance of the program, and policy recommendations (New York Times Index, Newsweek, Index, U.S. News and World Report, Oprah Winfrey Show, Larry King Live, etc.). Newsweek (May 4, 1992) reports: "Consultants for former Louisiana governor, Buddy Roemer, were surprised to discover that in focus groups during the 1991 campaign, middle class voters spontaneously mentioned child support as one of their most important concerns."

It is easy to understand why: of the 5 million women who are supposed to receive child support only half reported receiving full payment, according to a 1990 U.S. Census Bureau study (U.S.

Bureau of the Census, 1991: p. 60–65). One quarter of the women got partial payment, and one quarter got nothing. An additional 2.7 million women said they wanted support but were never able to obtain an award. Non-payment cuts across income groups; college graduates are about as likely to have a negligent ex-spouse or ex-boyfriend as high-school grads. It even spans gender lines. Fifteen percent of custodial parents are now men and mothers in those cases have an equally dismal record of supporting their children. The consequences of nonpayment are staggering. On average, the family income of the mother retaining custody drops 23 percent after divorce or separation—a disparity that could be wiped out for many families if full child-support payments were made. Families headed by a mother alone are six times as likely to be poor as those with two parents (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1991: p. 66).

Since the Family Support Act of 1988 (FSA, 1988), several bills have been enacted by Congress. On July 3, 1992, the Unemployment Compensation Bill was passed amending the FSA:88 to delay the due date for the report of the Commission on Interstate Child Support and to extend the termination date for the commission. On October 25, 1992, the Child Support Recovery Act of 1992 (PL: 102–521) was passed which imposed a criminal penalty on non-custodial parents for fleeing to avoid payment of child support. It amended the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 by establishing criminal penalties for willful failure to pay support to a child living in another state. It also authorized federal courts to make compliance with child support obligations a condition for probation and the establishment of a Commission of Child Family Welfare. Other important legislation passed in 1992 is the Ted Weiss Child Support Enforcement Act which requires credit reporting agencies to include delinquent child support payments on consumer credit reports.

Children's Poverty and Collection of Child Support

Children under 18 years are over represented among the poor—they are 40.2 percent of the 35.7 million poor in America (OCSE, 1993). The poverty rate for children under 18 was 21.8 percent in 1991. In 1990, 45 percent of 7.7 million families maintained

solely by mother with children under 18 years had income below the poverty threshold. As of Spring of 1990, 10 million mothers age 15 and over were living with their own children under 21 years of age whose fathers were not living in the households. The mean amount received by poor women for child support was \$1,889. Child support payments, on average, were 37.4 percent of the total money income of poor mothers compared with 17.1 percent of non-poor mothers. In 1991, 4,374,708 families received AFDC assistance, and helped 8,527,028 children. In 1992 there were 15.2 million child support cases—8.7 million AFDC and foster care related cases and 6.5 million non-AFDC cases.

Collection of child support payments for the non-custodial parent is one way to lessen the impact of family disruption on children even though they may not be sufficient to reduce poverty. Nichols-Casebolt, and Robbins assert that the number of persons receiving welfare and the average AFDC payment would be reduced if absent parents were paying their fair share of support. For the 5 million women due child support payments in 1989, the average annual amount owed was \$2,252. The 3.7 million women received an average child support payment of \$2,995. If the full amount of payment due had been made to all women owed child support, the average annual amount would have been \$3,292 (Green Book, 1993). In 1989, if 37 percent of the 3.2 million women rearing children alone with incomes below the poverty level had received child support payments, only 140,000 of them would have income above the poverty level. The antipoverty effectiveness of the CSE program might be marginal for some families, given that maintaining a two-parent family is no guarantee against poverty. In 1991, 7.7 percent of two-parent families with children under the age 18 had incomes below the poverty level.

The Office of Child Support Enforcement under the Administration of Children and Family, Department of Health and Human Services, in its Seventeenth Annual Report to the Congress (1993) reveals: "As of Spring of 1990, 10 million mothers age 15 and over were living with their own children under 21 years of age whose fathers were not living in the households. The number of women 18 years of age and over with children from absent fathers grew higher by 39 percent since 1979 to 9.8 million" (OCSE, 1992:4). In 1992, out of 15,172,385 children due for child support in the

country only 2,839,150 or 18.7 percent of the total actually received it. This percentage is higher by 1.7 percent from 1988 but down by .6 percent from 1991 (OCSE, 1993:69). The report further notes that currently only about half of those awarded support receive the full amount they are owed. The total amount due for child support in 1991 was \$16.3 billion and only \$11.2 billion were collected indicating the large number of non-custodial parents who owed child support that did not pay it. The Clinton proposal included in the bill entitled: *The Work and Responsibility Bill 1994*, includes several provisions which aim at creating a new culture of mutual responsibility of custodial and non-custodial parents towards their children to ensure that both parents contribute financially towards the cost of raising them. This legislation recommends to the Congress to enact toughest measures to enforce child support responsibility of non-custodial parents.

Child support enforcement provisions are rooted in the beliefs that (1) the primary responsibility for child support rests with the children's parents whether or not they are married to each other, (2) custodial parents have every right to expect absent parents to contribute toward the children's care, (3) the state must force absent parents to fulfill their responsibility, (4) able-bodied mothers also have a responsibility to support their children by working, at least part-time, and (5) to the extent that parental support payments are inadequate, the government should provide a time-limited child-support supplement to custodial parents (Moynihan, 1987:8). The dominant view underlying the Child Support Provision of the FSA was that "having children is not a private affair when their material support is delegated to the community" (Moynihan, 1987:5).

The question raised in this study is: Why do fathers who owe child support ordered by the courts not pay it? The existing studies do not address this question. This study, therefore, has two purposes: (1) To identify reasons non-custodial fathers offer for not paying child support and (2) to identify social-economic variables associated with reasons of non-payment.

Theoretical Perspectives

One of the theoretical models, called micro-economic model of family, developed by Becker (1981), has frequently been used

to identify reasons for payment or non-payment of child support by non-custodial parents. According to this model both parents value their children. The investment in children by one parent contributes to the benefits derived by the other parent. In the two parent family, expenses for children maximize the investment of both parents. After divorce, the non-custodial parent, usually the father, loses control over the use of resources for children and does not determine the distribution of these resources between the custodial parent and the children and is uncertain of maximization of utility when he is required to send money to the non-custodial parent. He is, therefore, reluctant to pay (Nye, 1979). Whether one parent finds payment of child support rewarding—instrumental to maximization of utility—depends further on the degree of emotional and instrumental interdependency between the father and his children and the quality of relationship between him and his ex-wife. Stronger dependency between fathers and children increases the utility of investment of resources on children, and a good relationship between the divorced parents may increase utility by increasing interdependency. The better relationship between the parents increases utility by increasing fathers' influence over how his contributions are allocated (Treachman, 1991:361–365). The strength of interdependency is determined by visitation rights, father's physical proximity, and the time elapsed since divorce. With younger children at the time of divorce which reduces their interdependency on the child, fathers in turn have less time to make economic and emotional investments. Both mothers and fathers are more likely to agree to visitation rights if the father-child interdependency is strong. Closer physical proximity also increases opportunity to maintain emotional and instrumental interdependency through contact. A longer time since divorce tends to lessen emotional and instrumental dependency between fathers and children. Thus, those fathers with younger children at divorce, who have no visitation rights, live away from the custodial parents, and have been divorced for a longer time are most likely to default in child support payment.

The nature of relationship between parents is influenced by length of marriage, whether divorce is voluntary and the mother's perception of quality of relationship during divorce. A short marriage ending in bitter divorce erodes interdependency between

mothers and fathers and these fathers then tend to refuse to pay child support. Further joint custody also increases interdependency between fathers and their children. However, sole custody to non-custodial parent after a bitter divorce with no visitation contribute to the unwillingness of fathers to make child support payment.

Another perspective, which seems to be useful to identifying factors associated with non-payment of child support by non-custodial parents involves the interaction of followings:

- (1) *Situational factors* such as non-custodial parent's income, custodial parent's income, remarriage of non-custodial parent, geographical proximity of custodial and non-custodial parent's households. The non-custodial parent's income affect their ability to pay support. For custodial parent's income and education provide resources—legal fees, ability to seek help of the child support enforcement agency, etc.—which augment the enforcement of child support obligations. When custodial parents have high income, non-custodial parents have diminished motivation to pay child support. Remarriage of non-custodial parent may reduce his financial ability to meet child support obligation. When both parents live nearby it is easier to enforce child support obligations (Peters *et al.*, 1993:719–735).
- (2) *Social-emotional commitments* of non-custodial parents to their formal families created by a sense of obligations towards one's own children. Non-custodial parents who do not care about their children and do not want to continue to look after them tend to renege on their support obligations to the non-custodial parents. The relationship with the former spouse may also affect the willingness of the non-custodial parents to pay child support. The degree of bitterness and acrimony between the parents in the separation and divorce process creates disincentive for payment of child support. Withholding child support is used to "get back" at the custodial parents and "teaching a lesson" to the former spouse. This situation decreases visits of non-custodial parents to their children. Lack of visits to the children stifles the availability of information on children's material needs that non-custodial parents fulfill by paying

support (Berton, 1990:124–134). Weiss and Willis (1985), for example, observe that non-custodial parents are most unlikely to pay child support when they do not know how custodial parents spend money paid in child support.

- (3) *The quality of the custodial and non-custodial parents' relationship.* A hostile, adversarial relationship between the former spouses may affect visitation of children and the willingness of the non-custodial parents to pay child support (Seltzer, *et al.*, 1989:1013–1031). Thus, the situational factors, degree of commitment to the welfare of one's children and post-divorce relationship between former spouses determine the nature of contacts between the non-custodial parent and the children, which, in turn, affects the non-payment of child support (Treachman, 1991:759–772).

Treachman (1991) found that non-custodial fathers' inability to control how support money is allocated by the custodial mother is one of the important reasons for non-payment of child support. The study also found that education level, income, and age of the children were less important in predicting whether assistance was given than whether the mother and father had a positive relationship, and share custody. Fathers with a positive relationship with the mother were able to come to a voluntary agreement and contribute regularly to their children's expenses. The worse the conflict, the less likely fathers will make any support payments. Another reason is the desire to control the custodial parent by refusing to make payments. Remarriage is also one of the reasons for non-payment. Wallerstein and Corbin (1986) found that fathers who remarry tend to make fewer or smaller payments. Lieberman (1986) reported that some fathers do not pay simply because they do not have the money.

Research Design

A purposive sample of 150 was drawn from the non-custodial fathers who appeared before the court to respond to a summons of the State's Attorney's office or of the office of the Attorney General for non-payment of child support in six Illinois counties. Names of the respondents to whom summons were sent by the courts on the petition of the State's Attorney and Attorney General's

Office, dealing with the default cases of child support covering these counties were obtained for February 1994 to June 1994. The non-custodial parents coming before the court were asked to fill out a survey form. The contents and purpose of the survey were explained. A total of 150 persons who agreed to participate were interviewed or filled out the questions themselves. Thirteen fathers refused to cooperate.

Description of the Sample and Data Analyses

Out of 150 respondents 82 or 56.54 percent were African Americans, 32 or 21.33 percent were Caucasian, 23 or 15.33 were Hispanic and 9 or 6.43 percent were Native American. The mean age of the respondents was 26. The range was from 19 years to 34. The median age of the sample was 26. The average educational level was 9th grade. Out of 150, 92 or 61.33 percent of non-custodial parents were never married, 23 or 15.33 percent were separated, 19 or 12.66 percent were divorced, 16 or 10.66 percent were remarried.

Reasons for Non-Payment of Child Support

Out of 150 respondents, 38.65 percent indicated that they had no money; 23.33 percent indicated that they did not pay because the mother of the child would not allow visitation; 14 percent indicated that they did not have any control over how the money is spent, 12.67 percent said that they were not responsible for the children because they did not want to have a child and the women were the ones who wanted to have a child; 12.67 percent indicated that they were not the fathers of the children for whom child support was sought.

Analysis of Reasons for Non-Payment by Marital Status

Out of 19 divorced fathers, 31.5 percent reported that they did not pay because mothers did not allow them to visit their children. They mentioned that even when they were able to visit the children the mothers made the interaction between them and their children very controlled and limited. About 26.31 percent of fathers in this group indicated that they should not be held responsible for the child because only the woman wanted children.

An equal percentage of divorced fathers reported that they did not believe that they had fathered the children. They believed that the mothers had other men with whom they had a sexual relationship. The other two reasons are no money and lack of control as to how child support amount is spent by custodial parents.

Out of 92 men who never married, 46 (50 percent) of them reported lack of money as the reason for not paying child support, 21.74 percent reported that they were not allowed to visit the children by the mothers. Consequently, they felt that they should not be paying for the children with whom they could not even meet and develop parental relationships. About 13 percent reported "no control over the money paid" as child support to mothers as a reason for non-payment of child support. Eleven percent of the never-married fathers did not believe that they were the fathers of the children for whom they were asked to pay child support. Among the 23 separated fathers about one-third of them reported "no visitation" as a reason for not paying the child support. Among the remarried fathers about 31 percent reported "no money" as a reason and 23 percent reported the reason that they did not feel responsible to pay for child support because they did not believe they had fathered these children. These findings indicate that the never-married men more than any other marital group are most likely to renege on their child support obligation due to lack of money. Second group which is most likely to renege on its obligation for child support are remarried men. The separated and divorced men significantly more than other groups are likely to renege their obligations when they are denied visitation and hassled in visitation efforts and interactions. The divorced fathers most likely to renege on their child support payment because they dispute paternity and pass on the responsibility for the birth of the child on mothers. These data are shown in Table 1.

Reasons for Non-Payment by Employment Status

Out of 150 respondents 68 respondents had jobs or were self employed, and 82 of them were unemployed. Out of 68 employed respondents a little over one third indicated "no visitation" as a

Table 1

Reasons for Not Paying Child Support by Marital Status

Reasons	Divorced (%)	Never Married (%)	Separated (%)	Remarried (%)	Total (%)
No money	2 (10.52)	46 (50.0)	5 (21.74)	5 (31.25)	58 (38.65)
No visitation	6 (21.5)	20 (21.74)	7 (30.43)	2 (12.53)	35 (23.33)
No control over how money is spent	2 (10.52)	12 (13.04)	5 (21.74)	2 (12.53)	21 (14.0)
Not my child	4 (21.0)	10 (10.87)	2 (8.70)	3 (18.75)	19 (12.66)
Not responsible	5 (26.3)	4 (4.34)	4 (17.39)	4 (22.51)	17 (12.66)
Total	19	92	23	16	150

$\chi^2=25.21$; $df=12$; $<.01$

reason for non-payment of child support, 23.53 percent indicated "no money" as a reason, 16.17 percent mentioned "no control over money," 14.71 percent indicated "not my child" and 10.30 percent said they did not feel responsible for the payment of child support. Out of 82 unemployed respondents 51.21 percent indicated money as a reason for the non-payment. Other reasons for non-payments were indicated by 12 percent of the respondents: (i) not my child, (ii) no control over how money is spent, and (iii) not responsible for the children. The analysis suggests that employed fathers were most likely to renege on their payment when they were denied visitation and when they believe they do not have control how money is spent. A significant number of unemployed fathers reneged on payments due to lack of money. These data are presented in Table 2.

Reasons for Non-Payment of Child Support by Race

Of 82 African Americans, 46.34 percent indicated "lack of money" as a reason for non-payment of child support, 17.8 percent indicated "no visitation allowed by the mother," 9.76

Table 2

Reasons for Non-Payment by Employment Status

Reasons for Non-Payment	Employed		Not Employed		Total
	Employed	Percent	Employed	Percent	
No money	16	23.53	42	51.21	58
No visitation	24	35.30	11	13.41	35
No control over how money is spent	11	16.17	10	12.20	21
Not my child	10	14.71	9	10.98	19
Not responsible	7	10.30	10	12.20	17
Total	68	100	82	100	150

$\chi^2=15.94$; $df=4$; significant at .003 level.

percent indicated "no control over how the amount is spent," 12.20 percent indicated that they did not believe that had fathered these children, and 14.63 percent indicated that they were not responsible for paying child support since they did not want to have a child. Out of 32 white respondents, 25 percent indicated that they did not pay because they did not have money, 40.63 percent indicated that they did not pay because mothers would not allow them to visit their children, 25 percent indicated that they did not have any control over how the money was spent. Three respondents indicated that they did not believe that they had fathered these children or had not wanted to have the child/children. Out of 23 Hispanic respondents, 7 or 30.43 percent reported that they did not have money, 6 or 26.1 percent reported that they did not believe they were the fathers and 17.40 percent did not pay because they were not allowed to visit their children. Out of 13 Native American and Asian respondents 38.46 percent said that lack of money was the reason, 30.76 percent said that they were not allowed to visit their children, 15.38 percent said that they had no say over how money was spent. This result suggests that a significant number of African American fathers reneged on child support because they do not have money, while a significant number of fathers of white race reneged on their child support obligation due to difficulty in visitation or lack of control over the child support payments. The Hispanics, like the blacks,

become derelict in child support for lack of money. Asians and Native American groups did not show any significant differences in respect to the reasons for non-support. The data described above are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Reasons for Not Paying Child Support by Race

Reasons	Black	White	Hispanic	Native American & Asian	Total
No money	38	8	7	5	58 (38.7)
No visitation	14	13	4	4	35 (23.3)
No control over how money is spent	8	8	3	2	21 (14.0)
Not my child	10	2	6	1	19 (12.7)
Not responsible	12	1	3	1	17 (11.3)
Total	82 (54.7)	32 (21.3)	23 (15.3)	13 (8.7)	150 (100.0)

$\chi^2=20.66646$; $df=12$; significance=.05

Age and Employment of Respondents

Out of 68 employed respondents, 29 were below 25 years of age, 20 between 26–30 years and 19 were 31 years of age and older. Out of employed fathers below 25 years of age ($N=29$), about 24 percent of them indicated lack of money and about 24 percent indicated “not responsible” for the children as the reasons for not paying child support. Out of employed fathers between 26–30 years of age, 40 percent indicated “no visitation,” and 25 percent indicated “no control over how money is spent” as reasons for non-payment of child support. Out of employed fathers over 31 years of age ($N=19$), a little over 50 percent of them indicated “no visitation,” a little over 20 percent “no control over money,” and a little over 20 percent as “no money” as reasons for non-payment of child support. An analysis of reasons offered by employed fathers of each age group suggests that fathers below 25 years of age do

not offer significantly different reasons ($X^2=3.2$; $df=4$; $p<.52$) while fathers between 26–30 years of age have significantly different reasons for non-payment and employed fathers over 31 years of age differ very significantly with respect to their reasons for non-payment of child support. This finding suggests that employed fathers below 25 years of age will renege in their obligation for child support due to lack of money, belief that they are not the fathers of the children and they believe mothers wanted children rather than they. A significant number of older employed fathers reneged in child support payment because of “no visitation” and no control over how money paid in child support is spent. Thus younger employed fathers significantly differ in their reasons for non-payment from the older employed fathers. Thus, the older and younger unemployed fathers differ significantly in respect to the reasons for non-payment of child support.

Out of 36 unemployed fathers below 25 years of age, 55.55 reported “no money,” 16.67 percent “not my child,” and about 14 percent “not responsible for the children,” as reasons for not paying child support. Out of 24 unemployed fathers, between 26 and 30 years of age, about 41.68 percent indicated “no money,” about 21 percent “no visitation,” and about 16.68 percent “no control over how money is spent” as reasons for non-payment of the support. Out of 22 unemployed fathers over 31 years of age, about 55 percent indicated “no money” and about 18 percent “no visitation” as reasons as reasons for not paying child support.

Employment and Annual Income

The data on reasons given by younger employed fathers were further analyzed by annual income they reported. Significantly more employed fathers earning less than \$7,000 indicated lack of money as reasons for non-payment. However, these employed fathers earning >\$7,000 but <\$13,000 and employed fathers with income >\$13,000 do not significantly differ in their reasons.

We also analyzed data on responses by age of the respondents. Out of 65 respondents <25 years of age, 41.54 percent indicated no money, 20 percent indicated not my child, 18.46 percent not responsible, 12.31 percent no visitation as reasons for non-payment of child support. out of 44 respondents between 26 and 30 years of age 34 percent indicated no money, 29.55 no visitation, 20.45

percent, no control over money, 9 percent not my child and about 7 percent not responsible. Out of 41 respondents over 31 years of age, 39 percent indicated no money, 34.15 percent no visitation, 17 percent no control over money and about 5 percent each not my child and not responsible for the child for whom support is ordered. These data are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Reasons for Non-Payment by Age

Reasons	Below 25 (%)	26-30 (%)	31 & over (%)	Total
No money	27 (41.54)	15 (34.1)	16 (39.0)	58
No visitation	8 (12.31)	13 (29.55)	14 (34.15)	35
No control over how money is spent	5 (7.69)	9 (20.45)	7 (17.1)	21
Not my child	13 (20.00)	4 (9.1)	2 (4.87)	19
Not responsible	12 (18.46)	3 (6.81)	2 (4.87)	17
Total	65	44	41	150
$\chi^2=20.36$; $df=8$; $p=.01$	$\chi^2=22$; $df=4$ $p<.001$	$\chi^2=12.81$ $df=4$ $p<.01$	$\chi^2=21.96$ $df=4$ $p<.001$	

Policy Implications

- (1) Since over 50 percent of the unemployed fathers report lack of money for non-payment of child support the state agency responsible for child support collection should attempt to help these fathers to find employment and should consider two policy choices to increase fathers' ability to pay: (i) expand "enrollment in jobs search" and monitor this program closely so that fathers make serious attempts to find jobs; (ii) create a public service job program for those fathers who are unable to find jobs through job search. Both these policy initiatives will be cost effective compared to the minimum child support

payment set by courts. Tax payers, fathers and the children will benefit from this change in the policy.

- (2) A second important reason that fathers do not pay is a poor relationship with the ex-wife resulting into no visitation or numerous hassles fathers reportedly experience when they visit their children, and lack of knowledge of how the money paid in child support is spent. For a father non-payment of child support often is a measure of retaliation against his ex-wife. Robert Moses of Champaign, Illinois (not his real name) explains his reasons for not paying court-ordered child support to the tune of \$2,500: "I do not know what she does with the money. She lives well—I can tell from her clothes. She takes vacations. I know it." By withholding child support he believes he can hurt her. Non-custodial deadbeat dads come to believe that "child support is like paying taxes," and if they can avoid it [the payment] they do not feel any remorse (Newsweek, May 4, 1992:49). Counseling for divorced spouses over these issues will improve their relationship and thus reduce their unwillingness to pay child support. The state may appoint counselors at each county court house to offer counseling to both parents to work their problems out in the interest of their children. This again will be more cost-effective since this will improve the effectiveness of current measures, i.e. wage withholdings, assignment of the property, tax intercept, etc. (Sensel, 1991).
- (3) Alleged fathers who dispute paternity will be helped if paternity establishment is expedited. Currently establishment takes 6 to 9 months.
- (4) Fathers who believe that they are not responsible for the children because they did not want the children and women got pregnant in spite of this understanding is difficult to resolve. This situation can be helped by conveying to non-custodial parents, through counseling; since they did not take measures to prevent pregnancy, they can't walk away from this responsibility. Courts do not have resources and professional expertise to offer this kind of counseling. The IDPA should use professionals trained in family counseling suggested earlier to address the attitude of "no responsibility" on the part of the fathers (Mabry, 1992).

- (5) Child support guidelines should take into account the financial responsibility of remarried fathers in setting child support payments. A realistic amount will encourage these fathers to pay the affordable child support payments (Schaeffer, 1990; Meyers and Garasky, 1993).

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Public Spending on Income-Tested Social Welfare Programs for Investment and Consumption Purposes

MARTHA N. OZAWA

Washington University
George Warren Brown School of Social Work

The Clinton administration contends that public spending for investment should be increased, but public spending for consumption should be decreased. This article reports findings from a study that investigated the trend in public spending from 1975 to 1992 for social welfare programs that are targeted to low-income families and individuals. The study found that public spending for social welfare programs for investment purposes declined generally during that period and public spending for consumption purposes increased primarily because of the increase in medical benefits.

The Clinton administration has established a new priority in public spending: investment in human capital over consumption. That is, the administration is advocating new spending to develop or expand programs that are designed to invest in future generations of Americans, such as Head Start, a new program of national service, and a time-limited training program for welfare mothers. The corollary to this new priority is the administration's willingness to scale down public spending for "consumption" that is represented by many entitlement programs, such as Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), food stamps, and housing.

Having won a big electoral victory in the 1994 national election, many members of the Republican Party intend to implement "Contract with America." Among the pledges in the contract is the cut back in public spending for welfare programs for both investment and consumption purposes. Thus, the battle between the administration and Republican-dominated Congress revolves around what to do with the programs for human capital investment. Clinton believes that the federal government should

increase its spending on social welfare programs designed to enhance human capital. The Republican Party seems to believe that all social welfare spending should be cut back.

With the foregoing discussion as a backdrop, this article analyzes the patterns of public spending for low-income families and individuals during the past 18 years. Has public spending for investment purposes increased and, if so, what types of programs are responsible for such an increase? If not, why not? Likewise, has public spending for consumption purposes increased and, if so, what types of programs are responsible for such an increase? Is there a relationship between the two types of spending? That is, has public spending for consumption purposes increased to the detriment of public spending for investment purposes? Finally, which type of public spending has changed in tandem with the rise and fall in the poverty rate?

To shed light on these questions, the author investigated the trend in U.S. public spending for income-tested social welfare programs. As of 1992, some 80 publicly provided social welfare programs were targeted to low-income families and individuals (for a list of these programs, see Appendix 1). According to the categories set by the Congressional Research Service (1993), an organ of the Library of Congress, 17 programs were related to educational benefits, 8 were related to social services, 7 were related to jobs and training aid, 9 were related to medical benefits, 11 were related to cash aid, 11 were related to food benefits, 15 were related to housing benefits, and 2 were related to energy aid. Broadly conceived, these programs constitute "welfare programs" in the United States.

Source of Data and Methodology

The data used for the analysis presented here were provided by the Congressional Research Service (1993). I categorized publicly provided social welfare programs with income testing into two groups: those for investment purposes and those for consumption purposes. Programs for investment purposes provide educational benefits, jobs and training aid, and social services. Programs for consumption purposes provide medical benefits, cash aid, housing benefits, and energy aid. Expenditures for some

types of medical care, such as prenatal care and medical care for children, may be considered an investment, whereas others, such as intensive care for the terminally ill and medical care for the elderly, may be thought of as consumption. However, in this article, all public spending for medical benefits for low-income people is considered consumption, in line with the Clinton administration's view and its willingness to trim public expenditures for Medicare and Medicaid (Birnbaum & Harwood, 1993).

In this article, the term *spending* means public spending and includes both federal and state-local spending, and all expenditures are expressed as a percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP). Measuring the expenditures for income-tested social welfare programs as a share of the GDP is appropriate because the GDP encompasses population growth, as well as economic growth, and this method of measuring expenditures automatically takes care of the fluctuation in prices. As was mentioned, all programs analyzed in this article have income testing and thus target their benefits to low-income families and individuals.

To investigate the relationship between public spending for investment purposes and for consumption purposes on the one hand and the poverty rate on the other hand, Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficients were obtained. Similarly, to investigate whether public expenditures for investment purposes and for consumption purposes are related, a Parson Product-Moment correlation coefficient was obtained.

Public Spending for Income-Tested Programs in the Aggregate

All Programs

The total outlay for income-tested social welfare programs increased 106 percent from \$140.7 billion in 1975 to \$289.9 billion in 1992—in 1992 dollars (Congressional Research Service, 1993).

Figure 1 plots the percentages of the GDP spent for the programs for investment purposes and those for consumption purposes, as well as for all programs. The poverty rates for the years 1975 through 1992 were also plotted. As Figure 1 shows, the total outlay for the income-tested social welfare programs was 3.40 percent of the GDP in 1975 and increased to 4.01 percent in 1981. But in 1982, it started to decline, reaching the low point of

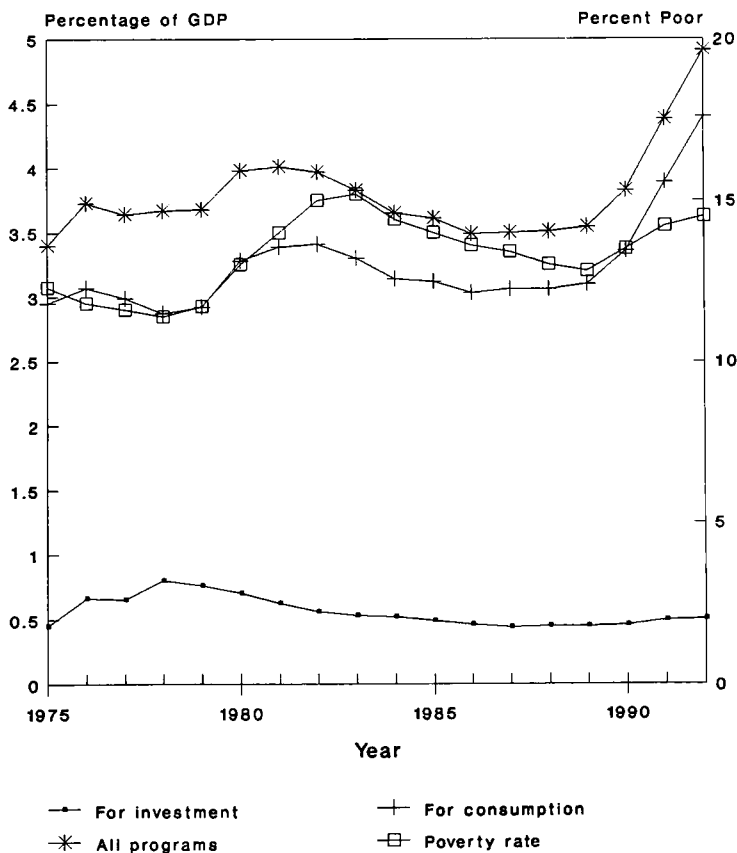
3.50 percent in 1987. Since then, it increased steadily to reach the highest point of 4.91 percent in 1992. All told, the expenditures for all programs increased from 3.40 percent of the GDP in 1975 to 4.91 percent in 1992—or a 44.4 percent increase.

Programs for Investment Purposes

The outlay for the programs for investment purposes increased steadily until 1978, when the expenditures abruptly

Figure 1

Expenditures for Income-Tested Programs for Investment and Consumption



dropped. Since 1978, the outlay for these programs consistently declined until 1987, when it resumed climbing. Thus, in 1992 it was 0.51 percent of the GDP, compared with 0.45 percent in 1975.

More important, perhaps, is that the outlay for the programs for investment purposes was never high in any year. Public spending has been well below 1 percent of the GDP for all programs in the areas of education, jobs- training, and social services for low-income families and individuals.

The expenditures for these programs were correlated inversely with the poverty rate; the Pearson Product-Moment correlation between the two variables was -0.523 ($p < 0.05$). This means that when the poverty rate was high, the level of expenditures tended to be low.

Programs for Consumption Purposes

Figure 1 shows that the outlay for the programs for consumption purposes fluctuated between the low of 2.87 percent of the GDP in 1978 and the high of 4.40 percent in 1992. It is interesting that during the Reagan-Bush era (1981–92), the average percentage of the GDP spent for these programs was higher (3.36 percent) than the average during the Carter era (1977–80), which was 3.02 percent.

The outlay for the programs for consumption purposes tended to follow the trend in poverty rates; the Pearson Product-Moment correlation between the two variables were 0.598 ($p < 0.01$). This means that when the poverty rate was high, the level of expenditures also tended to be high.

The increase in medical benefits accounts for the statistically significant relationship between the outlay for consumption purposes and the poverty rate. The Pearson Product-Moment correlation between the public spending for medical benefits and the poverty rate was positive and significant (0.535 ; $p < 0.05$), but the correlation between the poverty rate and public spending for consumption purposes, excluding medical benefits, was not significant.

Was there a relationship between the expenditures for investment purposes and the expenditures for consumption purposes? The answer is no. The Pearson Product-Moment correlation was not significant.

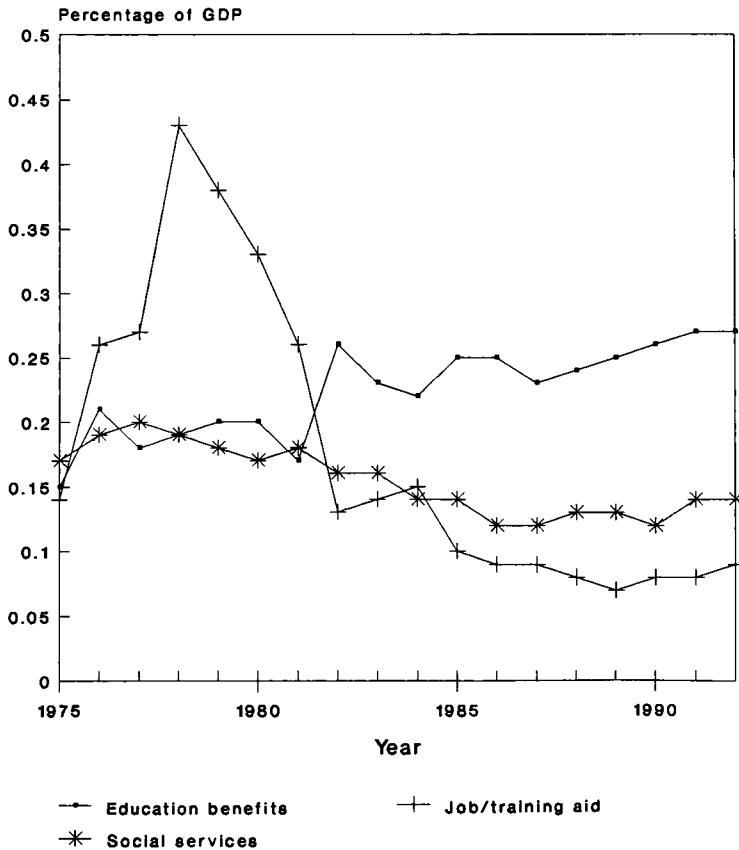
Public Spending for Specific Sectors of Income-Tested Programs

Programs for Investment Purposes

The trend in expenditures for investment purposes masks the extremely volatile nature of expenditures for specific sectors of programs for such purposes.

Figure 2

Expenditures for Income-Tested Programs for Investment



Job and Training Aid. The most volatile expenditures are for the sector of jobs and training aid. The outlay for such purposes hit the high of 0.43 percent of the GDP in 1978, but then steadily and drastically decreased. Thus, in 1992, only 0.09 percent of the GDP was spent for programs for jobs and training. This volatility reflects, in part, the shift in federal policy on jobs and training. The enactment of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA, P.L. 93-203) in 1973 greatly increased federal funding to retrain and place long-term unemployed, inefficiently employed, or disadvantaged people in largely public-sector service jobs. But CETA quickly became unpopular and hence the budget for it was cut. The Reagan administration replaced CETA with the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982 (JTPA, P.L. 97-300), which included Training for Disadvantaged Adults and Youth, the JOB CORPS, and the Summer Youth Employment Program. With JTPA, the strategy changed from training structurally and cyclically unemployed people for public-sector service jobs to training them for private-sector jobs (DiNitto, 1991). But the scope of these programs was scaled down year after year during the Reagan and Bush administrations (U.S. House of Representatives, 1992, p. 1692). Also, the decade of 1975–1985 saw a steady decline in public spending for the Work Incentive Program (WIN) from \$750 million in 1975 to \$400 million in 1985, in 1992 dollars (U.S. Office of Management and Budget, 1992). The implementation of the Jobs Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) Training program, which replaced WIN, provided under the 1988 Family Support Act, no doubt will increase public spending for jobs and training in the future. However, it will take some years for the JOBS program to make a difference. Although Congress appropriated federal matching funds of \$600 million for 1989, \$800 million for 1990, and \$1 billion for 1991, 1992, and 1993 for this program, many states failed to take full advantage of these funds because they could not raise enough money for their own 10-percent matching funds, required under the law (Burke, 1993). As a result, in 1993, for example, only \$646.6 million of the \$1 billion available federal matching funds were used (U.S. House of Representatives, 1994 pp. 342 and 349).

Social Services. The declining outlay (from 0.17 percent of the GDP in 1975 to 0.14 percent in 1992) for social services stemmed

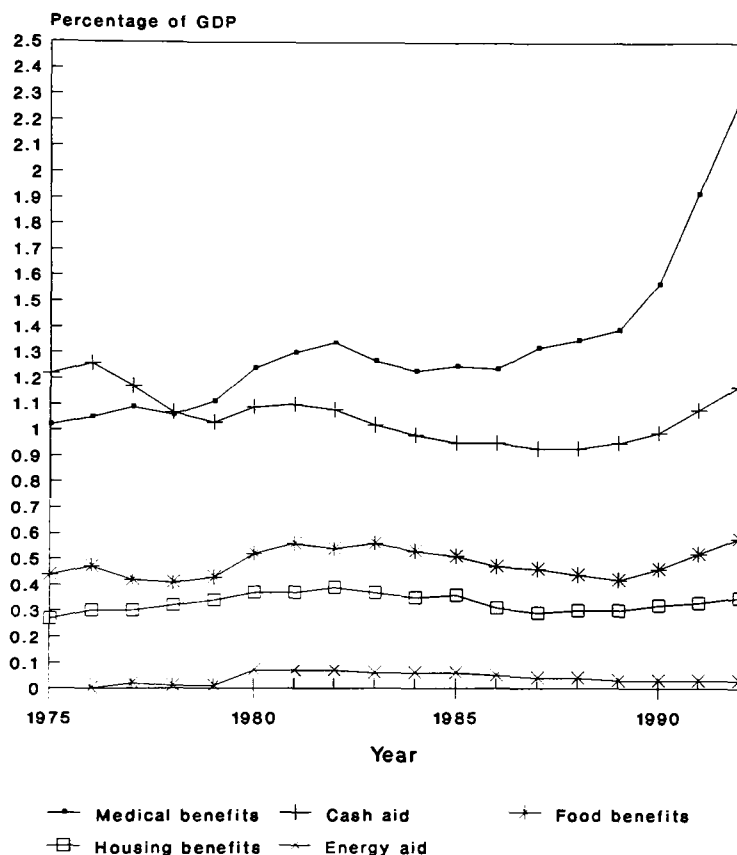
from the founding structure established for the Social Service Block Grant (Title XX) and the Community Services Block Grant—two dominant programs in the area of social services. The Social Service Block Grant had a funding cap of \$2.7 billion for 1984–88 and of \$2.8 billion for 1989 and subsequent years. Thus, the total outlay was not adjusted for inflation or economic growth, and, therefore, the spending for the Social Service Block Grant not only eroded in value, but lagged far behind the growth in the economy. The same declining trend can be observed in the funds for the Community Services Block Grant. Congress appropriated a declining amount of federal funds each year, in real terms. For example, the appropriation for 1990 was \$396.8 million, or 20 percent lower than that for 1982 (Spar, 1990). Hence, both types of grants eroded in real value over time.

Educational Benefits. As Figure 2 shows, the only bright spot is seen in public spending for programs for educational benefits, which rose from 0.15 percent of the GDP in 1975 to the record 0.27 percent in 1992. The Head Start program continued to be popular, with annual enrollments and expenditures increasing year after year (U.S. House of Representatives, 1992, p. 1696). Other educational benefits programs, such as Stafford Loans (formerly called Guaranteed Student Loans), Pell Grants, the College Work-Study Program, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, and Vocational Education Opportunities, were popular in Congress throughout the 1980s.

Programs for Consumption Purposes

Medical Benefits. What is so striking about the trend in public spending for income-tested social welfare programs for consumption purposes is the rapid upward movement in the expenditures for medical benefits—from 1.02 percent of the GDP in 1975 to 2.27 percent in 1992. This trend strongly reflects the increasing expenditures for Medicaid—the major program in this sector of social welfare programs. There are three major reasons for the growth in Medicaid. First, the unit price for medical care has increased faster than the Consumer Price Index (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, p. 488). Second, new groups of persons who are not directly linked to the cash assistance programs have become

Figure 3

Expenditures for Income-Tested Programs for Consumption

eligible for Medicaid. The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986 (P.L. 99-509) allowed states to cover pregnant women and young children and/or aged and disabled persons who meet state-established income standards as high as 100 percent of the poverty threshold. The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (P.L. 100-203) further expanded states' options by allowing the coverage of pregnant women and children up to age 1

with incomes of less than 185 percent of the poverty thresholds. Moreover, the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 required states to cover pregnant women and children up to age 6 with incomes under 133 percent of the poverty thresholds. Third, Medicaid is increasingly being used to pay for medical care for the elderly, especially for their long-term care. Medicaid expenditures for the elderly accounted for 32 percent of the total Medicaid expenditures in 1992 (U.S. House of Representatives, 1994, p. 806).

Cash Aid. Public spending for cash aid has been on the persistent decline since 1976—dropping from 1.26 percent of the GDP in 1976 to 0.93 percent in 1988. After 1988, it increased steadily to reach 1.17 percent of the GDP in 1992. The pattern of AFDC payments partly explains the decline in the expenditures during the 1970s and 1980s. That is, all states, except California, have failed to upgrade their AFDC payments to adjust for the rise in the cost of living. For example, a study by the Congressional Research Service (Solomon, 1992) found that in constant 1992 dollars, the median state's maximum payment for a family of four declined from \$796 in 1970 to \$435 in 1992, a reduction of 45.4 percent. The states' failure to upgrade AFDC payment levels according to the increase in cost of living has resulted in a smaller pool of eligible families (Ellwood & Summers, 1986). The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981, which virtually made working poor families ineligible for AFDC and pushed working AFDC families off the assistance rolls, further shrank the pool of AFDC-eligible families (Bowden & Levy, 1982). All this resulted in a decline in the percentage of poor children on AFDC from 71.6 percent in 1975 to 57.9 percent in 1989. Since 1989, the percentage of poor children on AFDC steadily increased, so that it reached 63.1 percent in 1992 (U.S. House of Representatives, 1994, p. 399). This recent surge in the percentage of poor children on AFDC reflected a sudden increase in AFDC families between 1989 and 1992, adding 950,000 families to the AFDC caseload (or a 27 percent increase) during the same period (Gabe, 1992). All told, the AFDC expenditures declined from 0.51 percent of the GDP in 1975 to 0.37 percent of the GDP in 1992.

The expenditures for Supplemental Security Income (SSI), another major cash aid program, have been stable. The expenditures were 0.37 percent of the GDP in 1975, 0.3 percent in 1990, and

back to 0.37 percent in 1992 (Social Security Administration, 1994, p. 286; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994, p. 446).

The slow growth in SSI expenditures was caused by two factors. First, although the number of SSI recipients suddenly grew between 1990 and 1992, it had been relatively stable before 1990—4.8 million in 1990 compared with 4.3 million in 1975—although the composition of SSI recipients changed greatly, with the number of disabled persons increasing and with the number of elderly persons decreasing (Social Security Administration, 1994, p. 285). Second, although the federal SSI payments kept up with inflation, state SSI supplemental payments did not, except in Minnesota and Alaska (U.S. House of Representatives, 1992, p. 790). As a result, the combined federal-state SSI payments eroded in value over time.

The earned income tax credit (EITC) has become an important part of public aid programs. The data for the present study included the refunded portion of the EITC. In 1975, this portion constituted 0.05 percent of the GDP. The proportion stayed stable from 1975 through 1985. But, between 1985 and 1990, it increased from 0.04 percent to 0.09 percent of the GDP. By 1992, it reached 0.16 percent of the GDP, or about a half of the proportion of the GDP spent for AFDC (U.S. House of Representatives, 1994, p. 704).

Largely because of what happened in AFDC, SSI, and the EITC between 1975 and 1992, the share of the GDP devoted to financing cash aid persistently declined from 1.22 percent of the GDP in 1975 to 0.93 percent of the GDP in 1988, and increased thereafter, reaching 1.17 percent of the GDP by 1992 (see Figure 3).

Food Benefits. Whereas cash aid failed to be responsive to the financial needs of low-income families, food stamps tended to make up for the shortfall, before 1980, as Figure 3 shows. When the expenditures for cash aid were declining rapidly from 1976 to 1979, those for food benefits programs, dominated by the Food Stamp program, were steady. This situation occurred because the Food Stamp program—a 100-percent federally funded program—increased its benefit level according to cost-of-living increases, whereas cash aid programs, such as AFDC, did not. On the other hand, the proportion of poor people receiving food stamps decreased from 65.6 percent in 1981 (a record high) to

59.6 percent in 1990, and increased to 64.0 percent in 1992 (U.S. House of Representatives, 1994, p. 777). The steady decline in the reciprocity rate during the 1980s was, in part, attributable to the stricter eligibility requirements instituted by the Reagan Administration under the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (Bowden & Levy, 1982). Thus, the trend in spending for food benefits followed closely the trend in spending for cash aid during the Reagan-Bush era.

Housing Benefits. The expenditures for housing benefits ranged from 0.27 percent to 0.39 percent of the GDP during those years under investigation. Public spending for this purpose steadily declined from 1982, when it peaked at 0.39 percent of the GDP, to 0.29 percent of the GDP in 1987, and rose to 0.35 percent of the GDP in 1992. The persistent decline in housing expenditures during the 1980s occurred in the face of the increasing number of homeless people during that decade. A study by The Urban Institute (1988) estimated that there were 560,000 to 680,000 homeless persons in 1988.

Energy Aid. Public spending for energy aid originated in 1976. It increased greatly in 1980, but declined steadily afterward, so it was only 0.03 percent of the GDP in 1992, compared with 0.07 percent in 1980. Thus, energy aid programs played an increasingly minor role in assisting low-income families as the years passed.

Discussion and Conclusions

Has public spending for programs to invest in low-income families and individuals declined? The answer is yes, except during the past few years. What is even more serious is that the trend in expenditures for investment purposes have been highly volatile and uncertain. For example, the programs for jobs and training have been under an onslaught of budget cuts for many years. The expenditures for social services have been de facto neglected because of the spending cap in the Social Service Block Grant and the Community Service Block Grant. Even the expenditures for educational benefits—though on an upward trend—have been unpredictable. In short, the data presented in this article indicate the absence of a systematic and comprehensive national strategy for human capital development. If the United States has a serious commitment to developing human capital among the

low-income population, one would expect that public spending for investment purposes would grow at a faster rate than that of the economy and that the expenditures for programs for such purposes would be *steadily* rising. The reality has been far from such a desirable trend.

Has public spending for consumption increased to the detriment of the public spending for investment? The answer is no, as was indicated earlier by the insignificant correlation coefficient between the two variables. Public spending for programs for all types of consumption rose from 1975 to 1992, but this increase was largely due to the growth in programs for medical benefits. When medical benefits are excluded from the analysis, public spending for consumption purposes actually decreased from 1.93 percent of the GDP in 1975 to 1.70 percent in 1989, only to climb back to 1.97 in 1991 and to 2.13 percent in 1992 (see Figure 3). Mostly notably, the expenditures for cash aid programs, of which the public tends to be especially critical, declined considerably during the 1980s, only to climb back to the level of 1981 in 1992. One can conclude that except for medical benefits, the United States has not increased the scope of provisions of daily necessities for low-income families and individuals, commensurate with the growth in the economy.

All told, the level of public spending for all 80 income-tested social welfare programs for both investment and consumption purposes should be considered modest, indeed. In 1992 the United States spent only 4.91 percent of the GDP for all income-tested social welfare programs (see Figure 1). In contrast, it spent 4.87 percent of the GDP in that year for the social security program (OASDI) alone (U.S. House of Representatives, 1993, p. 85).

As the United States faces the challenge of global competition in the coming decades, the policymakers in Washington should take a hard look at the nation's haphazard commitment to public spending for programs to enhance human capital among low-income families and individuals. To face the future challenge, they need to create a more coherent and comprehensive policy for the development of human capital and a national strategy to accomplish the objective. Furthermore, they ought to recognize that the United States certainly has not overspent for programs to help low-income families and individuals consume the daily necessities of life.

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Book Reviews

Adrian Guelke (Ed.), *New Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Conflict*. Brookfield, VT: Avebury, 1994. \$54.95 hardcover.

Peace is a necessary condition of social justice, and its pursuit a legitimate aim of social work. While such an assumption is commonplace in social work with individuals and families, it finds less expression in the literature of community organization where emphasis has not infrequently been on conflict as a strategy towards a larger goal. Yet the foundations of civil society in places as diverse as South Africa and Israel depend on harmony or at least cooperation in seeking the common good. It is significant that the origins of *New Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Conflict* can be traced to sessions at the First International Congress on Prejudice, Discrimination and Conflict held in Jerusalem in 1991, and that the book's editor is a South African, the Jan Smuts Professor of International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. The commonalties of civil strife and the quest for peace are apparent. The contributors Adrian Guelke has drawn together represent an interdisciplinary group of social scientists who in their examination of the Northern Ireland situation probe the parameters of conflict and its resolution.

One of the ironies of the book, published just before the present peace initiative, is that it holds out relatively little hope for a peaceful solution. Guelke's last word is: "Termination of the conflict by either accommodation or a struggle to the finish seems improbable. The word that most aptly describes Northern Ireland's political conditions is intractable." So much for the predictive power of social science! Against the odds, a cease fire was declared by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in the summer of 1994, matched shortly after by the Unionist side, and prospects for a lasting settlement are now at least conceivable. But you always hold your breath when thinking of Ireland, and the grounds for Guelke's caution are centuries old.

The scope of the book is relatively narrow and more effective on that account. Leaving aside ancient history, the contributors confine themselves to the more recent "troubles" (an Irish euphemism if ever there was one), beginning in the late sixties

with the flare-up of intercommunal violence, a state of affairs that lasted with varying degrees of intensity until recently. A paradox with which the contributing authors deal is the "relatively low level" of violence which nonetheless persisted throughout the period. Contrary to popular perception, in no sense was there civil war; even terrorism strikes many as too strong a word for the on-again-off-again bombings and reprisals that took place during this period. There is talk about "legitimate targets" and "acceptable levels of violence", in themselves rather shocking terms, to describe the controls which both communities (Catholic/Nationalist and Protestant/Unionist) put on their militant wings. At root is the question: should the North remain part of Britain (the Unionist position) or should it be integrated with the Republic of Ireland (as the Nationalists would have it)? There is, of course, a range of options under each scenario.

A refreshing break from the rational discourse of the authors is the language of the most directly affected by the violence and social injustice. The streets and schools in surveys and interviews echo distaste and sometime humor directed at extremists. A Protestant begs not to allow stereotyping to put him in the same bag as "a wee Christian . . . a Bible-thumper." Children in the midst of sectarianism show themselves surprisingly sensitive to cultural diversity. Liam, Catholic, 15 years old: "People are all brought up differently." Jennifer, Protestant, also 15, describing her new school: "Now I have Catholic friends. They come and stay at my home."

For all that, sectarianism is alive and well in Belfast. The men and women, the girls and boys interviewed have for the most part no doubt where their ethnic and religious allegiance lies, and generally this identity influences political sentiment. While the official and indeed the passionate line of the mainstream churches, both Catholic and Protestant, is firmly against violence, and even as the family victims of violence invariably plead against reprisals, violence has continued. As Guelke puts it, "the role of religious belief, like that of segregation, is contradictory: acting as a restraint on violence, on the one hand, while contributing to the divisions that give rise to the violence, on the other."

The strength of this book is its sophistication, its uncanny ability to see both sides of the question. The book presents no

formula for peace, but the "new perspectives" of its title shed light on the complexities of political discourse in a divided society, the inconsistencies of British government policy, the status of the military and the police, working class unemployment, the evolution of a mainly quiescent Catholic middle class, bicomunalism and segregation, the role of education on both sides of the border, and the limits to conflict and accommodation. At times the discussion widens to other parts of the globe, but for the most part readers are left to draw their own conclusions on how the lessons learned from Northern Ireland can apply to regional conflicts elsewhere.

For those unfamiliar with the situation in Northern Ireland, *New Perspective* is an excellent introductory text. Even for those who have some knowledge of the politics of the province during the last three decades the book has important insights to offer. Here is a fine case study of communal strife and the search for a solution.

John F. Jones
University of Denver

Robert B. Hill, *Research on the African-American Family: A Holistic Perspective*. Westport, CT: Auburn House, 1993. \$47.95 hardcover; \$15.95 papercover.

This book, one of four, produced for the project, "Assessment of the Status of African Americans," coordinated by the William Monroe Trotter Institute at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, should be read by every person interested in doing and understanding research on African-American families. The book offers that the causes and nature of the current crisis among African American families must be understood from a holistic perspective. Such a perspective must necessarily explore the separate and combined effects of societal trends, community, family and individual factors and social policies.

The first chapter provides a framework for understanding what is meant by a holistic perspective. It then recommends that any study of African-American families must give priority to themes of diversity, dynamism, balance, solutions and empiricism. Each of these dimensions are explored to demonstrate how

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each serves to enhance understanding of the problems and solutions related to the functioning of African-American families. Chapter two examines the recent social and economic trends that impact the contemporary structure and functioning of African-American families. Economic trends explored include: employment and occupational changes, income trends and welfare patterns. Social trends examined include: single-parent families, out-of-wed-lock births, child care, informal and formal adoption, foster care, child abuse and housing patterns.

Chapters three and four focus on external and internal factors that impact African-American families. The authors thoughtfully examine societal forces that adversely impact black families including the four "isms"—racism, classism, sexism and ageism. They further examine the adverse impact of recessions, double digit inflation, a shift from higher-paying manufacturing jobs to lower-paying service jobs, and increased job competition from legal and illegal immigrants on African-American families in contrast to white families in this country.

Negative factors at the community, family and individual levels to include joblessness, poverty, crime, delinquency, drug abuse, alcohol abuse, AIDS, homelessness, out-of-wedlock births, adolescent pregnancies, low educational attainment are addressed with special attention paid to how these factors intersect and influence each other and must therefore be understood from a systemic perspective. While various organizations and institutions in the black community serve to buffer negative factors for many black families, far too many black families, particularly those families with few internal and external resources, are severely crippled. These families require comprehensive programs based on holistic understandings.

The authors end by offering recommended strategies for the nation if we are to seriously work to strengthen Black families and communities. These strategies include: (1.) rededication to the goals of achieving full employment; expanding job training; expanding subsidized jobs; expanding child care; reforming AFDC enhancing child support; reforming foster care; enhancing education, physical health and mental health; enhancing public housing; and expanding low-income housing.

The holistic perspective offered in this book provides a solid understanding of the causes and nature of the current crises among black families that can lead to their address if, indeed, this country is serious about making a difference that will positively impact all citizens of this country. The holistic perspective will require careful examination of the separate and combined effects of societal factors, social policies, and factors at the community, family, and individual levels. This book must be read by all persons who are seriously interested in positive change for African-American families and communities and inevitably for all families and communities in this country.

Dorcas D. Bowles
University of Texas (Arlington)

James B. McKee, *Sociology and the Race Problem: The Failure of a Perspective*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993. \$39.95 hardcover, \$16.95 papercover.

As a new century approaches many sociologists have thought about, or been asked to speculate on, new social patterns and changes lying ahead. Before saying much about future developments in U.S. race relations, they would be well advised to read James McKee's analysis of how specialists in race and ethnicity failed to accurately perceive or interpret race relations during most of this past century. McKee begins in the 1890s and early 1900s, when most scholars and "progressive" whites omitted "the race problem" (black subordination and exploitation) from their agenda of social reforms. He carefully and critically scrutinizes the subsequent conceptual and empirical twists and turns sociology took in its analysis of black-white relations through the mid-1960s. Reading this book takes you through sociology's attic, showing you all the "old stuff"—some of it long forgotten, some of it well remembered. McKee summarizes and explicates each decade's sociological work on race (by Odum, Hankins, Park, Reuter, Warner, Frazier, Johnson, Myrdal, Williams and many others). His commentaries on the quotes from these force us to decide what's worth keeping, what we should recant, what we're

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proud of, and what we're embarrassed by. All in all, this trip down memory lane with McKee as our guide humbles, if not humiliates, sociology as a discipline claiming special expertise in race relations.

As the book's subtitle indicates, McKee argues that most sociologists who analyzed race relations were unable to "get it right," and he attributes their failure to faulty assumptions and inappropriate conceptualizations of the issues, which led to flawed observations and misguided theories. McKee's central thesis is that specialists in race relations failed to anticipate and were unable to explain the changing pattern of race relations that emerged in the U.S. after World War II. These scholars "had not simply failed to predict a specific event; rather, they had grievously misread a significant historical development. The race relations that appeared in their writings were incongruent with the race relations to be found in the society around them" (p. 2). More specifically, what they were unable to see coming and lacked an understanding of was the bold assault African Americans made on segregation and the accompanying growth of black identity and cultural consciousness.

McKee contends this intellectual failure came about because the perspective on race relations that dominated sociological thinking for most of the 20th Century was unsound. He asserts that most of what scholars "knew" and took for granted (either as assumptions or as empirical facts) was, in reality, wrong. Chief among these were the beliefs that (a) various forces in the process of "modernization" will gradually produce the decline and disappearance of racial-ethnic identities and groups; (b) white prejudice was so strongly anti-black and the white power structure was so dominant that blacks could not directly challenge them, and must instead work with white allies for gradual reforms; and (c) black communities were culturally deficient and crippled by lack of education, apathy, poor leadership, and poverty.

McKee acknowledges that he is not the first to make these observations and criticisms. What distinguishes his work is his effort to do a full historical and sociological analysis of American sociology's study of race relations to account for what went wrong. He succeeds admirably, and his intellectual honesty in dealing with scholars of the past, in particular by resisting temptations to make

strawmen of their arguments or to take cheap shots at them, is commendable. Although McKee believes most sociologists failed in their efforts at comprehending race relations, in each decade he recognizes a few who he thinks were on the right track (e.g., Robert Park, Charles Johnson, E. Franklin Frazier, St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Herbert Blumer, Lewis Killian, and Robert Blauner).

McKee's goal did not include discussing or critiquing contemporary work on race or ethnicity, and he does not argue for or against newer theories today's researchers are working with. In an epilogue he suggests that given our changing racial-ethnic compositions, the key question sociologists must address is "how does a culturally diverse people interact in order to agree upon and accomplish the common good?". McKee believes sound answers must take into account a structurally changing global economy that has been worsening the plight of poor blacks and contributing to the decay of inner cities.

If it is true that people, including sociologists, learn from previous mistakes, then by laying out the discipline's errors McKee has done us a service. It would be good if every instructor teaching a course on race relations would read this book. For many readers of this journal who are more interested in social work and applied sociology, I can not recommend it so highly. For them McKee's discussions of the connection between sociologists and early practitioners of "intergroup relations" and civil rights activists (e.g., the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials) would be of interest, along with his chapter on the application of sociology in desegregation cases. But in both cases he'd have to go into much greater detail than he did to fully satisfy readers with a strong applied/social work orientation. In addition, since McKee's analysis of "sociology and the race problem" focuses exclusively on blacks and whites (this is what most of the sociological literature of that era dealt with), some readers may be disappointed over the lack of attention given to other groups that were also socially defined as racially different.

Charles Jaret
Georgia State University

Jill Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. \$24.00 hardcover.

Comparative research in social policy had devoted a good deal of attention to what has been called 'American welfare exceptionalism'. This phrase connotes the apparent fact that the United States spends proportionally less than other industrial nations on social programs, and that it has less comprehensive social services. Unlike most European countries, the country has no universal health care system, no child allowances and less extensive housing and other social services.

Various explanations for American welfare exceptionalism have been offered. It has been claimed that the United States' dominant individualist ethos mitigates against social welfare and that the country lacks a strong and well organized industrial working class that can effectively campaign for social programs as social democratic movements have done in many European nations. It has also been suggested that the nation's size and heterogeneity impede the emergence of a comprehensive welfare state and that the lack of a powerful central bureaucracy capable of organizing national level social interventions has been a relevant factor.

Jill Quadagno has previously been involved in debates about American welfare exceptionalism but her book offers a new and significant interpretation of the issue. Quadagno contends that unlike the European countries, social policy in the United States is dominated by race and that racial inequality has been the primary impediment to the creation of the comprehensive welfare state. Pointing out that social policy is often used for political rather than social ends, Quadagno offers a plausible account of the way politicians have historically pandered to racist sentiments and how this has impeded the introduction of comprehensive social programs. Drawing examples from different periods of American history she shows how the failure to address the issue of racial inequality precluded the expansion of social rights to the population as a whole.

Much of Quadagno's book focuses on the Johnson administration's War on Poverty. The War on Poverty was the most

comprehensive attempt to extend social welfare to excluded minorities. But, as on previous occasions, racial problems limited its effectiveness. While the component programs of the War on Poverty showed considerable promise, they failed to reach their objectives because they were subsumed under more dominant racial struggles. For example, the job training program was deadlocked when the unions refused to permit the entry of black apprentices into well-paying construction jobs. The introduction by the Federal government of affirmative action hiring sought to correct this problem but instead fostered hostility by blue collar workers towards the Democratic Party and undermined the purpose of the program. Similarly, the community action program failed to improve local service provision and instead became a mechanism for political control and patronage. With the election of Richard Nixon, the role of race in social policy was recognized and exploited through the introduction of social policies that produced electoral advantage for the Republican administration.

This important book makes a major contribution to the analysis of social policy in the United States. It is solidly grounded in historical research, well written and plausible. Its signal contribution is to explicate the significance of the racial factor in social policy analysis. With the increasing diversification of the populations of the European nations, its argument will have wider relevance.

James Midgley
Louisiana State University

Paul M. Sniderman and Thomas Piazza, *The Scar of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. \$19.95 hardcover.

It has been predicted that the decade of the 1990s will best be known as the years of the "cultural imperative" in the United States. It is certainly clear that the whole issue of race and ethnicity continues to have saliency for most of our American institutions. With the emphasis on domestic policies as expressed through the recent national election, this study appears at a critical time in contributing to an understanding of race and racial politics in

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these "cultural imperative" years. The authors of this book call into question many prevailing views and beliefs about the nature of racism in the United States. There is reasonable certainty that their hypotheses are capable of provoking spirited debate in these times of political correctness.

The generally accepted belief that racism is an invariable phenomenon is this nation is exposed to extensive analysis by the authors. While a great deal of the current literature on diversity focuses on a singular manifestation of racism and racist attitudes, the authors posit that the shape of racial politics has taken on a new character—one that is far more complex, more divisive, and morally more problematic. Using the results of five public opinion surveys, three national and two regional, this study asserts that it is wrong to suppose that the primary factor driving contemporary arguments over the politics of race is white racism. Instead, it is hypothesized that there is no longer *one* issue of race but a number of distinct issues. Further, the contemporary politics of race has as much to do with politics as with race. The continued existence of racial prejudice is acknowledged in the findings, but relegated to a subordinate position in its power to dominate the political thinking of ordinary Americans. A central finding that will provoke a great deal of interest is the assertion that most white Americans' views on race are pliable and subject to change. The use of computer technology in conducting interviews is purported to have allowed a more complex analysis of public opinions by capturing the variability that has not been possible when using more traditional methods of data gathering.

Sniderman and Piazza use a number of exemplars from the survey responses to explain how racial politics vary based upon the type of issue being examined. For example, the consistency of responses related to government spending, fair housing, set-asides, and affirmative action are analyzed, and results presented that document the existence of policy preferences based on whether issues are related to social welfare, equal treatment, or read-conscious policy agendas. Opinions are seen as more consistent when the issues are connected within a specific agenda category. These multiple agendas are interpreted as directing the politics of race. To assume that the movement to advance the struggles of Blacks has progressed from an emphasis on equal

treatment to a race-conscious agenda is a serious misread of the new racial politics, according to the authors.

The authors refute the generally held belief that the major change in racist attitudes is movement from overt to more subtle expressions of racism. Responses to survey questions portraying negative characterizations of African Americans, according to this analysis, demonstrate that such characterizations continue to exist, yet are widely diffused and far from uncommon even among respondents who identify themselves as liberals. The authors describe how such negative perceptions of Blacks emanate not from individualistic values but values of authoritarianism, and Blacks are perceived by whites to violate these values more frequently.

Analyzing the results of a "Laid-off worker" experiment, and "Equal Opportunity" experiment, and a "Mere mention experiment," the authors assert that charges of covert racism and prejudice in all parts of American Society are unequivocally wrong and destructive. The negative effect of assuming ubiquitous and pervasive covert racism is that attention is deflected from the social welfare and equal treatment agendas and directed toward the more controversial race-conscious agenda. It is this agenda among the three that has the most disfavor among white Americans. It is interesting that political ideology, that is, liberalism or conservatism, was not found to be a significant factor in explaining whether respondent practiced a double standard in their preferences for and opposition to policies intended to help blacks. Findings also seem to support the long held belief that education is a strong variable in the expression of racism.

This work brings a worthwhile addition to discussions focused on the "gut" issue of race in the United States. While the conclusions drawn by the authors warrant further investigation, they nonetheless appear to have considerable merit in helping to foster some rethinking of assumptions that both Blacks and non-Blacks have long held about the facts of racism. This book is not an easy read. The introduction, six chapters, and conclusion provide a great deal of explanation and interpretation of the authors' theses. There is also not an even flow of the content since the authors discuss quite extensively beforehand what the reader will read and then postscript what the reader has read. Nonetheless,

I found this book intriguing. Policy scientists believe that public opinion is very unstable and surveys can register signs of change without any real changes in opinion. This treatise on the "scar of race" may provide the impetus to begin to question *this* belief.

Barbara W. White

The University of Texas at Austin

BOOK NOTES

Paul Burstein (Ed.) *Equal Employment Opportunity: Labor Market Discrimination and Public Policy*. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1994. \$54.95 hardcover, \$25.95 papercover.

Equal employment opportunity has again become a topic of popular discussion. In these times of swaying public opinion regarding topics so central to the alleviation of income inequality, the systematic analysis of the history of employment discrimination and the policies that attempt to eliminate it is essential. Pre-empting the recent interest in these issues, Paul Burstein has compiled a collection of articles that cut to the center of this debate. This book is part of a series on sociology and economics edited by Paula S. England, George Farkas, and Kevin Lang. It brings together, in one text, works on equal employment opportunity from a variety of disciplines such as law, economics and sociology.

The book is divided into eight sections containing articles that address a variety of topics related to Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO). These include the historical background of discrimination against minorities and women, theories about discrimination, legal definitions of discrimination, economic and organizational consequences of equal opportunity laws, EEO in other countries, and the politics of EEO and affirmative action. It gives a comprehensive overview of the history and issues of equal employment opportunity in the United States. It succinctly conveys the vast accumulation of knowledge on this heavily researched subject found in several fields of study and presents them in an organized format.

This book is suitable for students of in a variety of disciplines including social policy, labor economics, sociology, law, and business. The comprehensive nature of this book makes it ideal reading for introductory classes in these fields as well as a good starting point for research in more advanced seminars on the subject.

Sybil M. Lassiter, *Multicultural Clients: A Professional Handbook for Health Care Providers and Social Workers*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995. \$65.00 hardcover.

The book's author, who is a professor of nursing, notes that there are more than 100 different ethnic groups in the United States today. By the middle of the next century, citizens of European descent will be in a minority. She points out that, as a result of the 'browning of America', it is imperative that health care personnel and social workers have a sound knowledge of the different cultures and religions that comprise the country's increasingly diverse multicultural population.

The book is intended to serve as guide to these cultures. Apart from a general introduction, it contains fifteen chapters dealing with a wide range of ethnic groups. These include Americans of African, Arab, Haitian, Latin-American and Asian descent as well as as European groups such as German, Italian and Irish Americans. A chapter on Jewish Americans is also provided. However, there is no chapter on Native Americans.

Each chapter follows a generally standardized format and contains sections dealing with the demographics of each ethnic group, language, family patterns, child rearing, socialization and religious beliefs. Because the book has been written primarily for health care professionals, each chapter also contains information on disease patterns, dietary habits, folk medicine and other culturally based health beliefs and practices.

This is not a sophisticated book about multiculturalism in the United States but, as a practical guide, it will be of use to health care and human service workers who come into daily contact with the nation's many ethnic minorities. It is easy to read and presented in a straightforward way.

Stanford M. Lyman, *Color, Culture, Civilization: Race and Minority Issues in American Society*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994. \$44.95 hardcover.

Stanford Lyman is widely respected for his incisive sociological analyses of race relations in the United States today. Utilizing a sociological perspective, he has interpreted many aspects of color and culture in the country. He has also analyzed the writings of other social scientists who have written on race and ethnic issues

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and he has masterfully excavated the assumptions and ideologies which underly their work.

This book is a collection of previously published articles by Lyman dealing with a diverse range of topics. In the book's introduction, the author attempts to explicate a unifying theme for the material by focusing on the ongoing debate between assimilationists and pluralists who view ethnic relations policy from very different perspectives. While much of the material touches on this issue, the individual chapters are self-sufficient and suggest that other themes are equally important in understanding the author's contribution.

One of these is slavery. Indeed, Lyman's analyses of contemporary ethnic issues reveals the extent to which the legacy of slavery still influences popular thinking as well as social policy in the United States. As the author reveals, the legitimization of slavery required the institutionalization of erroneous beliefs about those who were enslaved. These beliefs continue to have a powerful impact on ethnic relations today.

For example, the idea that Africans are by nature slothful is still widespread and permeates popular beliefs about race, work, poverty and welfare. This idea was originally used to justify the enslavement of Africans. In slave society, slavery was not regarded as oppression but as a means of offering salvation from the sin of sloth. By forcing slaves to work, it was believed that slave owners were inculcating their slaves with virtuous qualities and redeeming them from degeneracy. Lyman shows how this belief continues to hold currency today. For example, he notes how the writing of Lawrence Mead on poverty and income support recapitulates this idea. The popularity of Mead's writing with those who believe that coerced labor offers a useful mechanism for welfare reform is directly derived from archaic beliefs about sloth and slavery.

Similarly profound ideas permeate the other chapters of this excellent collection. It should be read not only by academics but by all who work in the field of race relations today.

Thomas Sowell, *Race and Culture: A World View*. New York: Basic Books, 1994. \$24 hardcover.

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which have been promulgated by so-called social scientists over the years. Not surprisingly, the author is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution. It is also not surprising that his work should reflect current ideological trends in the way ethnic relations are interpreted.

Methodologically, the basis for Sowell's iconoclasm is comparative analysis. Through his global travels, meetings with officials in many countries and extensive reading of historical and other sources, the author claims that widely accepted social science beliefs about race in the United States can be refuted. Indeed, the author suggests that social science wisdom on the subject is normative rather than scientific. Comparative research reveals the falsity of many scientific findings and demonstrates the ideological nature of social science investigation into racial issues.

The book's chapters are wide ranging and cover issues such as migration, slavery, economic behavior, intelligence and political participation. The author claims that the normative consequences of slavery, subjugation and imperialism were not as negative as social scientists suggest. Despite the fact that human history is littered with examples of oppression and brutality, some racial groups have been able to transcend their disadvantage and to prosper and contribute to social progress. They have done so despite the claims of social scientists that slavery, political exclusion and limited opportunities mitigate against advance. Sowell believes that the key to prosperity and progress is not to be found in affirmative action or the special treatment of minorities but in the extent to which minorities have institutionalized industrious attitudes and behaviors. This capacity for industriousness, the author claims, explains the relative success of certain ethnic groups far more effectively than social science explanations that focus on discrimination, racism, educational opportunity and political involvement. The answer to the nation's racial problems lies in inculcating industrious and productive skills among its minorities.

Predictably, this book has been well received by conservatives and the popular media. Indeed, it is in many ways an affirmation of popular attitudes rather than a refutation of social science research. Nevertheless, it deserves to be taken seriously and subjected to rigorous debate.

Nancy Shoemaker (Ed.), *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*. New York: Routledge, 1995. \$17.95 papercover.

According to Nancy Shoemaker, the editor of this informative collection of original essays, most scholars agree that Native American women enjoyed more authority and respect than European women before the Europeans landed in the New World. The historical account of the changing positions of Native American women in society, presented here, explores whether and how these positions changed after European contact. It focuses on the role of Native American women in social relations and in the economy and the changes encountered in these roles due to exposure to a different culture as well as to United States government policies and programs.

The information presented here spans several centuries, beginning in the early seventeenth century and stretching into the present and utilizes a variety of research traditions. Clifford Trafzer, for instance, offers a quantitative analysis of the purchasing record of the Yakima Reservation to explore the extent to which women participated in the trading economy of the reservation. Paivi Hoikkala uses oral history research to examine the impact of federal grant money of the political role of women in the Salt-River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community in Arizona.

A common theme of these works is that Native American women, rather than being displaced by the changing market situation created by Europeans, actually adapted readily to these changes by assuming new productive roles that reaped financial rewards. Murphy, for instance, found that Sauk, Mesquachie, and Winnebago women readily assumed lead mining activities as a form of "gathering" activity typically assigned to women.

The book gives an insightful historical account of Native American women and attempts to integrate two opposing theories regarding the gender division of labor: the 'separate-sphere' theory posed by Michelle Rosaldo and the Marxist view, expounded by Eleanor Leacock, that the gender division of labor and unequal distribution of power are inevitable products of capitalism. Shoemaker suggests that, although job tasks do differ by gender in Native American society, the distribution of power

was equal. Students of Native American history, gender studies, labor markets, and social stratification would benefit from reading this work.

Nicholas A. Vacc, Susan B. De Vaney and Joe Wittmer (Eds.), *Experiencing and Counseling Multicultural and Diverse Populations*. Bristol, PA: Taylor and Francis, 1995. \$34.95 hardcover.

Social workers, psychotherapists and counselors have become much more aware of the role of cultural difference when working with their clients. Although a number of helpful books on this subject are now available, this book contributes further to the literature by offering a detailed exposition of multicultural practice. The book is interesting in that it is not restricted to major ethnic groups (such as Mexican Americans, African Americans and Native Americans), but includes material on the elderly, gays and lesbians and women entering the workforce.

The book's basic premise is that conventional counseling seeks to produce a convergence towards 'normalcy' among clients of all beliefs, life styles and ethnic differences. Generally, the definition of normalcy is based on white Anglo, middle-class ideals. Clients who diverge from these norms are persuaded to conform and to become more like the dominant group. As the editors points out, this view reflects the now discredited belief that America is a melting pot in which immigrants are happily assimilated into mainstream values. They argue instead that America's diversity should be recognized and supported. They contend that those who work with clients seeking help should adopt practices that nurture and maintain difference and seek solutions to personal problems within a framework of toleration and acceptance of diversity. The individual chapters of the book show how this can be achieved in practical ways.

The book's extensive coverage and detail will be of value not only to students learning about counseling with diverse clients but to professionals as well. It contains useful case material and its overall approach will appeal to those working in practice settings.

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CORRESPONDING AUTHORS

Sandra K. Beeman, Ph.D
University of Minnesota
School of Social Work
400 Ford Hall
224 Church Street, SE
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Sumati N. Dubey, Ph.D
University of Illinois at Chicago
Jane Addams College of Social Work
(M/C 309)
1040 West Harrison Street
Chicago, Illinois 60607-7134

Angela Garcia
University of Cincinnati
Department of Sociology
P.O. Box 210378
Cincinnati, Ohio 45221

Hisashi Hirayama, D.S.W.
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville
College of Social Work,
Memphis Location
822 Beale Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38163

Alice K. Johnson, Ph.D.
Mandel School of Applied Social
Sciences
Case Western Reserve University
10900 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44106-7164

Martha N. Ozawa, Ph.D
Washington University
George Warren Brown School of
Social Work
Campus Box 1196
One Brookings Drive
St. Louis, Missouri 63130-4899

David Stoesz, D.S.W
Virginia Commonwealth
University
School of Social Work
Richmond, Virginia 23284-2027

Mutsuko Takahashi
Researcher
University of Tampere
Department of Social Policy and
Social Work
P.O. Box 607
33101 Tampere, Finland
e-mail mutsko.takahashi@uta.fi

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<i>Contact Person:</i>	GARY MATHEWS, Ph.D. MANAGING EDITOR JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY & SOCIAL WELFARE WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK KALAMAZOO, MI 49008-5034 U.S.A. Tel. - (616) 387-3198 Fax - (616) 387-3217		

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JSSW welcomes a broad range of articles which analyze social welfare Institutions, policies, or problems from a social scientific perspective or otherwise attempt to bridge the gap between social science theory and social work practice.

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