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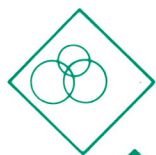
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Editorial

Not long ago Ralph Segalman wrote to me asking to be relieved of the responsibility of reviewing manuscripts. He has been told by his heart and his doctor to slow down a bit. As many of you know, Ralph is a Founding Father of JSSW. Along with Norm Goroff, and with the financial and intellectual support of group of members of the Division of Sociology & Social Welfare at the Society for the Study of Social Problems, he got us into print. Volume 1, Number 1, Fall 1973 was on 8« x 11" paper with a blue cardstock cover held together by two big staples. It contained 13 articles drawn from five years of SSSP sessions. There was no guarantee that there would be a Number 2, but there was. The appearance was upgraded slightly with a saddle-stitched cover. And, twenty-four years later we're still going. Ralph and Norm were convinced there was a need to be served. They were right; and we have continued to prove how right they were for almost a quarter century.

I'll miss Ralph's hand-written, extensive, and passionate reviews, even the ones I had to censor. I'm sure Ralph will continue to find ways to express his deep commitment to scholarly excellence. But it is probably good for his heart not to get so excited.

In behalf all the students who have found grist for term papers in *JSSW*, from all the scholars who have found new ideas there, from the decision-makers who (we hope) made more enlightened decisions based on research presented there, from all the authors who had their first articles published in its pages and went on to distinguished careers (as well as the ones who were already distinguished), I say: THANKS, RALPH.

In my own behalf, thanks for having faith in me to continue the noble enterprise you began. I hope I'll continue to deserve your support.

BOB LEIGHNINGER

Escaping Poverty & Becoming Self-Sufficient

RICHARD K. CAPUTO

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Using logistic regression analysis on data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, this study found that sociodemographic factors were far more influential in determining escape from poverty and becoming self-sufficient than social psychological factors. The number of years respondents lived in poverty was the best predictor of escaping poverty, while the number of years respondents made use of public assistance programs was the best predictor of becoming self-sufficient. Marital status and change in the number of hours worked influenced the prospect for escaping poverty, though not becoming self-sufficient. Implications regarding the changing philosophy of social welfare from income maintenance to self-sufficiency are discussed.

This study assesses the relative influence of sociodemographic and social psychological factors on escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient. It also examines implications of the changing philosophy of social protection. In the 104th Congress, legislators accentuated a trend away from policies designed for support and income maintenance toward those formulated to achieve self-sufficiency via labor force participation (Gilbert, 1995; Glazer, 1995). To the extent that different factors influence the likelihood of escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient, policy makers and other professionals can better assess the logical consistency and practical significance of tertiary prevention legislation and programs designed for such ends.

Literature Review

Poverty has been a fairly consistent part of the contemporary political landscape and a focus of national attention since Michael Harrington (1962) and Oscar Lewis (1966) popularized and gave

intellectual respectability to the term in the 1960s. Likewise, reliance on means-tested public assistance programs surfaced as a more or less parallel contemporary public problem in the late 1960s and early 1970s when, as a result of growing AFDC rolls, the Nixon administration vainly sought support for its Family Assistance Program (Nightingale, 1995; Caputo, 1994; Handler & Hasenfeld, 1991). Not until the 1980s, however, did poverty and use of public assistance programs come together in the form of study findings from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Several findings and measures used in earlier PSID studies (e.g., Coe, 1981; Duncan, 1984) have a bearing on the present study. One group of findings dealt with the dynamics of economic status. First, there was no evidence that initial attitudes regarding achievement motivation, sense of personal efficacy, or orientation toward the future affected subsequent economic success. Second, large changes in wage income (based on average annual hours worked and hourly wage rates over the entire ten year period) often accompanied continuous labor force participation. Third, changes in family composition accounted the most for variations in family income. For female-headed households this meant that poverty was neither a function of an abnormally low number of working hours nor of wage rates that were abnormally low for women of similar characteristics. Essentially, separation and/or divorce drove women into poverty, whereas marriage enabled them to escape. For male-headed households, this meant that neither low work hours in general nor unemployment in particular caused them to be poor; instead, poverty among male household heads was more a function of unusually low wage rates. Although neither marriage nor divorce had much effect on male-headed households, the birth of a child did. Births reduced the work hours of wives and increased family needs.

A fourth group of findings from early PSID studies relevant to the present study dealt with the dynamics of welfare use. Welfare income included money income from AFDC, General Assistance (GA), SSI, and the bonus value (the purchase price paid by the family) of food stamps. One related significant finding was that most of the population (74.8 percent) received no welfare income between 1969 and 1978. Of the 25.2 percent who did, about half received welfare for only one or two of the ten years. Persistent

welfare recipients comprised about 17 percent of those receiving any welfare income, and between 4 and 5 percent of the entire population. Fewer than half of these persistent recipients, however, were also persistently dependent, i.e., relying on welfare to make up more than half of their family income. About 2 percent of the population was classified as persistently dependent on welfare income.

A fifth group of findings dealt with characteristics of welfare recipients. Duncan (1984) noted that the welfare system touched a surprisingly large fraction of American society. One out of every four individuals lived in a household that received income from one of the major welfare programs at least once over a ten-year period. Duncan also concluded that the welfare system did not foster large-scale dependency. One-half of the persons who lived in families where welfare benefits were received at least once in a decade did not receive it in more than two of the ten years. Thus the greater share of welfare recipients did not come to rely on welfare as a long-term means of support.

Duncan, nonetheless, identified a group of people who remain on the welfare rolls more or less permanently, and a subgroup that is permanently dependent on welfare income for support. Neither group was large: of all who had ever received welfare, only 17 percent received it in at least eight of the ten years studied and only 8 percent of all recipients were dependent on welfare income for at least eight years. Both of these groups were distinct from the population as a whole; they were disproportionately female, black, and had children in the home.

In a more recent longitudinal study of poverty and welfare participation, Gottschalk, McLanahan, and Sandefur (1994) reaffirmed many of the findings of the earlier PSID studies and more finely distinguished between lengths of new poverty spells and spells in progress. Most poverty spells (59.4 percent), for example, lasted one year, whereas an additional 16.6 percent lasted two years. At the other extreme, 7.1 percent of the spells lasted seven or more years. Most new spells (10 out of 11) were short, but half the spells in progress were long. In the final analysis, although most bouts of poverty were relatively short, roughly a fifth of all poor people at any point in time were in the midst of a long spell.

Regarding welfare dynamics, Gottschalk et al. primarily confined their analysis to AFDC recipients. They found that most AFDC spells, like poverty, were short, but that a substantial minority (25.4 percent of black AFDC spells and 5.8 percent of white) remained open for protracted periods, i.e., beyond seven years. Gottschalk et al. also found that about half of the families leaving AFDC or Food Stamps were likely to return to these programs in other years.

Other contemporary studies highlighted the influence of attitudes on poverty and use of public assistance. In a study of New York and Chicago, Goodwin (1983), for example, sought to determine why some people continue to rely on public assistance, whether as participants in the Work Incentive Program (WIN) or as beneficiaries of Unemployment Insurance (UI), while others became independent. Economic independence resulted from the interaction among social psychological factors, background and family characteristics, and job market conditions and federal intervention. Essentially, Goodwin found that as persons fail to achieve economic independence through work, their expectations of achieving such independence are lowered, in turn lessening their pursuit of employed work. The observed apathy among poor men and the larger number of welfare households headed only by mothers emerged from the inability of these persons to locate jobs.

Finally, Dolinsky, Caputo, and O'Kane (1989) examined the relative influence of cultural and situational factors on welfare receipt among a nationally representative sample of matched mother-daughter pairs. They found that both culture and situation influenced inter-generational welfare receipt, but that education and work experience were about three times as important as attitudes in explaining the variance in the number of years welfare was received. Cultural and attitudinal factors included measures of orientation to family life, locus of control, and views toward women working outside the home (also, see Joe, 1971).

On the whole, prior research has resulted in a mixed picture regarding causes and consequences of economic and public-assistance mobility. Duncan (1984) found little evidence for the influence of attitudes. Dolinsky, et al. (1989) found that both culture and situation contributed to poverty, with human capital

and sociodemographic factors outweighing attitudinal factors in regard to time spent on welfare. Reliance on public assistance has also been viewed as both causing and prolonging poverty (Sowell, 1995; Magnet, 1993; Mead, 1992; Murray, 1984), as having small disincentive effects in regard to escaping poverty and ending public assistance (Gottschalk et al., 1994), as lowering self-esteem (Funiciello, 1993), and as preventing some from becoming poor (Axinn & Stern, 1988).

In the present study, I addressed the following questions:

1. To what extent did social psychological attributes contribute to the effects of sociodemographic characteristics on the likelihood of escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient?
2. What were the relative contributions of specific sociodemographic characteristics and social psychological attributes on the likelihood of escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient?

In light of previous research, I hypothesized that sociodemographic characteristics far more than social psychological attributes would contribute to the likelihood of escaping from poverty and becoming self-sufficient and that the different characteristics would be more influential than others.

Data and Methods

Like Goodwin (1983), Duncan (1984), and Dolinsky, et al. (1989), I used social psychological and socioeconomic data to profile escapees from poverty and public assistance and to assess the relative influence of similar sets of variables on the likelihood of escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient. I used data obtained from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY), a nationally representative sample of 12,686 young men and women who were ages 14 to 22 in 1979 when they were first interviewed. Respondents were interviewed on an annual basis between 1979 and 1993, and they were asked a range of questions regarding labor market experiences, human capital and other socioeconomic factors about themselves and their family/household circumstances, and environmental characteristics of where

they lived. Documentation about the sample was found in the *NLS Handbook 1994* (Center for Human Resource Research, 1994). In this study I assessed the relative effects of sociodemographic and social psychological factors to determine the likelihood of respondents who were poor in 1991 to escape poverty in 1992 and who were recipients of AFDC, Food Stamps, and/or SSI benefits in 1991 to become self-sufficient in 1992, the most recent years for which data were available.

Measures

I classified respondents by poverty status (PS) (1=poor, 0=not poor) according to the official poverty thresholds in 1991 and 1992, and dependency status (DS) (1=recipient of AFDC, Food Stamps, and/or SSI at any time during the year, 0=nonrecipient for the entire year). To assess the likelihood of escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient, I created two dependent dummy variables. One dummy variable (ESCPS) distinguished those who escaped poverty between 1991 and 1992 from those who did not (1=escape, 0=not escape). The second created dummy variable (ESCDS) distinguished those who "escaped dependency," i.e., left public assistance or became self-sufficient between 1991 and 1992, from those who did not (1=became self-sufficient, 0=did not).

The nineteen independent variables included sixteen sociodemographic and three social psychological. The sociodemographic variables included many of those found in previous studies: age, sex, age of youngest child in the household (AGEYC), average annual hours worked over the entire study period (AHRWK), family size (FMSZ), marital status (MS) (1=married, 0=not married), Black-other ethnicity/race (1=black, 0=other), Hispanic-other ethnicity/race (1=Hispanic, 0=other), education (highest grade completed), and residence in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) (1=Yes, 0=No). I captured change in family composition by two event variables: change in marital status (CMS) (1=change, 0=no change) and the actual change in family size (CFMSZ) between 1991 and 1992. In addition to these two event variables, I used change in the number of hours worked between survey years (CHRWK) and age at the time of first sexual intercourse (AGESI) as control variables. I included AGEYC as a main effects variable and AGESI as a control variable because

longstanding research indicated that the poor were less likely than the nonpoor to use birth control methods, and hence, were more likely to have larger families with younger children (Rainwater, 1960; Zill & Nord, 1994).

When assessing likelihood of escaping poverty (i.e., the ESCPS model), other variables included DS (1=receipt of assistance, 0=nonreceipt) in 1992 and the total number of years respondents lived in poor families over the entire study period (YRSPS). When assessing the likelihood of becoming self-sufficient (i.e., the ESCDS model), other variables included PS (1=poor, 0=not poor) in 1992 and the total number of years respondents received assistance over the entire study period (YRSDS), regardless of the duration or amount of AFDC, Food Stamps, and/or SSI in any given year. This procedure was necessary to mitigate the potential effects of multicollinearity. For the entire sample, YRSPS and YRSDS were highly correlated ($r=.68, p \geq .05$), suggesting that they might be used interchangeably. DS, however, was strongly correlated with YRSDS ($r=.70, p \geq .05$), thereby precluding inclusion of YRSDS in the ESCPS model. Also, PS was highly correlated with YRSPS ($r=.66, p \geq .05$), thereby precluding its use in the ESCDS model.

The attitudinal variables comprised summary scores of scales and indices obtained from specific survey questions. These included measures for individual initiative, affinity for public assistance, and self-esteem. The Rotter locus-of-control scale (ROTT) captured individual initiative. This commonly-used scale was designed to measure the extent to which one perceived a causal relationship between his or her own behavior and subsequent events (Rotter, 1966 & 1975; Watson, 1981; Boor, 1974). At one extreme were those who believe that environmental factors like luck, chance, or fate control their lives (external control). At the other extreme were those who believe they have control over their lives through self-motivation or self-determination (internal control). Scores ranged between 8 and 16. Higher scores signified belief in more external control, and hence a lack of individual initiative.

I derived the measure Public Assistance Affinity (PAA) through rotated factor analysis of six attitudinal statements included in the NLSY to obtain respondents' commitment to work.

Responses ranged from 1, "Probably Would," to 2, "Probably Would Not." This dimension appeared to reflect the likelihood of using public assistance programs to make ends meet. The factor had particularly high loadings on two statements assessing the likelihood that respondents would "Go on welfare to support your family" and "Apply for Food Stamps if unable to support your family." This dimension accounted for 40 percent of the variance in the inter-item correlation matrix. Higher scores indicated less likelihood to use public assistance.

I derived a self-esteem scale (SELF) from ten survey questions that asked respondents about perceptions of themselves. Scale reliability was assessed by calculating the item-total correlation (thereby creating a five-item scale) and the coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1951). The reliability estimate for the self-esteem scale was .79. Responses to such questions as "I feel I do not have much to be proud of" and "I wish I had more self-respect" ranged from 1, "Strongly Agree," to 4, "Strongly Disagree." Higher scores signified greater self-esteem.

Procedures

I used logistic regression analysis to assess the relative influence of demographic and social psychological factors on the likelihood of escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient. This procedure modeled the relationship between an ordinal or binary response variable and one or more explanatory variables. I used two regression procedures, producing three models, for each of the two binary dependent variables: escape from poverty (ESCPS) and becoming self-sufficient (ESCDS). In the first procedure, the demographic characteristics constituted the accepted or main effects model, while the expanded model added the social psychological attributes. Results of this procedure appear in Model 1 in Table 1. In the second procedure, the demographic characteristics and social psychological attributes constituted the accepted model, while the expanded model added the control variables. The main effects results appear in Model 2, while the expanded model results appear, when significant, in Model 3. I used the residual score statistic, Q_{RS} (Breslow & Day, 1980), to assess the goodness of fit of the models and the joint contribution of the main effects and the social psychological attributes in the

first procedure and the main effects and control variables in the second procedure (Stokes, Davis, & Koch, 1995).

The main effects model fit adequately when the Q_{RS} statistic failed to meet statistical significance (i.e, when $p > .05$). Conversely, the expanded model was the better fit when the Q_{RS} statistic for the main effects model was found to be statistically significant (Stokes, Davis, & Koch, 1995). To assess the relative size of the overall contribution attributable to the addition of the attitudinal characteristics to the main effects model, I used the Adjusted R^2 s of the main effects and expanded models (*Logistic Regression Examples*, 1995). Finally, to assess the relative contribution of each of the specific characteristics found to be statistically significant at the .05 level in the fit model, I reported the standardized estimates and odds ratios (Hatcher & Stepanski, 1994).

Limitations

The use of the NLSY limits this study to a nationally representative sample of American youth between the ages of 14 and 22 in 1979. Hence, generalizability is compromised. Nonetheless, the availability of social psychological attributes as well as sociodemographic characteristics enable findings about this particular youth cohort to be compared and assessed in light of related studies, thereby contributing to the on-going dialogue about welfare, self-sufficiency, and poverty.

Results

Overall, in 1991, 11.5 percent of the eligible study sample, 844 respondents, received AFDC, Food Stamps, and/or SSI, while 16.5 percent, 1215 respondents, lived in poor families. Table 1 shows the results of the logistic regression analysis on the likelihood of escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient in 1992 among respondents for whom all requisite data was available.

Factors influencing escape from poverty (ESCPS Models). As expected, sociodemographic factors more than other attributes influenced escape from poverty in 1992. Model 1 failed to meet statistical significance ($Q_{RS}=2.11$, $df=3$, $p=.549$), indicating that the sociodemographic characteristics or main effects fit the data

Table 1

Logistic Models' Standardized Estimates, Odds Ratios (), and Standard Errors [] of the Effects of Social Psychological and Sociodemographic Characteristics on Likelihood of Escaping Poverty and Becoming Self-Sufficient in 1992

Characteristics	Escaped Poverty in 1992 (ESCDs)			Became Self-Sufficient in 1992 (ESCDs)		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Sociodemographic:						
AGE	-0.10 (0.91) [0.06]	-0.10 (0.91) [0.06]	-0.09 (0.91) [0.06]	0.14 (1.12) [0.06]	0.12 (1.11) [0.06]	0.12 (1.11) [0.06]
AGEYC	0.17* (1.08) [0.03]	0.17* (1.08) [0.03]	0.16* (1.07) [0.03]	0.11 (1.05) [0.03]	0.11 (1.05) [0.03]	0.11 (1.05) [0.03]
AHRWK (Units=100)	0.07 (1.02) [0.00]	0.06 (1.02) [0.00]	0.06 (1.02) [0.00]	0.08 (1.02) [0.00]	0.08 (1.03) [0.00]	0.08 (1.03) [0.00]
BLACK	0.10 (1.46) [0.27]	0.09 (1.43) [0.27]	0.09 (1.41) [0.28]	-0.14 (0.59) [0.29]	-0.15 (0.56) [0.30]	-0.15 (0.56) [0.30]
DS	0.07 (0.63) [0.24]	-0.11 (0.64) [0.24]	-0.11 (0.65) [0.25]	— — —	— — —	— — —
ED	0.10 (1.10) [0.06]	0.09 (1.09) [0.06]	0.08 (1.08) [0.06]	0.09 (1.09) [0.07]	0.10 (1.10) [0.08]	0.10 (1.10) [0.08]
FMSZ	-0.15* (0.83) [0.09]	-0.15* (0.83) [0.09]	-0.15* (0.83) [0.09]	-0.12 (0.86) [0.11]	-0.12 (0.86) [0.11]	-0.12 (0.86) [0.11]
HISP	0.15* (1.97) [0.32]	0.15* (2.02) [0.32]	0.15* (2.02) [0.33]	-0.15 (0.48) [0.37]	-0.16 (0.47) [0.38]	-0.16 (0.47) [0.38]

Characteristics	Escaped Poverty in 1992 (ESCDs)			Became Self-Sufficient in 1992 (ESCDs)		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
MS	0.25*** [0.29]	0.25*** [0.29]	0.26*** [0.30]	0.06 [0.33]	0.06 [0.33]	0.06 [0.33]
PS	—	—	—	-0.26*** [0.28]	-0.26*** [0.28]	-0.26*** [0.28]
SEX	-0.08 [0.28]	-0.08 [0.28]	-0.10 [0.29]	-0.09 [0.34]	-0.10 [0.35]	-0.10 [0.35]
SMSA	-0.00 [0.28]	-0.08 [0.28]	-0.10 [0.28]	-0.09 [0.31]	-0.09 [0.31]	-0.09 [0.31]
YRSDS	—	—	—	-0.43*** [0.04]	-0.43*** [0.04]	-0.43*** [0.04]
YRSPS	-0.41*** [0.04]	-0.41*** [0.04]	-0.40*** [0.04]	—	—	—
Social Psychological:						
PAA		-0.04 [0.14]	-0.06 [0.14]		-0.06 [0.15]	-0.06 [0.15]
ROTT		0.00 [0.07]	0.07 [0.08]		-0.01 [0.09]	-0.01 [0.09]
SELF		0.08 [0.04]	0.10 [0.04]		-0.08 [0.05]	-0.08 [0.05]

Continued

Table 1 *Continued*

Characteristics	Escaped Poverty in 1992 (ESCDs)		Became Self-Sufficient in 1992 (ESCDs)	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Control:				
AGESI				
CHRWK				
(Units=100)				
CFMSZ				
CMS				
N (Enter)	145	145	95	95
(Not Enter)	371	371	480	480
Q_{RS}	2.11(df=3)	16.22*** (df=4)	0.84(df=3)	1.53(df=4)
R^2 (Adjusted)	.29	.30	.32	.32

***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05

Legend: AGE=Age of respondent; AGEYC=Age of youngest child; AHRWK=Average annual hours worked; BLACK=Black (1=yes); CHRWK=Change in hours worked between survey years; CMS=Change in marital status (1=yes); DS=Dependency status (1=yes); ED=Education (highest grade completed); FMSZ=Family size; HISP=Hispanic (1=yes); MS=Marital status (1=married); PS=Poverty status (1=poor); SELF=Self-esteem; SEX=Sex of respondent (1=female); YRSDS=Years in which respondent received public assistance during any part of a specific year.

adequately. Nonetheless, the addition of the set of control variables improved Model 1. Model 2, whose main effects comprised both sociodemographic characteristics and social psychological attributes, met statistical significance ($Q_{RS}=16.22$, $df=4$, $p=.002$) when controlling for such events as changes in marital status, family size, and hours worked. Model 3, the expanded model with the three sets of variables, fit the data adequately ($Q_{RS}=3.81$, $df=3$, $p=.282$), although it represented a marginal increase in the explained variance of escaping poverty ($R^2=.33$ compared to .29 and .30 in Models 1 and 2 respectively).

As Model 3 results indicated, the number of years respondents lived in poor families (YRSPS), marital status (MS), change in the number of hours worked (CHRWK), family size (FMSZ), age of youngest child in the household (AGEYC), and race (HISP) were associated with the likelihood of escaping poverty in 1992. Every additional year spent in a poor family decreased the likelihood of respondents escaping poverty by nearly 20 percent (Odds ratio=.81). Married respondents were nearly three times as likely (Odds ratio=2.97) to have escaped poverty, while a change in marital status had no effect. Hispanic respondents were more than twice as likely (Odds ratio=2.20) to have escaped poverty. Each decrease in the number of family members increased the odds of escaping poverty by a factor of .83, or 17 percent. Each additional year older of the youngest child increased the likelihood of escaping poverty by 7 percent (Odds ratio=1.07). Finally, every one hundred hours more of work between 1991 and 1992 increased the likelihood of escaping by a factor of 1.06, or 6 percent.

Factors influencing becoming self-sufficient (ESCDS Models). Again, as expected, sociodemographic factors more than other attributes influenced the likelihood of becoming self-sufficient in 1992. Model 1 failed to meet statistical significance ($Q_{RS}=0.84$, $df=3$, $p=.838$), indicating that the sociodemographic characteristics or main effects fit the data adequately. The addition of neither the social psychological nor the control sets of variables improved Model 1. Model 2, whose main effects comprised both sociodemographic characteristics and social psychological attributes, also failed to meet statistical significance ($Q_{RS}=1.53$, $df=4$, $p=.820$) when controlling for such events as changes in marital status,

family size, and hours worked. The set of sociodemographic characteristics accounted for 32 percent of the explained variance of becoming self-sufficient ($R^2=.32$).

As Model 2 results indicated, only the number of years respondents received assistance (YRSDS) and poverty status (PS) were associated with the likelihood of becoming self-sufficient. Every additional year respondents received assistance between 1979 and 1991 decreased the likelihood of their becoming self-sufficient by a factor of .81 or 19 percent. The odds that a poor respondent became self-sufficient in 1992 were only slightly more than 1 to 3 (Odds ratio=.36).

Discussion

As expected, results supported the hypothesis that sociodemographic characteristics were far more influential in determining the dynamics of poverty and self-sufficiency than social psychological attributes. None of the social psychological attributes contributed to any of the models used with either the ESCPS or ESCDS samples. This result failed to support Dolinsky, et al. (1989) and Goodwin (1983), but corroborated Gottschalk, et al. (1994). Results also supported the hypothesis that different characteristics influenced the dynamics of poverty and self-sufficiency. Among sociodemographic characteristics, YRSPS and YRSDS respectively were major contributors in the ESCPS and ESCDS samples. The regression results signified that extent of previous experiences with poverty and use of public assistance programs respectively were the best predictors of escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient from one year to the next. The more time respondents lived in poor families or in families that relied on public assistance, the less likely they were to escape poverty or become self-sufficient. These results suggested a paradox regarding the existing array of public assistance programs based primarily on a philosophy of income maintenance. Means-tested measures aimed at income maintenance may have done little to enable poor individuals to escape poverty. Conversely, programs aimed at reducing poverty may have done little to enable near-poor and others to become self-sufficient. Results suggested that current reform efforts aimed at self-sufficiency 1) may result in a shifting reliance on public assistance from one program to others

rather than a reduction in the use of public assistance per se and 2) require greater attention regarding the role of government in the economy in general and in job-creation in particular.

In this study, respondents' work history (AHRWK), however, failed to exert any influence on escaping poverty and becoming self-sufficient. These results underscored the importance of the need that poor parents have for more job-related skills and access to higher paying jobs, independent of how much time they devote to work over the course of their lifetimes or choices they make regarding the desirability of marriage per se (Blank, 1995). These results suggest that a central component to any family policy must be a coherent employment policy, i.e., one that focuses on the creation of decent jobs paying an income above the poverty line and providing opportunities for both access to and requisite training for such jobs (Sidel, 1996). One aspect of such a policy calls for spurring the growth of primary labor markets within a wide range of industries, e.g., by narrowing the compensation differential between part-time and full-time workers, by expanding and exploiting flexibility for part-time employees, such as paid parental leave or the right to move between full-time and part-time status, and/or by sensible supplements such as allowing for the conversion and portability of worker pensions (Tilly, 1996). Another aspect of such a policy would call on government to act as a catalyst for private activity, channeling market trends toward public goals, rather than simply as a regulator or director of a separate public realm, compensating for the market or capitulating to it (Weir, 1992).

Marital status (MS) increased the likelihood of escaping poverty, but not of becoming self-sufficient. Results supported the large body of research and popular opinion that married family heads fare better than their single counterparts in many ways, but they failed to support the idea that marriage might be a buffer against prolonged or persistent use of public assistance.

Family size (FMSZ) only influenced the likelihood of escaping poverty. Smaller families were more likely to escape poverty. This finding suggested a dilemma for those (like many Catholic leaders) who promote marriage as an institution, but discourage the use of contemporary birth control methods for those engaging in sex outside of marriage. To the extent that smaller families become

poor, they are more likely than larger families, whether intact or single-parent, to escape poverty. Sex education and the use of modern birth control methods among the poor would increase the likelihood that such families are smaller, thereby improving their chances to escape poverty should such circumstances arise.

Age of the youngest child in the household (AGEYC) also only influenced the likelihood of escaping poverty. The older the youngest child, the greater likelihood of escaping poverty. This finding suggested that the presence of younger children makes demands hindering poor parents' abilities to seek ways of escaping poverty. Results suggested that poor parents in general can benefit from measures that make available affordable, quality day care for young children, thereby freeing parents' time to pursue more gainful job training and employment opportunities. Since AGEYC was not found to influence the likelihood of becoming self-sufficient, results suggested that welfare reform measures such as increasing the availability of child care to recipients of public assistance with young children might not be sufficient to reduce their use of government provisions. Other factors may further preclude public-assistance parents' abilities to pursue more gainful employment.

Like FMSZ and AGEYC, race (HISP) only influenced the likelihood of escaping poverty. Hispanic respondents were more likely than others to escape poverty. This finding in part reflected the greater numbers of Mexican-Americans among the Hispanic population of the United States, with those of Puerto Rican origins constituting the second largest group. Aponte (1993) has noted that Hispanics are not of one piece and that Mexican-Americans were more likely to be married with children and working poor, unlike those of Puerto Rican origins who were more likely be single parents and hence recipients of AFDC. This finding provided further indirect support for the effect of marriage on the likelihood of escaping poverty.

One of the four event or control variables influenced escape from poverty only. When respondents increased the number of hours worked (CHRWK) from one year to the next, they increased the likelihood of escaping poverty, but not of becoming self-sufficient. This finding suggested that short-term, year-to-year adjustments in the number of hours worked, like marriage, also has

many benefits, but failed to support notions that such individual efforts might mitigate against prolonged or persistent use of public assistance programs.

In conclusion, results of this study highlight the formidable obstacles facing social policies aimed at self-sufficiency. Neither marriage, work-hour adjustments from one year to the next, work history, nor education per se influence the likelihood of becoming self-sufficient. Findings regarding work suggested a paradox. On one hand work-related reforms may reduce AFDC rolls as welfare recipients become ineligible as they escape poverty. On the other hand, these recipients may nonetheless still need to rely on other public provisions like Food Stamps that have means tests for gross income above the official poverty thresholds. The net result may be a shift in use of public assistance from one program to others, rather than in a reduction in use per se.

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Successful Adaptation of Immigrants from the former Soviet Union to Project Renewal Neighborhoods: The Influential Factors

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Migration has been an international phenomenon for centuries. The widespread trend toward migration in recent years has resulted in efforts to examine the factors involved in the adaptation of immigrants to life in the host country. This study examines the factors that effect immigrant adaptation and integration in urban neighborhoods in Israel that are undergoing a process of rehabilitation. Adaptation is defined by the variables: contact with neighbors, participation in community activities, sense of belonging to the community and well-being. These mediator and dependent variables were found to be directly effected by home and host related variables. These variables were not found to directly effect well-being. Proximity of family and ability to converse in Hebrew were found to have an indirect effect on well-being, constructed using community variables, which themselves directly effect well-being. The discussion of the findings refers both to Project Renewal for the Rehabilitation of Neighborhoods, and the role of professional community workers as planners and movers in the neighborhoods incorporated in the project.

Migration has been an international phenomenon for centuries. In recent years it has become particularly widespread (Valcourt, 1993). In Israel, for example, immigration has increased in the past five years to the point that newcomers now consititute 18% of the country's population. The social changes experienced by immigrants and the process of immigrant adaptation have been studied and documented by researchers in the fields of social work, anthropology, sociology, and psychology. Research findings indicate that successful adaptation depends on quality of preparation for migration, and factors pertaining to the host

community (Beiser, 1988; Briody & Chrisman, 1991; Oh, 1989; Noam, 1992).

The influence of some of these variables on adaptation has been examined with regard to different communities. The purpose of the present study is to investigate the adaptation and integration of immigrants residing in neighborhoods included in Project Renewal for the Rehabilitation of Neighborhoods in Israel. Specifically, the study seeks to identify those home and host related variables pertaining to the management of immigrant absorption by the host community, that will best predict successful adaptation, as measured by contact with neighbors, participation in community activities, and sense of belonging to the community; and how all these variables influence immigrants' well-being. Baker (1989) and Noam (1992), have demonstrated that these variables are among the chief components of immigrant adaptation.

For this study we have designed a model of adaptation, wherein we measure the effect of home and host related variables on local community variables—an influence which was examined in only very few previous studies. The effect of all these variables on well-being will be measured. The attempt to absorb immigrants in the rehabilitated neighborhoods, with the ongoing presence of the community worker, provides both a challenge for research and for the design of a adaptation model that emphasizes community variables.

Project Renewal was a nationwide neighborhood rehabilitation program. The renewal project for each neighborhood consisted of a combination of social and physical rehabilitation programs. The aim was both to strengthen communities and to enhance the quality and improve the prospects in life of their residents (Elazar, 1992). This process was planned and carried out with the help of community social workers. A basic principle of the community workers was the encouragement of meaningful involvement by residents in their immediate social environment. Most of the neighborhoods involved in the project developed a grass-roots leadership that now works together with the community social workers creating an autonomous community infrastructure (Itzhaky & Schwartz, 1995).

Within this framework, community social workers, Local Authorities and neighborhood committees developed various committees in order to meet varying aims. Parent school committees; local health committees; education committees; urban planning committees etc.. The community workers uncovered social problems in the community and encouraged the development of self-help groups and committees for providing responses to these problems. The community workers supervised the residents and provided the means that enabled them to function in the future entirely independently (Itzhaky & Schwartz, 1995). One of the community workers aims was the integration of the new immigrants in these committees and the development of community leaders from their midst.

Many recent immigrants to Israel have taken up residence in Project Renewal neighborhoods because they offer cheap housing and accessible services. The immigrants enhance the socioeconomic profile of the neighborhoods, and their planned integration raises the status of the area (Ginzberg & Zemach, 1992). Moreover despite the low socioeconomic status of such neighborhoods, the residents have expressed their willingness to integrate new populations, whose socioeconomic level is usual higher than that of the host community. We suggest that these circumstances will facilitate immigrant adaptation in such neighborhoods. The present study examines the success of that process and undertakes to identify the predictive factors of successful integration.

Review of the Literature

Immigrant adaptation has been described in the literature in a variety of ways. The term has been used synonymously with absorption, integration, and adjustment. The measures of the success of adaptation are equally varied.

Denton (1988) defines immigrant adaptation as a reasonable capability of participation in the new society. This should be understood as a multidimensional concept that includes initial adaptation during the period of transition, linguistic adaptation, social adaptation, and cultural adaptation. Social adaptation to the culture of the host country has been studied using sociodemographic

variables as predictors of adjustment, such as duration of stay in the host country, education, command of the language of the host country and home ownership (Beiser, 1988; Nguyen & Henkin, 1982).

Language has been viewed as one of the key factors that determine an immigrant's ability to adapt to the host country. Lack of linguistic proficiency contributes to an immigrant's sense of being socially marginal rather than a full participant in the society (Este, 1988). Briody and Chrisman (1991) have found that language skills are important in speeding the adjustment process. Oh (1989) reveals that pre- and post-immigration education in English significantly influence the overall quality of sociocultural adaptation. Tran and Wright (1986), studying Vietnamese refugees who fled to an English-speaking country, confirm that English-language communication skills have a direct effect on social interaction. According to Padilla et al., (1988), a restricted circle of communication may limit one's social network, however, they did not examine the influence of ability to speak the language of the host country and community variables.

Noam (1992) has investigated 1,250 immigrants from the former Soviet Union living in the town of Lod, which is a Project Renewal area. She notes that new immigrants living in Lod have a sense of belonging to the community, this being expressed by the wish of the majority to remain in the town and their willingness to recommend the town to their friends as a good place to live. Most of the immigrants are nevertheless unaware of the existence of many of the local services, nor do they receive any benefits from them. The social integration of new immigrants is only partial: they experience difficulties in learning the language and in cultivating friendships with veteran Israelis.

It is unclear which are the predictive or influential factors for successful social integration of immigrants. Noam (1992) measured integration in the community through connections with neighbors. Fine (1992) studied social relationships of immigrants and their well-being by examining the backgrounds of the friends whom they visited (new immigrants, established immigrants, native-born Israelis). He found that most contacts of new immigrants were between and amongst themselves, and explained this as a result of linguistic difficulties. As immigrants become

more fluent in the language of the host community, they form significant relationships with settled Israelis. Fine's results also indicate that there is no significant correlation between duration of residence (1–5 years) and existence of social relationships. According to Fine's research, the relationships formed in the neighborhood are influenced by either home ownership or living in rented housing. However he has shown that social relationships are directly and positively effected by immigrants' seniority in the host country.

Recent research shows that immigrants from the former Soviet Union do not mix in Israeli society, but tend rather to confine their relationships to the family unit or a restricted network of friends consisting usually of immigrants with whom they share a common language (Horowitz, 1989; Damian & Rosenbaum, 1991). From this we can deduce that the more frequent the interactions between immigrants and their families, the less likely they are to be actively involved in local activities and to visit Israeli neighbors.

Vega et al. (1991), who researched Mexican refugees emphasize that supportive social contacts positively effect well-being. Bowling, (1990), refers to well-being as a concept that represents adaptation and is influenced by social contacts and other absorption variables.

Additionally, a review of the research reveals that a number of factors influence the adaptation of immigrants to their community and their well-being. Some of these factors are home related—ability to speak Hebrew and proximity to other family members, others are host related—Ulpan (intensive Hebrew course) graduate, home ownership and seniority in the host country. It has been shown that home and host related factors influence other variables connected with adaptation such as well-being, visits to neighbors, community activities and a sense of belonging to the community. We could find no evidence of a theoretical model that related both to adaptation and community factors. In this research we therefore integrated three theoretical models. First, that of Kunz (1976), which describes and defines variables which relate to the refugee's home, and others which relate to the host community; second, Baker's model (1989), which makes the connection between these variables and a sense of belonging to

the community and well-being. The third model, developed by Itzhaky & York (1994) and Itzhaky (1985), grades the community variables and their effect on well-being. This last model relates to all community residents and does not specify immigrants.

In accordance with this framework, the integration between the two models, the present model (shown in Figure 1) defines exogenous variables, home and host related factors, as being Level 1. Level 2 consists of interaction with neighbors (Baker, 1989). The third level consists of participation in community activities. These last two will effect the sense of belonging to the community, defined as Level 4, as proved by Itzhaky (1985) in a non-immigrant community. We have defined Level 5 as immigrants' well-being.

This research will enable us to investigate which of the variables, both home and host related, effect the community factors and well-being, either directly or indirectly.

Figure 1

Path Diagram of Immigrant Adaptation

Method

The sample: Ten out of 28 Project Renewal neighborhoods were selected for the sample. The neighborhoods were all located in the country's Central Region. From a list furnished by the Israel Ministry of Absorption, 22 immigrants from the former Soviet Union were randomly selected as subjects in each of the neighborhoods. The research sample thus consisted of 220 such immigrants. The data for the study were collected by trained data collectors who distributed anonymous, self-administered questionnaires, and gathered them when they had been completed. Only 4% of the sample refused to answer the questionnaire. All of the subjects had been living in Israel for a period of at least two years prior to the time of the study. Of the group, 60% were female and 40% were male, ranging in age from 20 to 70; the age range of the majority (85%) was 25–50 years. More than half the subjects were married, and 36% were heads of single-parent families. Over 70% had attended institutions of higher education, with 15 or more years of study; the remainder had received a secondary school education. Most (88%) had attended an intensive Hebrew-language course known in Israel as an *ulpan*, 40% had had attended more than one such course, and 44% had studied Hebrew in Russia. Nevertheless, as many as 40% of the respondents reported that they still experienced difficulties in conversation, and 48% admitted to having difficulties in reading and writing. While only 10% of the subjects were unemployed, most of them indicated that they had accepted employment that was beneath their ability.

The following variables were used in the study:

Demographic variables: These included the quality of preparation for immigration, ability to speak Hebrew, proximity to family, as well as factors pertaining to the host community, length of residence in Israel, level of proficiency in Hebrew and home ownership.

Proximity to family: This variable was measured using questions designed by Shooval et al. (1974). The questions related to the frequency of family contacts. Responses were scored on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (daily contact) to 4 (no contact). We also examined the proximity of housing arrangements between

the immigrants and their family on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (very near) to 4 (far away). There was found to be a very high correlation between these responses, ($r=0.58$, $p\ 0.01$) and were calculated as the mean of the same variable.

Level of interaction with neighbors: This variable was taken from the questionnaire designed by Shooval et al. (1974). The questions related to frequency and content of contacts with neighbors during the preceding month; number of conversations with a neighbor; frequency of entertaining neighbors at home; frequency of visits to neighbors in their homes; borrowing from neighbors or lending to them. Responses were scored on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (every day) to 4 (once a month). We also examined satisfaction from contacts with neighbors on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (very satisfied) to 4 (not at all). Using the reliability test we found Cronbach Alpha 0.84.

Sense of belonging to the community: This variable was taken from the research of Itzhaky (1985) and Itzhaky & Ha'Israeli (1995). They defined it in terms of three inter-related components: identification, involvement and loyalty. Identification being pride in their and their children living in the community and pride in the organizations of the community. Involvement is their willingness to invest personal effort as a member of the community and loyalty is their affection for and their attachment to the community and a wish to remain within it as a member. Responses are on a 5 point dimension from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Reliability tests found, as previously, high correlations between the variables. Cronbach's Alpha was 0.85.

Participation in community activities: This variable was taken from questionnaires used by Itzhaky and Ha'Israeli (1995) and by Itzhaky and York (1994). The questions related to participation in neighborhood committees; community meetings; community center committees; community center activities. Responses were scored on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (nonparticipation) to 5 (participation in all events). The items were tested for reliability and Cronbach Alpha was .89.

Well-being: In this research personal well-being was measured using the questionnaire developed by Bradburn (1969), the Bradburn Affect Balance Scale, a well recognized instrument for measuring well-being. The scale is composed of 10 items connected

with experiences both enjoyable: satisfaction with achievements, happiness, pride, satisfaction, enthusiasm, and non-enjoyable: depression, boredom, loneliness, offense and restlessness, recently felt by the subject. The items on the scale reflect a range of positive and negative questions, the third scale being the difference between them. Reliability test results were received, similar to those noted by Bradburn (1969), for the scale of positive feelings Cronbach Alpha was .70, and for negative feelings, .69. This research also showed a low correlation ($r = -0.16$, $\alpha < 0.05$), strengthening the claim that the two scales are independent. A high correlation was found between the scale of emotional balance (the difference between the positive and negative scales) and both the positive scale, $r = 0.76$, $\alpha < 0.01$, and the negative scale, $r = 0.77$, $\alpha < 0.01$. An analysis of the emotional balance scale was used given these high correlations.

Findings

The model described in Figure 1 was tested by using Path Analysis. Most other approaches to testing correlations between variables locate independent variables on a single causal dimension, whereas Path Analysis furnishes additional information about dependent and independent variables by means of indirect routes toward the dependent variable of well-being. This allows us to assess the strength of the direct and indirect effects of each of the independent variables on the dependent variable. Analysis of the data was carried out with the SPSSX and LISREL computer programs.

Preliminary to an examination of the model derived from the findings, consideration should be given to the Pearson correlations (r) between the independent and mediating variables (Table 1).

The table of correlations reveals a number of interesting results. The immigrant's ability to speak Hebrew is significantly and positively correlated with his studying in the Ulpan and with his sense of belonging to the community. Proximity to family, years in the host country and home ownership, as opposed to home rental, are significantly correlated with interaction with neighbors. Of these, only proximity to family was found to be negatively corre-

Table 1
Pearson Correlation's (r) between exogenous and community variables.

	Ability to Converse in Hebrew	Physical proximity to family	Years in the host country	Home ownership	Hebrew instruction	Interaction with family	Participation in community activity	Belonging to the Community
1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	.01	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	.01	-.03	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	.04	.05	.15*	—	—	—	—	—
5	.24**	-.01**	.01	.06	—	—	—	—
6	.08	-.19**	.34**	.26**	.08	—	—	—
7	.11	.12	.10	.31**	.07	.34**	—	—
8	.48**	.26**	.18*	.017*	.01	.26**	.36**	—

lated with interaction with neighbors. Home ownership is significantly and positively correlated with years in the host country and with participation in community activities. The three community variables: interaction with neighbors, participation in community activities and sense of belonging to the community are significantly and positively correlated among themselves.

The path analysis revealed a g.o.f. =.99 correspondence between the results of the model and the intervariable matrix correlation. (a.g.o.f. =.95, $p = .695$, $df = 15$, $\chi^2 = 11.79$, R.M.S.R. =.02). The direct and indirect effects on the dependent variables is represented in Figure 2 by means of Path coefficients which explain the degree of variance.

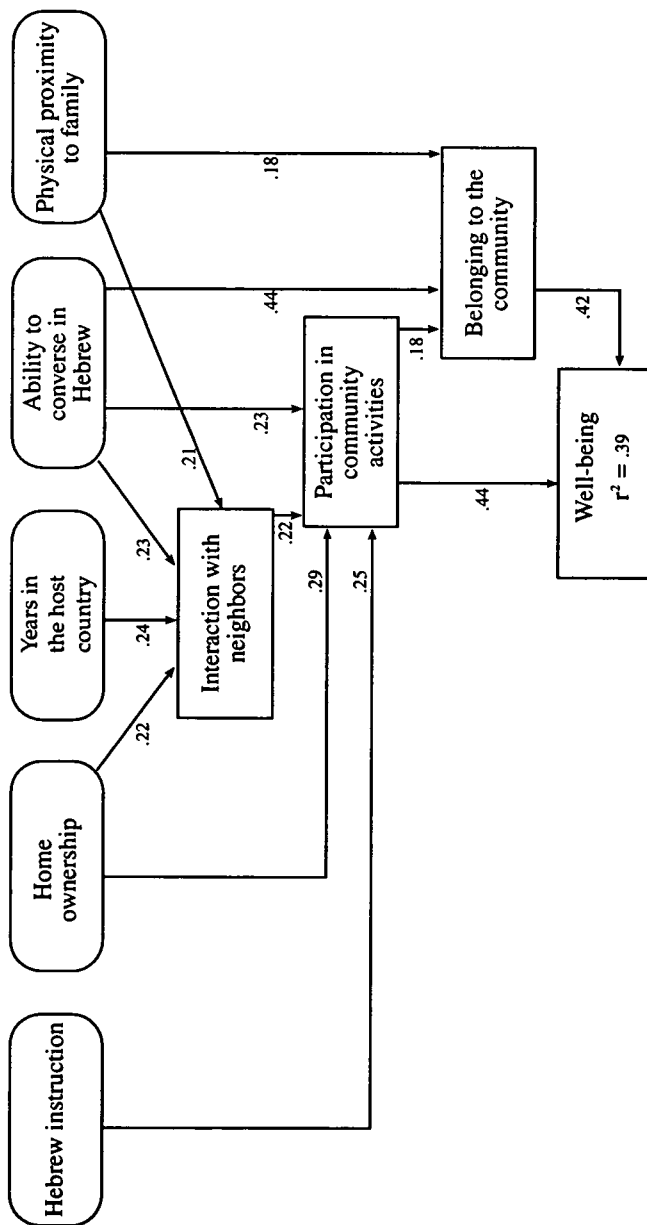
From the model (Figure 2) it is clear that the exogenous and endogenous variables account for 39% of the variance of well-being, and the hypothesized model provides a better fit for the data than alternative models. The exogenous variables only have a direct effect on the community adaptation factors, and not on well-being. The ability to speak the language of the host country is the only one of the exogenous variables to have a direct effect on all three community factors. All the variables, except for learning Hebrew, affect the interactions between neighbors. The ability to speak Hebrew and home ownership have a direct effect on participation in community activities, while the ability to speak Hebrew and proximity to family have a direct effect on the sense of belonging to the community.

This model shows that participation in community activities and sense of belonging to the community are the only variables which directly effect the well-being of immigrants in rehabilitated neighborhoods.

The effects, as revealed by the findings, follows a definite direction: high levels of participation in community activities and a sense of belonging to the community lead to a high level of well-being. The other variables only indirectly influence well-being. These indirect effects of the exogenous variables on well-being are mediated by the community variables. Proximity to family ($\beta=0.19$, $p \leq 0.05$), and ability to converse in Hebrew ($\beta=0.35$, $p \leq 0.01$) are the most influential of the variables indirectly affecting well-being. It seems that the better their ability to converse in Hebrew and the greater their proximity to family, the greater will

Figure 2

Path Analysis of Direct and Indirect Effect on Immigrant Adaptation



be the interaction between the immigrants and their neighbors. This in turn will directly increase their participation in community activities, which deepens their sense of belonging to the community—all of which together will lead to an increasing sense of well-being (see Figure 2).

Discussion and Implications

The principle aim of this study was to examine successful adaptation of immigrants settled in neighborhoods which are part of a rehabilitation scheme known as Project Renewal. A professional community social worker was employed in these neighborhoods.

Variables identified in previous research in the field were used in this study, in order to differentiate between effects of the home and host related factors, and community factors, on well-being. A causal research model was designed which included community variables some of which had not been examined in the immigrant context. These variables were defined as mediators—being mutually influencing—between the home and host related variables and well-being. Our findings indicate a harmony between the theoretical model and the results.

Previous studies have found that home and host related factors have a direct effect on successful adaptation (Baker, 1989; Vega et al., 1991). This hypothesis was partially substantiated. In this study we have found that home and host related factors have direct effects only on the community adaptation factors and not on well-being.

Apart from learning Hebrew, all other variables influenced the interaction between neighbors. The two variables, ability to speak Hebrew and home ownership, influence participation in community activities. The sense of belonging to the community was influenced by the home related variables, ability to speak Hebrew and proximity to family.

Only the ability to speak the language of the host country has a direct effect on all the three community factors. The other variables effect only one or at most two factors. Our findings therefore confirm those of Beiser (1988), Briody & Chrisman (1991), Este (1988) and Fine (1992) that knowledge of the language is a

key factor in adjustment to the host country. Furthermore, we found knowledge of the language to be vital to the process of adaptation to the community. To initiate contact with Hebrew-speaking neighbors, become engaged in community affairs and feel a deep sense of belonging to that community, immigrants must be able to communicate in the language of the host country, particularly when living in a disadvantaged neighborhood where only Hebrew is spoken. This is corroborated by the finding that simply learning the language only influences participation in community activities. It appears that it is not sufficient to learn the language, it must be known and mastered.

A further interesting result separates the variables, so that the sense of belonging to the community is only effected by those factors connected with the host country. It can be inferred from this that sense of belonging to a community taking part in a rehabilitation scheme, under the auspices of a professional community social worker, is influenced by factors related to the immigrant's previous community. Since these skills, acquired previously during the pre-immigrant phase, enhance feelings of confidence, they, together with the language acquired and even partially mastered and the presence of family serve as a mainstay.

Despite the fact that previous studies have reported that home ownership influences immigrants' decisions to invest in community involvement, developing neighborly relations and in their sense of belonging to the community, (Fine, 1992; Noam, 1992), we found that it only effected the first two community variables, and did not influence the sense of belonging to the community. Possibly the reason is inherent in the fact that the first two variables involve action as does buying a home, while the last, the sense of belonging is a psychological variable. In conclusion, it can be noted that adaptation to the local community is dependent both on attributes that immigrants acquire in their initial home and on others acquired in the host country.

There is a strong and direct influence on well-being from the endogenous variables, the community factors, participation in and a sense of belonging to the community. Certainly this would be indicated by the grading of the community variables. Interaction with neighbors has a positive influence on the level of involvement in community activities. The higher the level of

interactions with neighbors, the more involved the immigrants will be in community activities in their neighborhood, and the more involved they are in community activities, psychologically, they will feel a greater sense of belonging to the community and a deeper sense of well-being.

These findings are compatible with those of other studies, on non-immigrant communities, that showed that active participation in the community influences sense of belonging to the community and well-being (Itzhaky & York, 1994; Itzhaky, 1985). This study adds a further dimension by showing that new immigrants, despite their need for survival and for re-adaptation to the strange country, are similar to the veteran population in their need for investment in community activities in order for successful adaptation to take place.

The following results will testify to the importance of community factors as significant components of successful adaptation.

We did not find that the endogenous variables directly influenced the well-being of the immigrant. This was significantly influenced by the factors associated with the home country, and indirectly by community factors. Hence, immigrants' ability to converse in Hebrew and the proximity of family members will effect their well-being only when they feel involved in the community, and there are frequent interactions with neighbors. In other words, the feeling of confidence, acquired by means of the ability to speak Hebrew and the proximity of family members, this feeling will only influence well-being when there are both interactions with neighbors and participation in community activities. All these activities will have a accumulative effect on the sense of belonging to the community, a psychological community variable, which in itself will influence the sense of well-being, a personal psychological variable.

One can conclude from this that factors associated with adaptation to the local community, within which the immigrant lives, have to be included in the operative definition of adaptation for the immigrant, and psychological variables cannot be the sole criteria.

The importance of the presence and input of the community social workers is emphasized by our findings. As a prime objective for their intervention in and organization of the neighbor-

hood, they develop and nurture the community variables. These include the incorporation of immigrants in the organizational frameworks of the community within the neighborhoods, and the integration, in those frameworks, between the immigrants and the veterans.

The inclusion of immigrants in these frameworks creates a norm of meetings between immigrants and veterans, possibly even of friendships, so that they will take part in the planning and implementation of different projects. Their *de facto* participation in neighborhood activities will positively and definitively influence both their sense of belonging to the community and their feeling of well-being. Our findings therefore emphasize the indispensability of the community social workers.

We therefore recommend the inclusion of professional community social workers in neighborhoods where there is a high concentration of immigrants. Their role will be defined as working with the veteran residents on all matters of community organization, and the incorporation of immigrants within these frameworks and onto all the relevant neighborhood committees. We suggest that the social workers should plan community projects that encourage interaction with neighbors, particularly between the veteran residents and the immigrants.

In addition the community worker has a responsibility to establish frameworks for learning the language. Specifically for those immigrants who have difficulty in conversing in the new language it is worthwhile teaching locally, in the community centers, schools and in places of work where there is a high concentration of new immigrants.

Community social workers should encourage immigrants to discuss their problems and set up self-help groups. These groups will form the basis for community activity, participation in which will create the sense of belonging to the community and will strengthen well-being.

For the future we recommend that the research in this field should be continued, particularly the study of other community variables such as political involvement and participation in voluntary organizations.

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The Framing of Political Advocacy and Service Responses in the Crime Victim Rights Movement

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This paper analyses two major aspects of the mobilizing frames found among local organizations in the crime victim rights movement. A national survey of 301 organizations demonstrated that organizations shape their service/action responses in terms of three conceptualizations of the "victim problem." These conceptualizations clearly influence the pattern of service programs found in different types of organizations. In addition it is shown that some types of organizations are more oriented to political advocacy than others; yet all types of organizations are more apt to be involved in political action if their staff members are oriented to "victim rights" framed as changing the status of victims in the criminal justice system.

The grievances and claims of social reform movements can be analyzed as mobilizing frames that define problems and cast these problems as injustices that are addressed through various modes of action (Gamson 1990). Mobilizing frames serve as interpretive orientations that can be associated with both individual convictions and organizational activities (Snow and Benford 1988). As a social movement becomes more prominent it develops a variety of organizations that serve as the centers of direct action and constitute what has been called a social movement industry (McCarthy and Zald 1977) or an organizational substructure (Von Eschen, et.al 1971). The organizations can be perceived as embodying the primary mobilizing frames that direct action within the movement. Yet, the procedural agenda of organizations and the beliefs of the individual activists may not be entirely consistent. This raises the problem of frame alignment or how interpretive frames held by individuals correspond with and influence the actions of social movement organizations (Snow, et.al. 1986; Snow and

Benford 1988). Frame alignment refers to the linkage of the beliefs and values of individuals with the activities and goals of the social movement organizations (SMO). Individual activists can use organizations as legitimating vehicles for the expression of their beliefs and demands. On the other hand, organizations can create social processes that lead to the alteration of mobilizing frames through goal transformations, restricted actions, and co-optation (Zald and Ash 1966). Thus, mobilizing frames that underlie participation in a social movement operate on at least two levels—the level of individual participants and the level of organizational activities (Snow, et.al. 1986; Hunt, Benford and Snow 1994).

The crime victim rights movement is a reform movement that has spawned a variety of local community based organizations that provide services designed to assist crime victims. The movement has also engaged in political advocacy designed to increase public awareness and support reform legislation.

This paper examines the frame alignment of two primary frames found in the crime victim rights movement that influence political advocacy. The first frame consists of different definitions of the "crime victim problem" that influence the service programs of SMOs. Service programs, that are more easily funded, have been seen as individualizing the problem of victimization by stressing a casework approach and detracting from wider political concerns (Johnson 1981; Morgan 1981; Matthews 1994). It is expected that political advocacy of a SMO will vary depending on the conception of the "victim problem" that is manifested in their service programs.

The second frame, consisting of beliefs associated with victim rights, also affects the political advocacy of SMOs. It is expected that political advocacy will vary depending on the beliefs held by staff members concerning the need to change the status of victims in the criminal justice system thereby creating "victim rights." The alignment of these two frames should reflect the fact that the staff members who are committed to "victim rights" can use small service organizations for political advocacy regardless of the organizational constraints imposed by service programming. This is similar to other findings in the social movements literature where advocacy concerns are associated with political activism or issue advocacy (Snow, et.al. 1986; Page and Clelland 1978; Wood and Hughes 1984).

The Crime Victim Rights Movement As An Aggregated Movement

The crime victim rights movement emerges out of a variety of separate social movements that started in the 1970s (Weed 1995). A part of the victim rights movement emerged out of the feminist movement's concern for battered women and rape victims which led to the first shelters and rape crisis centers in the early 1970s (Tierney 1982; Rose 1977; Matthews 1989; Matthews 1994). There are also groups that deal with criminal fatalities and bereavement like Parents of Murdered Children founded in 1978 (Villamoare and Benvenuti 1988), or anti-drunk driving groups like RID (Remove Intoxicated Drivers - USA) started in 1978, and MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Driving) founded in 1980 (Weed 1987). There are also a few groups that deal with the abuse, molestation, or abduction of children (Johnson 1989; Best 1989). There are more general victim advocacy groups at the local level such as VOCAL (Victims of Crime and Leniency). Finally, there are the Federal-State-County funded victim-witness programs started in 1974 to increase the cooperation of crime victims in prosecuting a legal case (Karman 1990). Some of these organizations with local affiliates have national offices that exist alongside national level umbrella organizations such as National Organization for Victim Assistance, Inc. (NOVA) founded in 1976 and the National Victim Center founded in 1985 (Carrington and Nicholson 1989; Weed 1995).

The concept of "victim" itself implies some degree of mobilization because it rests on the perception that the person has been wronged or harmed in a fashion which calls for public action (Gusfield 1975). This social movement defines crime victims as having special needs that can be addressed by specialized services and new "rights." Most of the grass roots organizations in the movement can be portrayed as service providers and are able to secure funding through community contributions and state/federal grants to supply specific services to particular categories of crime victims and their families. At the same time activists and constituent groups unite around issues that identify crime victims as neglected and mistreated by community institutions, the police, the prosecutor, and the courts of law. Activists in the movement refer to this mistreatment as "secondary

victimization" or "revictimization" (Smith and Huff 1992). The portrayal of the crime victim as being treated unjustly by the very institutions responsible for meting out justice in society is a political symbol and rallying point for the victim rights movement (Viano 1987; Nelson 1984; Elias 1986; Weed 1995). The conceptual frame of crime victim's rights generally calls for crime victims to be treated with dignity and respect, that they have the right to be present and heard at various stages in the criminal justice process including bail hearings, sentencing and parole hearings, and that they have a right to compensation and restitution for the harm done to them. Starting in 1980 almost every state had passed some form of a "victims bill of rights" which contains some or all of these elements (Weed 1995). This represents one of the changes in status or the legal standing given to crime victims in the criminal justice process, however, these so called "rights" can often be ignored, and remain an active issue.

Service programs and the victim status issue do not necessarily spring from each other, nor are they mutually exclusive. Rather they become associated when the interpretative frames become connected in an alignment that effects political advocacy. In general the linking of political advocacy and service may very well be a historical trend among SMOs starting after 1970 (Minkoff 1994). In this movement, however, the advocacy of victim rights gives a unifying focus to an otherwise diverse set of SMOs.

Action Frames and Types of Organizations

The organizations that constitute the victim rights movement tend to deal with victims in terms of the goals and functions they have prescribed for themselves (Ziegenhagen and Benyi 1981). This is partly true because the term victim lacks a clear descriptive content of its own, so its meaning varies with its function. The service functions of organizations become entwined with how they define the "victim problem." In the crime victim rights movement, organizations can be said to fall within three basic approaches to the "victim problem."

1. In the first approach, the problem is seen as the tendency of victims to be unwilling, fearful, or disinterested in being a witness against the offender. They are seen as resisting the

idea of cooperating with the prosecutor to gain a criminal conviction. The organization's role is to assist the victim to the extent that their cooperation in prosecution of the accused can be assured. In this instance the victim is to play the role of the witness.

2. In the second approach, the problem can be seen in terms of the emotional harm done to the victim of a crime. The problem is located in the individual victim who is suffering as a result of a crime. The organizational role is to provide services designed to help restore the victim's sense of well-being. In this situation the victim is to play the role of a client.
3. In the third approach, the problem is seen as one that requires public action because of the magnitude of the harm done to the individuals and surviving family members. The organizational role is to represent victim's interests and advocate for changes in how victims are treated by the social institutions of the community. In this instance the individual victim serves as the exemplar of the problem of mistreatment. This action can also include political advocacy that influences new legislation focusing on the perceived interests of crime victims as a group.

These approaches are not mutually exclusive. An organization that takes a client service approach to victims might also feel that their clients should do everything in their power to legally prosecute the offender. Moreover, an organization with a client service approach may also invest some of its time and resources in advocacy for victim's rights. Nevertheless, an organization will tend to have a dominant frame that shapes their programming and guides the organization.

The grass-root organizations have developed historically in such a way that they can be classified into four types that represent the three approaches to the "victim problem." The first type, *victim-witness programs*, are generally part of the prosecutor's office, although some are located in police departments and a few are private non-profit agencies. Their purpose is to gain the victim's cooperation in proceedings against the accused. The objective is to secure convictions, and attaining a conviction is

often dependent on the victim being a witness. Victim witness programs have a more narrowly defined, shorter term relationship with the crime victim and serve the greatest variety of crime victims.

A second type of victim organization deals with *victim advocacy*. Victim advocacy organizations will generally pressure the criminal justice system to give higher priority to victim's interests in a system that favors the interests of the prosecutor and the defense of the accused. These organizations often work on behalf of deceased victims, by encouraging the family members of the victim to pressure the legislature to take action on behalf of crime victims. They may also provide support groups to bereaved family members who feel they too have been victimized by the crime.

The third type of victim service organizations consists of *women's centers and domestic violence shelters*. These organizations are concerned with crisis intervention services directed to the needs of female victims of domestic violence. In these agencies the victim is seen as a client who has unique emotional and physical needs brought on by being a victim of domestic violence or in some cases sexual assault. Battered women are seen as having developed an adaptive reaction based on "learned helplessness" that keeps them in the abusive relationship. The battered-woman syndrome is based on a learning theory that predicts guilt, low self-esteem and passivity (Kromsky and Cutler 1991; Forte et.al. 1996). Victims are seen as having to become more independent and self-reliant through resocialization in counseling and peer support groups. Centers will encourage victims to take legal action and cooperate with the police, but legal action is not a primary objective.

The fourth type of victim service program consists of *rape crisis centers and sexual assault agencies*. These organizations deal with women or children that have experienced unwanted or, in some cases with children, inappropriate sexual acts. Services are provided with or without legal action being taken; although victims are encouraged to report their case to the authorities, they are nonetheless treated as clients. The victim is seen as having suffered the immediate trauma of the sexual assault and also the longer term post-traumatic stress. To reach an adjustment stage requires that victims tell and retell their memories of the event,

and its emotions, until they see themselves as a "survivor" (Figley 1985). These victims, as clients, are understood to have suffered emotional trauma with long-term consequences.

The service programs offered by different types of organizations should reflect the different conceptual frames that define the "victim problem". Moreover, it is expected that an organization's involvement in political advocacy activities will be influenced by their service goals, as well as by the victim status concerns of the staff members.

The victim status concerns of staff members represent the aligning frame that promotes political advocacy, particularly in service based organizations.

Study Design and Measures

The organizational base of the victim rights movement consist of a nationwide collection of heterogeneous groups. National directories of groups that are concerned with crime victim rights and services are only partly complete. This study uses the directory of 6,742 organizations and contact persons, and 848 victim witness programs compiled by the National Victims Center in 1990 as the sampling frame. Organizations were selected in a proportional way from the fifty states forming a non-random representative sample of 7.4% or 497 regular organizations, and 18% or 153 victim witness programs. Organizations were selected from different communities in each state and were selected to represent the full spectrum of shelters, crisis centers, and advocacy groups found in that state. In 1990-91 organizations were sent two waves of questionnaires, to be filled out by the agency director, with return postage paid envelopes. From the total sample of 650 organizations, 26 no longer existed, 215 regular organizations from 50 states, and 86 victim witness programs from 40 states returned usable questionnaires. This is a return rate of 48% or 301 organizations. The return rate seems proportional to the sample by state since the correlation between the sample and the return rate is $r=+.877$ for regular organizations and $r=+.881$ for victim witness programs.

The questionnaire was eleven pages long and asked questions on characteristics of their organization, types of clients served,

programs they emphasize, community relations, personnel background information on three employees, and beliefs about victim rights issues.

The typical crime victim service organization is small (5 paid employees), about 11 years old, and serves a city/county or multi-county area (91%), and relies on volunteer help for part of its workforce (86%). Most of the employees are women (87%) with at least a college education (68%), who have worked with victim's issues for an average of 6.5 years.

The variables in this study consists of the following typology, measures, and indexes.

1) The four types of victim service organizations were based on the organization's name or brief statement of goals. All the organizations readily fit into one of the four categories. There were 86 victim/witness programs, 53 victim advocacy organizations, 96 women's centers/shelters, and 66 rape crisis centers/or organizations that were primarily concerned with sexual assault.

2) The service program emphasis is based on a rating from 0 to 4 of how much emphasis their organization placed on 9 different service functions (See Appendix I for rating scale). A score of greater than three indicated a service they gave a great deal of emphasis, and a score of less than two represented a service they gave little or no attention.

3) There are two indexes of orientational frames: *Victim Status Issues* and *Political Advocacy*. The index of *Victim Status Issue* is based on a five question ratings dealing with staff members individual beliefs about changes in victim status in the criminal justice process. The questions dealt with the following issues: (1) offenders have too many rights compared to victims; (2) victims need constitutionally protected rights; (3) reform should reduce judicial discretion through mandatory sentencing; (4) the harm done to the victim should be a criteria for deciding the severity of punishment; (5) justice for the victim requires balance retribution (See Appendix I). The *Political Advocacy Index* is a three question rating of the emphasis given to organizational activities that are designed to create a climate of public awareness of victims, to recruit victims to be activists, and to promote legislation that will benefit crime victims by changes in laws and governmental policies (See Appendix I).

Findings

The way different organizations are prepared to respond to crime victims sets the framing of the "crime victim problem." This process should be manifested in the pattern of service programs provided by the four types of organizations. In Table 1 nine program services are compared across the four organizational types to reveal the different patterns of service programs. Virtually all the organizations regard themselves as being involved in crisis intervention because they view victimization as both a short and a long term crisis for the individual and family members, and all see themselves as providing information and referral services which are basic to the operations of almost all community service agencies. It is interesting that the differences between types of organizations are statistically significant; with the women's centers/shelters being highest, implying a more direct link to the community welfare networks, and the victim advocacy organizations being the lowest, reflecting their lesser role in direct client contact.

The victim witness programs follow the pattern of services called for by their sponsoring interests. These programs emphasize 1) orienting victims to the criminal justice system, 2) helping with getting victim compensation aid from the state which usually requires a victim to cooperate with the local prosecutor, 3) and assistance in preparing a victim impact statement. The victim witness programs are low on the emphasis given to longer term counseling or support group services. They tend to confine their contact with the victim to the duration of the legal case.

Victim advocacy organizations share with the victim witness programs a belief that crime victims need emotional support and assistance in dealing with the criminal justice system. These cases can be the basis for demanding reforms by focusing on the treatment of the victims by the police, prosecutors and judges. The advocacy organizations do not regard victims as clients, however, and are less apt to provide counseling and support group services.

The women's centers/shelters are more apt to have desperate women and children dropped on their door-step. These centers provide client oriented services such as counseling, support groups and shelter. The focus is on the emotional needs of women

Table 1
Variation in Program Emphasis and Orientation by Type of Victim Organization (Means and F Ratios)

	Victim Witness Program	Victim Advocacy Organizations	Women's Centers and Domestic Violence Shelters	Rape Crisis and Sexual Assault	F* Ratio	PR
I. <i>Programs Services</i>						
1 Crisis Intervention	3.36 n=84	3.14 n=49	3.82 n=96	3.70 n=66	6.51	.001
2 Information & Referral	3.71 n=85	3.16 n=51	3.74 n=96	3.56 n=66	5.72	.001
3 Counseling Services	.99 n=84	2.06 n=47	2.95 n=96	2.91 n=66	28.59	.001
4 Victim Support Groups	1.43 n=84	2.98 n=50	3.28 n=96	3.05 n=66	30.95	.001
5 Orienting Victims to the Criminal Justice System	3.60 n=84	3.04 N=48	3.03 N=96	2.82 N=66	5.74	.001
6 Shelter and Basic Needs	.77 n=83	.51 n=45	3.51 n=96	1.06 n=65	114.38	.001
7 Assist with Victims Impact Statements	3.14 n=85	2.13 n=46	1.17 n=93	1.71 n=66	34.53	.001

8 Assist with Victim Compensation	3.74 n=84	2.26 n=47	1.83 n=95	2.20 n=66	38.97	.001
9 Personal Safety and Prevention Programs	.84 n=84	1.33 n=46	2.26 n=93	3.00 n=66	33.82	.001
<hr/>						
II. Orientations						
A. Victim Status Concerns	14.9 n=82	16.4 n=49	15.3 n=92	15.1 n=63	3.21	.023
B. Political Advocacy	5.6 n=82	7.6 n=46	7.3 n=93	7.4 n=64	8.46	.001

* F ratios are based on a One Way Analysis of Variance

** Variation in row Ns represents missing data

and the financial problems of getting women to be self-reliant. These agencies are less involved with the legal case against the offender who may never be charged with a crime. Assisting victims of domestic violence with compensation claims and victim impact statements is a lower priority. The women's centers/shelters rely more on counseling and support group approaches to helping women. Their ideology sees the solution to the problem of domestic violence as requiring women to change their behavior and become more independent. The consciousness-raising groups were developed in women's centers as a method of addressing women's problems through a kind of peer socialization and these support groups are a vestige of that earlier approach (Matthews 1994; Forte, et.al. 1996).

The rape crisis and sexual assault organizations deal with the problem by serving the victim as a client. These organizations are highly involved in crisis intervention in that they are often called first before the police are called in the case of a rape. At the same time women who have been raped in the past, in which there is no viable legal case, may still be in need of counseling services. Serving the emotional needs of clients is seen as taking place independently of legal action against the offender. The crime of rape is an assault designed to humiliate the victim and so the more private one-on-one counseling approach tends to be used.

Rape is often portrayed as a predatory crime. Rape crisis centers have found that programs that deal with personal safety can be an effective way to reach non-victims and provide a "community service" that raises public awareness about the crime. This represents a kind of community political action in providing classes in personal safety for women (Matthews 1994; McCall 1993).

These organizations have defined different protocols for dealing with the "crime victim problem." Some organizations focus on the role of the victim in the criminal justice process both to increase conviction rates and to advocate for further reforms in the treatment of victims. Other organizations serve victims as clients, with the focus on the harm done to the individual victim and less on the legal case against the offender. In either case, as indicated in Table 1, the organizations follow their conceptualization of the "victim problem" in their programming.

Table 2
Two Way ANOVA for Political Advocacy by Status Concerns and Organizational Type

Agreement on Status Concerns	Victim/Witness Programs (N=78)	Victim Advocacy Organizations (N=42)	Women's Center & Domestic Violence Shelters (N=90)	Rape Crisis & Sexual Assault (N=61)
Strong	\bar{X} 6.03 n 38	7.81 27	7.80 44	8.44 27
Weak	\bar{X} 5.42 n 40	7.40 15	6.83 46	6.71 34
<hr/>				
(A) Type of Organization	Sum of Square		df	Mean
(B) Status Concerns	162.3	3	54.1	7.16
A X B	60.8	1	60.8	8.06
	14.5	3	4.8	.64
Error	1985.9	263	7.5	
				PR
				.001
				.005
				.590

The victim rights movement must cross organizational lines and create a demand for reforms based on a common problem that promotes political advocacy. This tactical action depends on defining a common problem that the diverse groups can support. The common issues, in this case, that represent a mobilizing frame is the "victim status issues." It is expected that the framing of the "victim problem" by the different types of organizations will influence the degree of concern for victim rights. The results presented in Table 1 show that the victim status concerns are highest in victim advocacy organizations along with a higher interest in political advocacy. The other three types of organizations that deal with crime victims more directly have lower scores on these variables, however the women's centers and rape crisis agencies are only slightly lower. The victim witness programs are the lowest on both status concerns and political activism in that they tend to represent the interests of the criminal justice system.

It is expected that organizations whose staff members are concerned with victim rights will also involve their organization in political advocacy. Table 2 shows the relationship between organizational types and victim status concerns in terms of how they effect political advocacy. Both the variables of organizational type and victim status concerns make statistically significant differences in political advocacy. The greatest differences in the effect of victim status issues are in organizations that take a client approach to dealing with victims. Staff support for the victim status issues has the greatest influence on political activism among the Women's Centers and Rape Crisis organizations. In this movement, if an organization's members are concerned with victim rights they are more apt to have their organization involved in political action. The effects of service programming appears to be off-set by the staff members concern for victim status issues when it comes to the degree of political advocacy.

Discussion

This study contrasts the frames that are basic to the formation of the various service organizations and the frame that links these organizations into the crime victim rights movement. The small community based organizations in this study represent the different conceptual frames of the "crime victim problem" that shape

and direct their service programs. The concept of victim lacks descriptive content that would help direct action, so other social and political interests are free to influence the service programs that constitute the frame. The victim witness programs reflect the needs of prosecutors to gain the cooperation of witnesses to secure convictions. This reflects the law-and-order political interests in the community more than the mental health service needs of the victims. The victim advocacy organizations have less real contact with victims, offer less direct services, but instead act on behalf of crime victims to "balance the scales of justice." They are concerned with retribution as the best proof of justice, and reforms that they believe constitute victim rights (Weed 1995). The women's centers/shelters and the rape crisis centers focus on the emotional harm done to the victims. These organizations approach the victim as a client. The sources of funding for these organizations require client centered services as part of society's response to the problem of domestic violence and rape (Matthews 1994).

This organizational base represents a venue for participation in the crime victim's movement. As a reform movement, political advocacy represents tactical action that is necessary for maintaining public support. The mobilizing frames that underlie the service programs are often seen as a conservative force that deflects the concerns of activists away from further political advocacy as they become preoccupied with providing victim services. Yet as a venue of participation, organizations can also be used by activists to promote issues they identify with, so that a movement can have crosscutting frames that effect levels of political advocacy. The mobilizing frame of victim rights influences the level of political advocacy, and serves as the unifying issue across the diverse parts of the movement.

These findings show that organizational tactics are not just the property of organizations, but also reflect the orientations of staffers who act as a constituency for these demands. These findings elaborate on the ideas of Snow, Rochford, Worden and Bedford (1986); Hunt, Bedford and Snow (1994); and Cress and Snow (1996) dealing with the role SMOs play in the frame alignment process. Yet this is only one possible outcome and more

research will be needed to understand the role played by cross-cutting frames within a social movement.

Appendix I

1) *Political Advocacy Index*

Please check each of the services listed indicating whether your organization provides the service or not, and then indicate how much emphasis you are able to place on each activity. This is a long list and we do not expect that any organization could provided all these services, so just pick the services or closest similar services you regularly provide.

Amount of Emphasis Given

Not Regularly Provided	A Little	Some	A Fair Amount	A Great Deal	
0	1	2	3	4	
0	1	2	3	4	Public Awareness and Community Education: programs designed to increase general awareness of the plight of victims.
0	1	2	3	4	Advocate Education: to promote activism among victims and their supporters.
0	1	2	3	4	Legislative Advocacy: to enact laws and policies that benefit victims.

- The items are summed to form an index: Alpha = .662.
- The list of items consists of the nine service programs presented in table 1 and these three advocacy items.

Victim Status Concerns Index

4	3	2	1
Most people would strongly agree	Generally people would agree	People would have mixed opinions	Generally people would disagree

Write the appropriate number in the space provided.

- _____ In terms of justice for all, offenders have too many rights compared to victims.
- _____ Crime victims will not be treated with proper considerations until they have more constitutional protection of their rights.

- All serious crimes should have mandatory sentences leaving less leeway to the sentencing judge.
- Regardless of the offender's intent, the offender's sentence should be based on the harm done to the victim.
- When a convicted criminal gets a light sentence it indicated that the victim's suffering is of not importance to the courts.

- a. The items were summed to form an index: Alpha = .655
- b. For the two way Analysis of Variance the index was divided at the median: Strong = > 16

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Conceiving Identity: Bisexual, Lesbian and Gay Parents Consider their Children's Sexual Orientations

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This study demonstrates the inadequacy of the traditional theory of childhood socialization and identity formation, which holds that children are socialized to internalize the key parameters of their parents' identities. The lesbian, gay and bisexual parents studied were willing actively to foster a sexual identity different from their own in their children. This illustrates that parents may seek to shape the process of internalization so that their children are able to develop identities fundamentally different from their own. The implication for social work is that adoptive or birth parents may successfully instill identities in their children which differ from their own.

Introduction

Numerous studies of lesbian, gay and bisexual parents and their children have concluded that these families are indistinguishable from families with straight parents. In this study I demonstrate that bisexual, lesbian and gay families can indeed be distinguished from straight families.¹ Unlike their straight counterparts, the gay parents studied consider it likely that their children's sexual identities will differ from their own. This study also demonstrates the inadequacy of the traditional understanding of childhood socialization and identity formation. Socialization theorists usually state that children internalize the key parameters of their parents' identities—such as race, class, gender identity, sexual orientation, and even political party affiliation—in an unconscious, transparent manner. In fact, as this study illustrates, parents may become much more conscious of their role in shaping their children's identities, and may in fact become determined to

rupture the process so that their children may develop identities fundamentally different from their own.

I explored bisexual, gay and lesbian parents' expectations about their children's sexual identity development and the role they intended to play in that process through interviews with eighteen queer parents of prepubescent children. Although the sample is small and the findings must be treated as preliminary, the striking similarity in the attitudes of the interviewees regarding their children's sexual identities indicates the significance of the findings.

Review of the Literature

The Literature on Socialization

Sociologists have always been interested in the question of whether social cohesion arises out of similarity or difference between individuals. Ever since Durkheim associated mechanical solidarity with the "primitive" ties of kin and clan and organic solidarity with the "advanced" ties arising out of the division of labor, sociologists have associated hegemony with the solidarity of the family. (1984 [1893])

Since Mead (1936), socialization theorists have stated that children adopt the attitudes and identities of significant others, especially their parents, through an unconscious process of identification and internalization. Socialization theory predicts and explains similarities between parent and child by treating the child almost as a *tabula rasa* upon which the parent unconsciously inscribes social identities such as race, class, and gender. While socialization theorists do assert that the child actively participates in socialization processes, they emphasize the asymmetry of the parent-child relationship and the determinative nature of parental power. (e.g., Berger & Berger, 1979; Damon, 1983)

Socialization theorists downplay the significance of parent-child difference and conflict, even during adolescence. (See, e.g., Feldman & Gehring, 1990; Montemayor, 1990) As stated in the *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*,

[T]here is overwhelming evidence of congruity between, illustratively, parents' social class and the social class of the adolescent's

date and friends; between parents' frequency of church attendance, or their religious belief systems, and the religious condition of the adolescent; between parents' education and adolescents' educational plans, aspirations and performance; between the political party preferences and voting behavior of the parents and their offspring; and between the racial views of parents and children. The list might be continued indefinitely. (Campbell, 1969: 827)

Socialization scholars report a vast body of evidence of familial hegemony; moreover, they tend to treat differences in the social identities of parents and children as something they should not seek to explore. As one theorist put it, "it is not a problem of socialization to explain the uniqueness of individuals." (Elkin, 1960: 5)

Since socialization theory states that elements of parental identity are internalized by children, it would seem to predict that parents with homosexual or bisexual identities would raise children with similar identities. Judges, social workers, politicians and homophobic activists have cited this theoretical prediction in arguing against permitting lesbian, gay and bisexual people to have custody of children. (See, e.g., *Harvard Law Review*, 1989; du Mas, 1979) A large body of literature has been generated examining the prediction that gay parents raise children who also become gay; I examine this literature below. First, however, I will examine another literature relating to children being socialized by parents who are "different": the sociological and social work literatures on transracial adoption.

The specter of parents socializing children to have "inappropriate" identities has been raised in the transracial adoption controversy. As the rising availability of contraception and abortion have reduced the number of white children available for adoption over the past several decades, more white parents have sought to adopt children of color, and child placement agencies have softened policies against transracial adoption. Some members of the African American community, including social scientists and social workers, have lobbied against the upsurge in transracial adoption, arguing that white parents cannot socialize their adoptive children to have a black racial identity. (See, e.g., Chimezie, 1975; Howard et al., 1977; Simon, 1978) Other authors have argued that parents can consciously choose to socialize their children to

acquire an identity different from their own. (See, e.g., Jones & Else, 1979; Silverman, 1993) They believe that socialization is not merely an unconscious transmission of essentialist identities, but a process that can be shaped by parental intent.

Studies have shown that many white parents who adopt African American children want their children to identify their race as "human" rather than black. (Johnson et al., 1987; Ladner, 1977) In a study by Johnson et al. comparing black children adopted transracially and intraracially, 11 of 26 sets of adoptive white parents wanted their children to identify as black. The remaining white parents "wished their children to identify with the white race, the human race, or neither race." (p. 51) While only half of the children raised by white parents who preferred some identity other than black had a black self-identity, 82% of the children whose white parents wanted them to identify as black did in fact have a black self-identity. Of the children adopted by African American parents, 80% had a black self-identity. This study indicates that if parents choose to make the effort, they can effectively socialize their children to have a racial identity different from their own.

Socialization theory and research have focused on a model of the family in which family members share the same racial background, religious affiliation, (hetero)sexual identity, etc. In this context researchers have found socialization to be a transparent, generally unconscious process, leading children to adopt identities similar to those of their parents. But as studies of transracial adoption show, in multiracial contexts parents may become much more conscious of their role in shaping their children's identities, and may in fact become determined to work to allow their children to develop a racial identity different from their own. Perhaps this is a singular exception to the general rule of socialization. However, if lesbian, gay and bisexual parents can be shown similarly to work to allow their children to adopt a sexual identity different from their own, it would provide evidence that socialization theory must be fundamentally reconsidered. It would indicate that socialization need not dictate hegemony within the family, but can instead facilitate the adoption of dissimilar identities. To hearken back to Durkheim, socialization could lead to organic as well as mechanical solidarity in the family.

Besides being interesting on a purely theoretical level, the issue of whether bisexual, lesbian and gay parents transmit their sexual identities to the children they raise has important implications for social work. Many social service agencies have formal policies discouraging the placement of foster or adoptive children with gay parents which are based upon the assumption that such children would be placed "at risk" of becoming gay themselves via socialization. If doubt is cast upon the premise upon which these policies are based, then the policies themselves should be reevaluated.

The Literature on Bisexual, Lesbian and Gay Families

Research on heterosexual parents with gay, lesbian and bisexual offspring demonstrates that heterosexual parents act as traditional socialization theory would predict. While they do not devote much conscious consideration to the matter when raising their children, they assume that their children will adopt "appropriate" heterosexual orientations by modelling their parents' behavior. When their gay children reveal their sexual identities, a family crisis is precipitated, and the heterosexual parents feel a sense of guilt, blaming themselves or their spouses for failing properly to socialize their children. (Javaid, 1993; Silverstein, 1977) Heterosexual parents also feel anger and disappointment at what they view as a rejection of them and their values. (Id.) Heterosexual parents who find out that their children's sexual identity differs from theirs also feel that their children's revealed sexual orientation negates their previous family role as good children. (Strommen, 1989)

Research on heterosexual parents supports the claims of traditional socialization theory: that parents normally transmit the parameters of their identities to their children without conscious effort; that this creates a familial hegemony of identities that is the source of familial solidarity; and that any departure from this replication of parental identities is abnormal and disrupts the solidarity of the family. Hence not only socialization theory but also the experience of heterosexual parents have led many to predict that bisexual, lesbian and gay parents would transmit their sexual identities to their children, and would reject their children if they expressed a heterosexual identity. This prediction has

been the basis of social welfare policies which deny child custody to lesbian, gay and bisexual parents. (Whitehead & Tully, 1993)

Others have reviewed the extensive literature demonstrating, counter to the predictions of socialization theory, that children of queer parents are indistinguishable from the children of straight parents. (O'Connell, 1993; Patterson, 1992) Centrally, and most significantly, numerous studies have shown that the children of lesbian, gay and bisexual parents grow up to express a heterosexual identity as frequently as do children of straight parents (e.g. Gibbs, 1989; Huggins, 1989). Research also indicates that children of homosexual parents have no gender identity problems (e.g. Hoeffler, 1981; Kirkpatrick et al., 1981), and demonstrate normal psychological and intellectual development (e.g. Green, 1986; Golombok, 1983). Other studies show that lesbian, gay and bisexual parents are "good" parents: they do not abuse their children (e.g. Jones & MacFarlane, 1980; Sarafino, 1979); they have high quality relationships with both their male and female children (e.g. Keating & Brigman, 1986); and they involve adults of the opposite sex in their children's activities (e.g. Golombok, 1983; Kirkpatrick, 1987). One researcher claims that the women she studied "segregated" their lesbian and maternal identities, so that there was nothing subversively lesbian about their mothering. (Lewin, 1994) The conclusion of all this literature is that there is nothing that distinguishes queer families from straight families.

This conclusion is incorrect: gay families are distinguished from straight families. There is copious evidence that the children of gay parents are distinguished from their straight counterparts because they do not tend to adopt the same sexual identity as their parents. What is lacking is evidence indicating whether lesbian, gay and bisexual parents are distinguished from straight parents. Do the majority of the children of gay parents adopt a heterosexual identity despite unarticulated parental socialization pressure similar to the type exerted by heterosexual parents? Or do bisexual, lesbian and gay parents intentionally seek to avoid exerting socialization pressure upon their children to adopt a bisexual or homosexual identity—which would deeply distinguish them from heterosexual parents?

It is my hypothesis that lesbian, gay and bisexual parents' treatment of their children's sexual orientations is distinguished

from that of heterosexual parents, and that this is due to the lesbian, gay and bisexual parents' experiences in coming out to their own heterosexual parents. Having faced the trauma of parental dismay and disapproval upon revealing their sexual orientations to their families of origin, I hypothesize that bisexual, gay and lesbian parents are determined not to exert unarticulated socialization pressure upon their own children as they develop their own sexual identities. Instead, I posit, they wish to guide their children in a conscious process of self-discovery, assuring them that parental love is not conditioned on the sexual orientation they adopt. If confirmed, this will not only show that gay parents are distinguished from straight parents, but will also bring into question some of the basic premises of socialization theory—premises upon which social welfare policies have been based.

Methods

I interviewed 18 bisexual, lesbian and gay parents. I met 3 of these parents by attending a Berkeley lesbian/bisexual mothers' support group in the spring of 1995, 4 by marching with the queer parents' contingent in the San Francisco Lesbian/Gay/Bisexual/Transgender Freedom Day Parade in June of 1995, and 6 by attending the San Francisco Queer Family Day Celebration in June of 1995. I also solicited volunteers by placing an advertisement in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*; 3 of my interviewees were respondents to that advertisement. The remaining 2 subjects were solicited by women I had already interviewed, and were members of lesbian mothers' groups attended by the earlier interviewees. All were parents of young children who were being raised solely in queer families. A brief description of each interviewee and his or her family appears in Appendix I. (The names assigned to each parent and child are fictional.) I interviewed both partners in 3 couples, accounting for 6 of the total of 18 subjects. Fourteen of the interviewees were women and 4 were men.² Ten interviewees described themselves as white; 2 described themselves as Jewish; 2 described themselves as African American; 2 described themselves as mixed Japanese and white; 1 described himself as mixed Chinese and white; and 1 described himself as mixed Latino and Anglo. Two of the interviewees were single parents and 16 had

coparents. The subjects' ages ranged from 24 to 48 years, with a mean of 36.3 years. Their incomes ranged from under \$10,000 per year to \$80,000 per year, with a mean of \$39,000.

The parents I interviewed had a total of 17 children. Two interviewees had 2 children, and the remainder had 1 child each, including 6 interviewees who were in coparenting dyads with one child per couple. The children included 7 children of color: 1 African American; 2 mixed African American and white; 1 mixed African American and Puerto Rican; 2 mixed Japanese American and white; and 1 mixed Chinese American and white.³ The children's ages ranged from 3 months to 9 years, with a mean of 3.2 years. They were conceived in a variety of ways. Ten were conceived via donor insemination; 3 were born in legal marriages (2 in intergendered bisexual unions and 1 in a marriage between a gay male subject and his heterosexual wife); 2 were adopted; 1 was conceived via coparent insemination between a lesbian and a gay man; and 1 was conceived in a prior heterosexual relationship that was terminated before the birth of the child.

The interviews themselves were conducted between February and September of 1995, and ranged from 45 minutes to over six hours in length. I typically spent about 2 hours with each interviewee, in a location of their choice. The interviews were semi-structured in nature. (They were typically made rather less structured by the presence of children—the interviewees' and/or my own—playing, eating, requesting assistance, and occasionally adding their own comments.) The interviews covered 4 general areas. The first area was the interviewee's folk theory of sexual identity. The second was the relationship of the interviewee to her/his family of origin: the interviewee's experiences in coming out to the family of origin; the interviewee's relations with the family of origin after coming out; and the relations between the family of origin to the interviewee's partner (if any) and child. The third area consisted of questions aimed at revealing the interviewee's attitudes about his/her child's eventual sexual identity: whether the interviewee had considered the matter of his/her child's eventual sexual identity; the interviewee's attitudes towards the possibility that the child grow up to be straight; the interviewee's attitudes towards the possibility that the child grow up to be lesbian, gay or bisexual; the interviewee's concerns

regarding her/his child's sexual identity development; the interviewee's expectations about his/her parental role in this process; the interviewee's preferences regarding the child's sexual identity; the interviewee's expectations regarding the child's sexual identity; and the interviewee's beliefs about the effect of his/her sexual identity upon the child's sexual identity. The fourth area included general questions regarding the interviewee's hopes regarding the child's relationship to the gay and straight communities as an adult; the interviewee's expectations regarding how his/her child will deal with issues of identity in general; expectations regarding the challenges the child will face due to the fact that s/he has queer parents; and expectations regarding any special advantages that will accrue to the child due to the fact that s/he has queer parents. In addition to covering these four areas and collecting demographic information (age, race, income, etc.), I also asked each interviewee if there was anything else they felt I ought to know.

Findings

Coming Out to Families of Origin

As expected, most interviewees reported that revealing their sexual orientations to their families of origin was a traumatic experience. Three of the interviewees have never come out to their parents for fear of alienation of parental affection. Of the 15 remaining subjects, all but one described traumatic coming out experiences. Parents were shocked, and typically told the interviewees that their sexual identities were unnatural, morally wrong and/or dangerous to their health and welfare. The parents of three subjects, Darcy, Irena and Sammi (all names used here are pseudonymous), took very strong measures to separate them from girlfriends and peers whom they believed were "converting" their daughters. Fights typically ensued over who was "to blame" for what was deemed a poor parenting outcome by the interviewees' heterosexual parents. For example, Irena stated,

My mom burst into tears—"How could you do this to me? What have I done wrong?"

Similarly, Christy reported,

My father wanted to know if it was all his fault, having left the family when I was 15, or if it was my mother's fault, because she was so domineering.

The interviewee's response to the negative reactions of their families of origin was to feel self-doubt and pain, but also a certain amount of understanding. As Willa put it,

You want your kids to be, quote, "normal," and when someone asks, "How's Willa doing?" you don't want to say, "Well, she's a lesbian."

Some of the interviewees later came to question the degree to which they accepted the negative reactions of their families of origin. Sheila said,

They had a hard time with it, and blamed my friends for "making" me a lesbian. They prayed for me as diligent Catholics. But they didn't even let my lesbian cousin Penny into the house, so I felt they were taking a big positive step. I just didn't know I had the right to ask for more at that point in my life.

Whether they felt that the reactions of their families of origin were understandable or not, all but one of the subjects who came out to their parents reported emotional distance, sometimes accompanied by physical distance, developing as an immediate consequence of coming out.

Julie was the only subject who stated that she came out to her parents without any trauma. She reported,

The didn't really have a problem with it. I mean, they weren't pleased, but that was only because I told them because we were going to be on the "Geraldo" show—they were doing an episode on bisexuality. And my parents hate the "Geraldo" show—they think it's tacky. So that's why they had a problem.

It is possible that Julie's attribution of parental disapproval solely to the "Geraldo" show venue reflects some wishful thinking on her part. But her assessment may well be accurate. Unlike all the other subjects, she came out in the context of a marriage to a person of the opposite sex. She was already 35 and the mother of a 2-year-old child. Much of the threat to parental values which undergirds the coming out trauma was thus attenuated in her case, which would explain why her parents may not have reacted with much distress to her announcement of bisexuality.

Ongoing and Current Relations with Families of Origin

The traumatic rupture in relations with families of origin reported by most subjects was repaired over time in the case of many. Of the 14 who came out to parents and reported trauma, 10 experienced a gradual rapprochement, and now report close and satisfying relations with at least some members of their families of origin. Both the 10 who now feel close to their families of origin and the 4 who express ongoing difficulties tied their feelings of closeness or distance to whether their families of origin have accepted their partners and children as a family of destination. For example, Jenny, who deems her relationship to her parents fairly close, stated

They won't talk about my sexuality directly, so I wouldn't say they deal with it *well* now, but they do accept Cora at family events and treat her as part of the family. But they still struggle with it internally, and still worry about me living as a second-class citizen.

Compare this to the statement made by Talia, who calls her relationship with her mother "troubled":

I guess my mom is trying. I mean, she likes Laurel, but she doesn't think of her as equivalent to my sister's husband. She refuses to invite Laurel over for the holidays, and says it's "inappropriate" for me to bring her to visit our relatives. It makes me angry, but I know other people have it worse. I mean, Laurel's family doesn't even speak to her.

While both Jenny and Talia express mixed emotions about their parents' attitudes, Jenny evaluates her relationship with her parents, who include her partner in family celebrations, to be satisfactory, while Talia evaluates her relationship with her mother, who excludes her partner, to be unsatisfactory.

The interviewees expressed a need for their parents to acknowledge the interviewees' own parental status. This need was felt especially strongly by subjects without a biological relationship to their children. For example, Sammi stated,

My mom is OK now; she's really fond of Martin. But she doesn't really treat us as a real family—two women adopting some child doesn't seem real enough to her.

Similarly Cora, whose partner bore their daughter, complained,

My brother doesn't treat me like a real mom. I've been very disappointed, because he didn't send a gift or even a card on Erica's birthday. He hasn't really acknowledged her.

Those interviewees whose parents did acknowledge and visit their children emphasized that point in the interviews. Willa said,

My parents probably don't feel as attached to Gillian and Wesley as if they were their biological grandkids, but I guess about 95% as if they were mine. They visit their grandkids twice a month, which I think is very important.

To sum up, of the 18 interviewees, 3 have never come out to their parents due to an extreme anxiety over the reaction they anticipate from their parents, 1 came out without experiencing much of a negative reaction from her parents, 4 came out and experienced a traumatic rupture in relations with their families of origin that was ongoing at the time of the interview, and 10 had traumatic experiences in coming out to their families of origin, but now have satisfactory relations with at least some family members. For all but one subject, sexual identity has played a prominent role in their relations with their families of origin.

Considering Children's Sexual Identities

To determine whether the issues I wished to discuss were salient to my interviewees, I asked them whether they thought about their children's eventual sexual identities. All but one interviewee said yes. Often subjects rolled their eyes or laughed, indicating not only that this was a key issue for them, but that they needed to relieve some tension before discussing something that is a quasi-taboo subject.⁴ The one interviewee who said she hadn't really thought about her child's sexual identity was Cora, who stated, "I'll get around to it when Erica's older." Cora felt that she didn't have to worry about the issue now because it wasn't likely to be a problem area for her daughter.

Unconditional Acceptance of Children's Sexual Identities

I asked the interviewees whether they had considered that their children might grow up to be straight; if so, whether they thought it might be hard for them to help their children become comfortable with a straight sexual identity; whether they thought

their children might be lesbian, bisexual or gay; and if so, whether it might be in some way easier or more satisfying to help their children become comfortable as queer. In responding to these questions, all of my interviewees unanimously emphasized that they would accept their children, no matter what their eventual sexual identities turned out to be. As Talia succinctly put it, "Nathan gets *real* unconditional love."

Several themes emerged in the subjects' universal assertion that they would accept their children whatever their sexual orientations might be. One theme was that the role of a good parent is to aid children in a process of self-discovery. As Lillian stated,

In raising our kids, the most important foundation we want to lay for them is clarity about who they are. Helping Seth find that clarity is my job—not the content of who he is.

Another common theme was an emphasis on good communication between parent and child. Darcy said,

By talking a lot and being open and honest, and by my accepting her as she's always been, Linden will be made comfortable being who she is regardless of who she is . . . whether she wants a husband or a lesbian as a partner.

The parents I interviewed related their commitment to accepting their children regardless of sexual orientation to a general commitment to accept people in all their diversity. As Shiela put it,

The important thing is that Saul be happy. People are people. There are parts of us in everybody, so I try to accept people as they are. Saul's sexual orientation isn't the important thing; it doesn't make any difference. To me, Saul is Saul, and who he is will just unfold. The most important thing to me is that he grow up to be accepting and nonviolent.

A final theme which subjects reiterated in emphasizing that they will accept their children no matter what sexual identities they adopt was that this acceptance distinguished the subjects from their parents. Sammi stated,

We love Martin for being Martin, and we'll keep doing that. We don't want to love some model, some kind of perfect image. We love our son as a person. Who he decides to love is his own business. I guess

your question is about the idea that queers convert children, which is a ridiculous stereotype. My mom thought I was "converted," but that was just, you know, because it was easier for her to believe than the fact . . . which was that I loved women because it was what I wanted. So Martin must be free to love who he wants. That's one mistake I won't make with him—though I'm sure I'll make my share of others. [laughs]

In sum, all of the interviewees stated that they would accept their children no matter what their sexual orientation turned out to be, and themes of the necessity of self-discovery, of open communication, and of accepting diversity emerged.

Preferences Regarding Children's Sexual Identities

I asked the interviewees what sexual identities they would ideally like their children to develop. Their answers were all heavily qualified by their assertions of accepting their children regardless of sexual orientation, and even when pushed, 10 were unwilling to state a preference. Of the remaining 8, 4 stated a preference for their children to be gay, lesbian or bisexual, and 4 stated a preference for their children to be straight. Thus, while the interviewees all said that they would accept any sexual identity in their children, they expressed a wide spectrum of preferences qualified by that broad acceptance.

What is notable about those interviewees who expressed a preference for their children to be lesbian, gay or bisexual is that they did not base their preference on a claim of inherent superiority of queer identity or on a desire that their children to be like them. Christy simply said,

I would prefer a lesbian lifestyle for Eva because that is my personal concept of happiness.

Elise explained her preference in pragmatic terms:

I'd feel more comfortable if Eva identifies as lesbian because, in my experience, most men mistreat women. But it would be no better if Eva chose a woman partner who mistreated her.

And Al emphasized honesty and self-knowledge:

Everyone is essentially bi, but most people don't admit it, and to have a child that knows and admits it would probably be a source of pride.

Similarly, those interviewees who expressed a preference for their children to be straight did not base their preference on a claim of inherent superiority of straight identity. Cora explained her preference in pragmatic terms:

If society continues as it is, I'd have a preference for Erica to be straight, because it'll just be a lot easier for her.

Jenny added her wish to avoid homophobic criticism:

I would prefer Erica to be straight, because I know from experience that it's simply harder to be gay. I would prefer her to live a lifestyle that's more accepted. And I wouldn't want society to judge how she was raised, and say, "They ruined her," or "They converted her." If she grows up to be straight, everyone will say we raised her right.

Dexter voiced concerns about racism in explaining his preference:

It would be easier on me if he was straight, because it would be easier on him. In a racist nation, he'll have enough to deal with. Being straight is easier for a black man.

In short, in contrast to the common expectation that gay people want their children to be gay, the subjects expressed a range of preferences regarding their children's sexual identities, with most expressing no preference and equal minorities preferring a straight or a queer identity. Moreover, all subjects emphasized that they would accept their children no matter what sexual identity they developed.

Expectations Regarding Children's Sexual Identities

I asked the interviewees whether they thought their children were more likely to develop a straight or gay identity. Only one interviewee thought his child was likely not to identify as straight (he predicted that she would be more likely to identify as bisexual). Of the remainder, 13 felt their children would probably identify as straight, and 4 said that they did not know. As in the responses to the questions above, the interviewees emphasized that they would accept their children regardless of sexual orientation, and that other values were more important. Abby stated,

I don't know, and it's just not the most important thing. It's more important that he be secure, loving and nonabusive.

Al, the lone interviewee to predict a queer identity for his daughter, believed in universal essential bisexuality, and felt that a combination of family context and growing social acceptance of queer sexual identity would allow his daughter to acknowledge her bisexual identity:

Nadia will probably identify as bi. It's easier with each passing generation.

The 13 interviewees who believed it likely that their children would identify as straight were split into two camps: those who based their prediction on folk essentialist logic and those who based their prediction on folk constructionist logic. Unlike Al, the other subjects utilizing folk essentialist logic did not believe in universal bisexuality, but invoked a statistical model which seemed to assign sexual orientation according to the roll of some cosmic die. Rick asserted,

The odds are 90% in favor of being straight.

Similarly, Sheila stated,

Statistically, Saul has a 1 in 10 chance of being gay. Maybe there's a 2 in 10 chance he'll be bi.

And Jenny stated,

I know the statistics, that children who grow up in gay families grow up to be gay in the same percentages as other children.

The folk essentialist logic used by these subjects implies that their parenting is irrelevant to their children's sexual identities because sexual orientation is randomly assigned.

The folk constructionists among my interviewees used very different logic to come to the same conclusion—that their children will probably develop a straight identity. Sammi stated,

Martin will probably be straight. The world pushes that.

Christy elaborated,

I think that society bombards us with images of heterosexual couples. And I think a lot of our sexuality is learned. And so I think it's real probable that Eva will gravitate toward the norm. I'd think that of any child.

These subjects do assert that socialization shapes sexual identity, but they state that it is society at large rather than the family setting that dominates socialization. Therefore they, just like the folk essentialists, believe that their children will probably grow up to be straight.

Attitudes Regarding the Impact of Parental Sexual Identities on Children's Eventual Sexual Identities

Only one of the interviewees believed that it was likely that his child would share his sexual orientation, while 13 of the interviewees thought it was likely that their children would be straight. Nevertheless, the subjects did believe that their sexual identities would have an impact upon their children. Every one of the interviewees stated that being raised by queer parents would have some positive socialization effect upon their children, generally framed in terms of high levels of acceptance of self and others.

The interviewees emphasized that they would serve as positive role models of self-acceptance for their children. Some attributed this directly to their sexual identities, like Darcy:

I hope my sexual identity will have an effect on Linden. I hope it helps her realize that we need to be true to ourselves, no matter who we are.

Others attributed it only indirectly to their sexual identities, like Willa:

I don't think my lesbianism will influence my kids, but the fact that I know who I am and am not ashamed to be that, and feel really good about myself, will.

A common theme reiterated by the interviewees was that their children would benefit from the strong and open communication that the interviewees would foster. Irena said,

I don't think Nigel will have any problem at all, because I think he has a very good core sense of himself. He's really good at communicating his feelings and figuring out what he wants . . . We have a very conscious process of making him comfortable with himself and his desires.

One of the benefits which the interviewees tended to believe would accrue to their children due to the open communication

they planned to foster was that it would be a tool which their children could use in a process of self-discovery. Interviewees contrasted this open communication and fostering of self-discovery to the behavior of their own parents. Julie said,

It took me a long time to recognize my sexual orientation because my parents never talked about sex. Having awareness and acceptance from early on will give Kimo more ability to act on his feelings, and to realize it if he has homosexual impulses.

But the interviewees were also wary of implying that the fact that their sexual identities and parenting values differed from those of their own parents implied that their children would be influenced to be queer. As Cristy said,

Well, my parents are straight, and they ended up raising a lesbian daughter, so I can't really say that our sexual identity will have an effect. I think that Eva is going to have more permission, and she's going to see more alternatives . . . but I don't know how much influence that will have on her ultimate decision.

In fact, most of the interviewees made a point of stating that they would take active steps to ensure that their children felt no pressure to conform to their parents' sexual identities. Rick said,

I don't want Cesar to be gay because he thinks he's supposed to be. I feel because I'm gay he'll have more confusion at the beginning of adolescence. I'll give him awareness and broad acceptance. More freedom is good, but it also means more confusion. If I didn't notice any tendencies, I'd worry about it. We'd have to do a lot of talking.

Interviewees reaffirmed that they wanted their children to be true to themselves rather than copies of their parents. Sheila stated,

I imagine at some point Saul will wonder if I want him to be gay. I just have to reassure him he doesn't have to do something to make me happy—he just needs to know for himself who he is.

And Abby said,

Our job is to counter social pressure—not put more pressure on him.

Finally, many subjects also believed not only that they would raise their children to possess self-knowledge and self-acceptance,

but that they would raise their children to accept others, regardless of identity. They seemed to feel that being raised in a queer family would serve as an inoculation against all bigotry. To give a pair of examples, Dexter said,

Jesse is being raised to have healthy respect for all people. Race, sexual preference, language—he'll know these aren't the measure of worth.

And Sarah said,

Amber is being raised in a home without bigotry or sexism. I'm teaching her to educate herself and be openminded and respectful to all people.

In sum, the interviewees felt that because of their sexual identities, they would serve as role models of self-acceptance for their children. They planned to create a family environment of open communication that would foster self-discovery, and hoped that by modelling tolerance they would raise children who would accept people of all backgrounds. They intended that their children feel no unarticulated pressure to imitate the interviewees' sexual identities, and in fact intended to make it clear to their children that they wanted them to become themselves rather than copies of their parents.

Discussion

The findings of this study regarding the relationship between the lesbian, gay and bisexual interviewees and their families of origin are those predicted by the literature. The interviewees related that their parents assumed that they were transmitting a heterosexual identity to the interviewees, although they never discussed this overtly. The subjects further related that when they revealed the fact that their sexual identities did not conform to their parents', familial solidarity was disrupted. All but one of the interviewees reported that the issue of coming out to their families of origin was a traumatic issue for them. Three of these subjects have never revealed their sexual identities to their parents because they believe that this would cause a permanent rupture of familial relations. The families of the remaining fourteen reacted very negatively to the interviewees' revelation of their

sexual orientations. They viewed the subjects' nonconformity to parental sexual orientation as a negative parenting outcome, and attempted to assign blame for the apparent socialization failure. This response is consonant with traditional socialization theory.

The findings of the study regarding the interviewees' attitudes towards their own children, however, contradict the predictions of traditional socialization literature. Unlike their heterosexual parents, the subjects related that they were devoting significant consideration to the matter of their children's sexual identities. Also unlike their parents, the interviewees did not assume that they would transmit their sexual identities to their children. In fact, only one of the interviewees believed it likely that his child would develop the same sexual identity that he had (in his case, bisexuality), while thirteen thought it likely that their children would grow up to be straight.

The interviewees themselves pointed out that their attitudes contrasted with those of their families of origin in several areas. Most centrally, and clearly unlike their parents, the bisexual, lesbian and gay parents interviewed unanimously asserted that they would love and accept their children regardless of the sexual identities that the children would eventually adopt. Instead of valuing conformity with parental sexual identities, they valued authenticity, self-discovery, good communication, and the acceptance of diversity. The subjects were also distinguished from their straight parents by the role they expected to play in the socialization of their children. The subjects' straight parents, as predicted by the literature, assumed without much consideration that they would transmit a heterosexual identity to their children through a transparent process of role modelling. In contrast, the interviewees believed they must consciously examine their role model function, so that instead of attempting to transmit parental sexual identity to their children they would transmit their core values of self-knowledge, self-acceptance and acceptance of others' diversity. In fact, the majority of the interviewees stated that they would take active steps to ensure that their children did not feel any pressure to conform to their parents' sexual identities. These lesbian, gay and bisexual parents are clearly distinguished from their straight counterparts. This finding provides a counterpart

to the numerous studies which conclude that queer families are indistinguishable from straight families.

In addition, the findings demonstrate the inadequacy of the traditional understanding of socialization and identity formation. It is evident that socialization need not be a transparent, generally unconscious process by which parents transmit their identities to their children, ensuring a requisite hegemony of familial identities. Bisexual, gay and lesbian parents, like white parents who adopt African American children, can become more conscious of their role as agents of socialization, and may become determined to work support their children in a process of self-discovery through which it is likely that their children will adopt a sexual or racial identity that is different from their own. In fact, the subjects I interviewed were unanimously committed to such a process. This is due to the fact that almost all of them experienced significant trauma due to parental rejection of their nonconforming sexual identities, and were determined to spare their own children this trauma.

Conclusion

This study leads to two conclusions of general sociological import. Because of the fairly small sample size, the results must be considered preliminary: the parents interviewed may not be representative. Nevertheless, the striking similarity of the interviewees' attitudes regarding their children's sexual identities suggests that the the conclusions are significant. The first conclusion is that lesbian, gay and bisexual families can be distinguished from their straight counterparts. Unlike heterosexual parents, gay parents may intentionally seek to avoid exerting socialization pressure upon their children to conform to parental sexual identity. And as other studies have shown, children of homosexual parents usually adopt heterosexual identities when then mature.

The second conclusion of this study is more general, and relates to the theory of socialization. Traditional socialization theory holds that parents transmit their identities to their children in a transparent, generally unconscious process, and that this leads to a hegemony of identities that is necessary for familial solidarity.

This study shows that parents may become determined to rupture this process to allow children to adopt identities that differ fundamentally from their own.

This study has interesting implications for studies of "families of difference": families which are not characterized by the hegemony in racial background, religious affiliation, (hetero)sexual identity etc. which is assumed by traditional socialization theory. One might plausibly hypothesize that such familial diversity is a necessary but not sufficient condition for parental determination to rupture hegemonic socialization pressure in order to facilitate children's adoption of nonparental identities. There is evidence for this hypothesis in the fact that while the queer parents I studied were unanimously committed to such a rupture with respect to sexual identity, only about half of white parents who adopt black children have been reported to seek such a rupture with respect to racial identity.

If this difference is confirmed, a difference between the parents would provide a possible explanation. In short, queer parents are more educated about the significance of sexual identity than white parents are educated about the significance of racial identity. That is, because they have faced homophobia from both their parents and society at large, lesbian, gay and bisexual parents appear to be determined to give nonjudgmental support and autonomy to their children as they develop their sexual identities. White parents, however, are less likely to have faced a similar sensitizing personal experience with racism. Future studies should explore this possible link between sensitizing parental experiences and parental determination to rupture hegemonic identity socialization processes in families of difference.

The general implication of this study for social work is that adoptive or birth parents may successfully instill identities in their children which differ from their own. More specifically, the implication of this study for social work practice is that policies which discourage the placement of children with lesbian or gay adoptive or foster parents should be reexamined, because they are based upon the faulty premise that children raised by queer parents are "at risk" of themselves becoming bisexual, gay or lesbian. Numerous studies have shown that children raised by homosexual parents are no more likely to grow up to be gay than

are children raised by heterosexual parents. This study shows that due to their own experiences in coming out to their families of origin, queer parents may be determined to give nonjudgmental support to their children as they develop their sexual identities, and to accept that it is likely that their children will adopt a sexual identity that is different from their own.

Notes

1. I have chosen to employ a variety of terms in this paper to describe sexual identity. People of various political bents have very strong preferences for different terms; some object strenuously to the term "homosexual" while others object vehemently to the term "queer." I vary my terminology so that I may offend and mollify all equally. I most frequently refer inclusively to "lesbian, gay and bisexual people." Another note on terminology: I use the term "sexual identity" to refer to the identity that centers around an individual's desire to form same-gender or other-gender unions. I sometimes use the term "sexual orientation," but I prefer the term "sexual identity" because it is parallel to similar concepts such as gender identity or racial identity.
2. I believe that this sex ratio is roughly representative. While approximately equal numbers of queer men and women conceive children in previous (heterosexual) marriages, children conceived by queer parents outside of ostensibly heterosexual unions are conceived largely by women. This is due to both social reasons (women are socialized to value childbearing more intensely than men) and biological reasons (a lesbian seeking to become pregnant needs only minor assistance from a man, while a gay man seeking to conceive a child needs a massive investment of time, energy and emotion from a woman.)
3. Seven children had at least one parent with a racial identity that differed from their own. This may be coincidence, or it may reflect the fact that parents who are willing to cross one social boundary find it easier to cross another.
4. I believe that the subjects have had this topic raised before, but typically in a homophobic context. When schoolteachers, social workers, clergymembers or other institutional representatives raise the issue, it may be out of a homophobic fear that the children are being exposed to sexual activity, or out of a heterosexist fear that queer parents will (inappropriately) prefer their children to be queer as well. It was therefore necessary for me to introduce discussion of children's sexual identities sensitively and to reassure the interviewees so that I received candid responses to my questions.

Appendix I

INTERVIEWEE				COPARENT/PARTNER				CHILD(REN)			
Name	Age	Ethnicity	S.O.	Name	Age	Ethnicity	S.O.	Name	Age	Ethnicity	How Conceived
Lillian	38	Jewish	lesbian	Amy	36	Jewish	lesbian	Joel	8	Jewish	Amy's nonbiological child from a previous lesbian relationship
Sarah	28	white	lesbian	(none)				Seth	5 mo.	Jewish	known donor/Lillian
Dexter	34	African American	gay	Pearl	31	African American	straight	Jesse	3.5	African American	previous relationship with a man, terminated before her birth
Abby	38	white	lesbian	Silvia	32	Mexican American	lesbian	Mark	5	white	known donor/Abby
Al	24	Chinese and white	bisexual	Bonnie	30	white	bisexual	Nadia	4 mo.	Chinese and white	in marriage
Christy	34	white	lesbian	Elise	47	white	lesbian	Eva	3 mo.	white	known donor/Christy
Elise	47	white	lesbian	Christy	34	white	lesbian	Eva	(see above)		
Talia	31	Jewish	lesbian	Laurel	33	Jewish	lesbian	Noah	2.5	Jewish	anonymous donor/Talia
Clark	36	Japanese and white	bisexual	Julie	37	white	bisexual	Kimo	4	Japanese and white	in marriage
Julie	37	white	bisexual	Clark	36	Japanese and white	bisexual	Kimo	(see above)		

INTERVIEWEE				COPARENT/PARTNER			CHILD(REN)				
Name	Age	Ethnicity	S.O.	Name	Age	Ethnicity	S.O.	Name	Age	Ethnicity	How Conceived
Willa	34	white	lesbian	Gina	34	white	lesbian	Gillian Wesley	2 6 mo.	white white	donor insemination/ Gina donor insemination/ Gina
Jenny	36	white	bisexual	Cora	36	Japanese and white	bisexual	Erica	2	Philipino and white	donor insemination/ Jenny
Cora	36	Japanese and white	bisexual	Jenny	36	white	bisexual	Erica	(see above)		
Shiela	44	white	lesbian	Scott	?	Jewish	gay	Saul	16 mo.	white	coparent insemination, Shiela and Scott
Irena	35	white	lesbian	Jean	38	white	lesbian	Nigel	9	white	donor insemination/ Jean
Rick	48	Anglo and Latino	gay	(none)				Cesar	3.5	Puerto Rican and African American	adopted
Darcy	39	white	lesbian	June	36	white	lesbian	Linden	19 mo.	white	donor insemination/ June
Sammi	34	African American	lesbian	Jolene	36	African American	lesbian	Martin	2.5	African American and white	adopted

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A Man Without a Job is a Dead Man: The Meaning of Work and Welfare in the Lives of Young Men

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Little is known about the use of welfare by young men as most research and debate have concentrated on the use of welfare by families headed by single women. This research includes young men in this debate by examining the personal characteristics, events that precipitated their use, why they exited, and the barriers they faced in obtaining employment. Data are from qualitative interviews of 20 young men who resided in Madison, Wisconsin. Findings suggest that these men use General Assistance as a type of unemployment insurance between jobs. Policy, program and research recommendations are made regarding the need for assistance in improving the level of human capital and locating and retaining employment for poor men.

It is surprising, in this era of fiscal restraint and concern over welfare, that an information gap exists in our understanding of General Assistance (GA), a state and/or locally financed income maintenance program for needy persons who do not qualify for economic assistance under the federal programs of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and Supplemental Security Income (SSI). In addition to using GA to provide benefits to poor single adults and childless couples, administrators have historically used it as interim support for individuals awaiting SSI verification, for two-parent families who do not meet the employment test for the AFDC-Unemployed Parent program, and for poor women in their first two trimesters of pregnancy. There are no federal mandates or regulations that require states to implement GA or that govern its administration.

One consequence of this lack of federal involvement is that some states have no GA program, and those that do differ considerably in their administration, eligibility requirements, and benefit levels. State and local expenditures for GA programs in 1989 ranged from a high of \$693 million in New York state to just under \$2,000 in South Carolina. Only 38 states and the District of Columbia had either an ongoing or a short-term (i.e., 60 to 90 days) income maintenance program that was more extensive than a one-time Emergency Assistance grant (Lewin/ICF and James Bell Associates, 1990).

Benefits are minimal and they vary; they may be cash assistance, vendor payments, or in-kind benefits such as firewood or bus tickets. Before its elimination in 1995, the GA program in Wisconsin had a statutory minimum benefit of \$175 per month. Counties could adjust this amount upward to account for differences in housing costs (Hinz, 1989). However, even with this adjustment, benefits did not provide enough to meet the average cost of housing; the average GA benefit in Milwaukee was \$205 in 1992, while the fair market rent for an efficiency apartment was \$359 (Nichols and Porter, 1995).

One benchmark for the benefit level is to compare it to the minimum wage. A man who worked full time at a job paying minimum wage (\$4.25 an hour) in Milwaukee in the early 1990s would gross \$731 a month, more than three times the amount he would receive from GA. Unlike recipients of AFDC, recipients of GA typically do not receive Medicaid or medical assistance. However, they do qualify for food stamps if their net monthly income is less than 130 percent of the federal poverty guidelines. The maximum monthly food stamp benefit for one person was \$112 in 1993, bringing the benefit package for a GA recipient up to \$317 (U.S. House of Representatives, 1994). This is still only 43 percent of the monthly full-time gross wage. With such a meager benefit, an important question is why anyone would use this program.

This research examines the personal characteristics, backgrounds, and employment of young men who participated in a GA program. Using information obtained from interviews conducted during 1993 and 1994 in Madison, Wisconsin, it explores the events that precipitated their use of GA and describes the

barriers they faced in obtaining employment. The first section of this paper briefly discusses employment opportunities available to persons with limited education and criminal activity as a substitute for wage labor among young men. The second section details the methods used to gather the sample; the third reports the results of those interviews. The last section explores policy implications and suggests areas for future research.

The Labor Market Dynamics of Young Men

The perception that a growing number of young men are chronically unemployed and engaging in crime has alarmed both policymakers and the general public. How do unemployment and crime influence the use of and exit from GA? This section discusses the employment opportunities of low-skilled and poorly educated men in today's labor market and explores the connection with their criminal activity.

Employment Opportunities and Education

Many GA recipients lack a high school diploma, and a majority have sporadic work histories (Dalke and Savage, 1975; Department of Public Welfare, 1979; Stagner and Richman, 1985; Wolfhagen, 1987; Kost, 1990; Hansen, 1992b). This combination of limited education and lack of consistent employment history places the typical GA recipient at a disadvantage in today's labor market. Recent evidence suggests that employers are hiring more college graduates, leaving those with less education, regardless of the length of their employment histories, unemployed or underemployed (Murphy and Welch, 1993; Topel, 1994).

In addition, many areas of the country experienced a severe cutback in the employment opportunities for low-skilled workers throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s. The decline in manufacturing and other industrial sectors was accompanied by an increase in service-sector jobs, primarily part time at minimum wage, and without health benefits (Blackburn et al., 1990; Bound and Holzer, 1993; Harrison and Bluestone, 1988; Kasarda, 1989). Blank (1995) notes that the demand for less-skilled workers declined faster than the size of the low-skilled work force. Employers have hired more-skilled workers rather than low-skilled workers even though they demand higher wages. The increase in

the incidence of low earnings over the last decade was greatest for minority men and occurred regardless of their educational attainment (Acs and Danziger, 1991; Jencks and Mayer, 1990; Karoly, 1992). Clearly the proximity to employment opportunities and the level of individual human capital affect work history.

In earlier work (Kost, 1994), I found no relationship between the unemployment rate and use of or exit from GA, but the results suggest a strong relationship between recent work history and exit. The average recipient who worked more than 12 weeks the year before he exited GA had a 73 percent probability of exiting GA; the average man who did not work had only a 30 percent probability of exit.

It is unknown how extensively cash assistance through the GA program is used as a substitute for benefits from Unemployment Insurance (UI) during times of job loss. However, the size of the GA rolls in an area is associated with the level of unemployment not covered by Unemployment Insurance (Kasper, 1968). This suggests that the use of GA may be related to the availability of employment at a given wage covered by UI. Administrative changes in the UI program have reduced access to coverage for many workers since the early years of the Reagan Administration, either through the increase in state discretion on the types of employment that are covered or the length of time needed in the work force to qualify for coverage. For example, nearly 75 percent of unemployed workers were covered by UI at the height of the recession in the mid 1970s. Today less than 30 percent of unemployed workers receive UI benefits in an average month (Nichols and Shapiro, 1995). This lack of UI coverage may be particularly problematic for poor workers who are less likely to have any savings to rely on while they search for new employment. GA programs may also provide valuable job training and placement services that assist recipients in competing for jobs. Unfortunately, research in this area focuses primarily on the work effort of female heads of households—women receiving AFDC, who have additional constraints and needs in regards to child care, insurance, and wage rates—rather than on single men.

Crime as a Substitute for Work

In exploring the use of GA as an alternative to employment for young men, it is important also to examine the role of crime

as a substitute for wage labor and the potential influence it may have on GA use. Young men make up a disproportionate share of those involved in the criminal justice system. Nearly one-fifth of the current U.S. prison population is made up of men between 18 and 24 years of age (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994). Receipt of GA could act as a cover for illegal income or as a safety net for an offender coming out of prison while he searches for employment.

Although, as noted earlier, there is no substantive support for a link between the unemployment rate and criminal activity of young men, the labor participation rate is closely linked to the crime rate in an area (Freeman, 1983). The market incentives for crime may influence a young man's decision to delay employment. Individuals who expect to earn more from street crime than from a legitimate job and who are neither in school nor employed are significantly more likely to report criminal activity (Viscusi, 1986). This suggests that the lack of low-skilled employment opportunities in low-income neighborhoods may influence a young man's participation in the underground economy (Anderson, 1990). There is evidence that some adolescent males from low-income central-city neighborhoods substitute economic crime for legal employment. Sullivan (1989a) finds that a majority of adolescents in his study substituted "economic" crime for wages. He defined "economic" crime as criminal activity that has few serious consequences and, therefore, is considered a viable method of making money; these activities include drug dealing, picking pockets, and auto theft. Economic crime decreased when participation in the labor market increased for adolescents in his study. These youth almost always increased criminal activity after being laid off from a job (Sullivan, 1989a).

In addition, there exists a relationship between deviant behavior as a child, later involvement in crime, and problems related to employment. Male truants are more likely to drop out of school and subsequently earn less as adults than boys who were never or rarely truant (Dryfoss, 1990). These findings suggest that early entrance into deviant behavior may have long-term impacts on education and subsequently limit the employment opportunities of young men.

One other factor related to GA use is that the criminal history of a job applicant may deter an employer from hiring him. Many employers view the criminal record of a potential employee as a

signal of poor worker quality and prefer to hire someone without a criminal record (Grogger, 1992).

Both the use of GA and exit from it are significantly related to the number of incidents in the criminal justice system reported by recipients. Using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY), Kost (1994) found that young men who report three or more encounters with the criminal justice system are more likely to use GA—and also to exit from it—than those who report no history of incarceration, probation, or parole. The combination of criminal history and a previous record of employment is highly predictive of exit from GA. Men who worked 12 weeks the year before exiting and who report three or more incidents in the criminal justice system have an 82 percent probability of exiting GA, compared to just 41 percent for men who report similar criminal histories but lack the employment experience.

Data Collection and Analysis

A qualitative approach to research provides a unique opportunity to study the personal circumstances that lead a young man to use welfare by allowing the respondent to express in his own words his life history, the meaning of events, and opinions about what influences him. Between September 1993 and June 1994, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted by the researcher with 20 men at two neighborhood centers in Madison, Wisconsin. Participants had to meet the following three criteria: (1) be men between the ages of 18 and 30; (2) have received General Assistance at least once; and (3) be considered able-bodied, i.e., not eligible for SSI, at the time of their initial receipt. Participants were recruited through the use of informational flyers and informal contacts from center staff and social workers who thought that they would meet the criteria for inclusion in the study. In addition to these sampling strategies, "snowballing" was also used, i.e., respondents were asked to tell other eligible men about the study. Participants agreed to sign a statement of informed consent and to have their interview tape-recorded.

Bias was introduced in the selection of this sample from at least three sources. Two were through the use of neighborhood centers as distribution points for the flyers. Firstly, not all young

men who use GA utilize the services and/or resources of neighborhood centers; these may include free meals, food pantries, free clothing, or support services. Thus only those men who used or knew someone who used these services learned about the survey. Secondly, these neighborhood centers were located in areas with little ethnic diversity. Respondents were obtained from only two of the seven centers that agreed to participate, only one Hispanic respondent could be obtained for this research and no Asian respondents were obtained. Staff and social workers in the two centers easily identified individuals who met the selection criteria and actively recruited respondents. In contrast, staff in the other five centers were unable to identify anyone, even though they originally thought they could because the demographic characteristics of the seven neighborhoods were similar in poverty level, welfare use, number of single-parent households, and prevalence of crime.

The third source of selection bias was introduced because of a \$20.00 stipend offered to each participant. Further, respondents were self-selected—they needed to contact the researcher and set up an appointment.

This paper addresses two primary questions. The first is: Why would an able-bodied young man use GA when he could make more money at a minimum-wage job? Models of welfare use differ in the reasons they suggest for men's use of GA. For example, one model posits that men are socialized to use welfare by their families or that they are seeking an alternative to work. In these cases, GA provides them with enough income to get by. In contrast, another model posits that a man uses GA as a form of unemployment insurance when he cannot find a job.

The second question seeks to go beyond these models of welfare use in order to explore the psychological and emotional context of the lives of young male recipients. It asks: What is the meaning of GA in the lives of the young men who use it? Is it an embarrassment, or a way of "getting over" on society? Or is GA a last resort, an alternative to homelessness?

Each participant was asked to describe his life, including his education, family structure and support system, criminal and employment histories, length of welfare use, and the reasons for use and exit from GA. In particular, attention was focused on the

barriers that respondents perceived in obtaining and retaining employment and on their perception of themselves as welfare recipients. What was the meaning of GA in their lives? What role did it play and how did they feel about themselves when they received it?

Overview of Findings

This section describes the basic demographic characteristics of men in the sample, including information regarding their families of origin, and explores their employment and welfare use.

Table 1 provides information on the basic demographic characteristics of participants. Men ranged in age from 18 to 30; 17 of the 20 respondents were minorities and 13 were fathers. Eleven respondents reported that a member of their family used welfare: nine men reported that their parents had received AFDC while they were growing up; two reported GA use by a family member—one by his grandmother, the other by his brother; two men reported that their sisters and their mothers also received AFDC.

More than half the men reported spending at least some time in a single-parent home, but only one man reported being in foster care as a child. Also, more than half of these young men reported that they had been homeless for more than a week at some point in their lives—a majority of them more than once.

The length of GA receipt ranged from two days to two years. The average length of time for which respondents reported receiving GA was 7.5 months. This figure is strongly influenced by five men who reported having received assistance for more than seven months. Three of these five had received assistance for two years, one for 18 months, and one for 12 months.

The level of human capital among a majority of respondents appears to be low. Six of the 20 respondents had neither a high school diploma nor GED; eight had a high school diploma or GED, but nearly one-half of these eight men had completed their high school education while in prison or in a juvenile detention center. Of those men who had more than 12 years of education, only one had graduated from college.

Fourteen of the 20 respondents had spent time in a juvenile detention center, jail, or prison. Sentences ranged from one day to

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of GA Recipients

<i>Average Age</i>	26 years
<i>Ethnicity</i>	
African American	15
Caucasian	3
Hispanic	1
Native American	1
<i>Own Marital Status</i>	
never-married	17
married	1
divorced/separated	2
<i>Paternity</i>	
no children	7
one child	6
two children	6
> two children	1
<i>Ever in jail</i>	14
<i>Ever homeless</i>	11
<i>Average GA spell</i>	7.5 months
<i>Number of GA spells</i>	
one	11
two	6
three	2
four	1
<i>Education</i>	
≤ 8 years	1
9–11 years	5
HS diploma or GED	8
> 12 years	6
<i>Parental Marital Status</i>	
never-married	3
married	8
divorced/separated	8
widowed	1
<i>Parental use of welfare</i>	9
N = 20	

seven years; offenses ranged in seriousness from disorderly conduct and shoplifting to auto theft, carrying a concealed weapon, and attempted murder. For a majority of the men, time in an institution had been preceded by multiple police contacts.

Only three of the 20 men interviewed had grown up in middle class families. All the men in this study had either personally experienced or had a family member who had experienced some form of violence. These men reported such experiences as being homeless as children, living with alcoholic parents, and the murder of siblings. Many respondents noted an absence in their lives of people who achieved their goals or could serve as role models. One 28-year-old stated, "There was a lot of gangs, drug dealing going around, fighting, violence, lot of robbing and stealing Everybody had their own way of life. They believed in taking." Men who lived with their fathers generally spoke of the help and support they received from them and the importance of their fathers in shaping their lives. In contrast, those whose fathers had abandoned them expressed feelings of anger and grief.

Having been in circumstances with few advantages, a majority of these men were unable to turn to a member of their family for financial support. However, most men stated that they received emotional support from a parent, grandparent, or sibling.

The World of Work

As Table 1 illustrates, a majority of these young men had a history in the criminal justice system and limited levels of education. In addition, they reported sporadic work histories, primarily in the low-wage labor market. All of these men had worked primarily in low-skilled jobs in the service sector, as custodians or janitors, mail room or library clerks, and cooks, or as manual laborers for maintenance or moving companies. Few had ever earned more than \$7.00 an hour. Only one man had worked for an employer for more than two years; among the others, a majority of the jobs they had held had lasted less than six months. A majority of respondents identified a connection between their limited education, work histories, and, when present, their criminal records. They expressed concern over their lack of substantive and consistent work history. Their most frequent responses, when asked why they had left a job, were that they had been fired due to

high absenteeism or had quit because they were having "trouble" with a supervisor or other employee.

Besides their limited work histories, men identified additional barriers to employment: not having a telephone or car, or being homeless. One 30-year-old man who had been homeless several times stated, "If you find something like McDonald's, and you are homeless, how are you going to keep it? Because you can't deal with hygiene . . . you need to shave, you need to bathe on a regular basis."

Some men argued that their lack of employment and use of welfare were due to racial discrimination in the labor market. For example, a 28-year-old man who had worked as a janitor in another state for eight years stated:

I have a good work record. . . . Maybe they got a problem because I am a black person. I fit all qualifications to work anytime . . . I've been working all my life. . . . I don't understand it. . . . What qualifications do you need to be a janitor? Anyone can clean if you tell them. You can show me something once, and I can do it from there on. You ain't got to show me no more. . . . I think it is discrimination. That's what I'd be thinking.

Others blamed the environment in which they grew up:

I think it's the environment. When you are around a lot of people that don't work, that's another thing that might rub off to you and make you don't want to work. If you are around a lot of people that's working and doing something positive, you say, "Well hey . . . I'm going to try." And I've been working. (28-year-old)

Still others blamed themselves and their own lack of motivation:

I guess I pretty much got myself into it. What led to that—I got fired from one job, I guess, and it was hard to start over again, and I just took part-time jobs and this and that to make ends meet. . . . I just didn't push myself enough, I guess. (30-year-old)

Many of the men who reported involvement in the criminal justice system believed that their criminal backgrounds directly affected their work experience and their current employment opportunities. For example, a 26-year-old respondent who noted that his contacts with police began when he was 11 years old said that, over a ten-year period, he had been in detention or jail

more than at home. There was little opportunity between these spells to work. An 18-year-old former cocaine dealer who had just applied for his first "real" job noted that, although he had been fairly successful in his former "occupation," he was unfamiliar with the skills needed to be successful in the legal labor market. "I had to fill out applications, and I do not know how to fill out one. So I didn't know what I was doing. I felt really stupid."

Men who had spent time in a juvenile detention center, jail, or prison stated that it had affected not only their education and employment but also their attitude towards life, making them more determined to "get it right this time." Some of these men expressed frustration at having served their time and wanting to have a job, but being unable find someone to hire them. These men felt that their prison experience acted as a barrier to employment. For example:

When you're an ex-convict, it is extremely hard . . . I mean it. I mean it ain't like you can just go and get hired, making \$8.00 an hour. When you're an ex-convict, and you get called for an interview, and these people ask you "Where were you incarcerated?" and me not wanting to lie to them, I want them to know. They say "Well, we'll call you." I never get the call. (28-year-old)

Others stated that they just needed to keep trying and that eventually someone would be willing to hire them :

I had my mind to just go when it came time to get work. I am going to get work. I am going to put whatever down on here [application], what happened. If they call me, they call me. If not, I'll just go ahead onto another until I find something. . . . I think if they need help, they are going to hire me anyway. Prison or not prison. (23-year-old)

Men who acknowledged using illegal drugs or abusing alcohol also saw themselves as being responsible for their sporadic work histories. Some felt that much of the trouble they had with supervisors or from high absenteeism were the result of their substance abuse. One man, a 27-year-old recovering alcoholic, had never held a job for more than a year.

I have had lots of jobs. I think I have had about 25 jobs, believe it or not, or maybe a little more. . . . I really regret alcohol becoming a

problem during that period . . . eventually making my life become such a mess that I couldn't hold down a job in terms of health issues.

Another had been addicted to crack:

When I started using crack I was 17 . . . it not only affected it [job]; it caused me to terminate the job because I didn't have time to go put in 12 and 13 hours, like I was doing. The crack was telling, "No, we stay at home tonight; we go get us something to do." (28-year-old)

All of these men expressed a strong desire to work, to support themselves. While they admitted to making mistakes that had made their lives harder, most felt that they had learned valuable lessons and just needed another chance. As one 24-year-old man who had been out of work for about six months stated, "I hate to be unemployed . . . a man without a job is a dead man to me . . . and every man needs a job . . . you need to be productive in some kind of way."

Why Welfare and What Does It Mean?

Reasons that men decided to apply for GA included losing a job and being unable to obtain another, being homeless (as a result of losing a job or ending a relationship), getting out of prison, and family pressure to contribute income to the household (welfare provided "free money"). Thirteen of the 20 respondents stated that they were unable to find a job and used GA only until they could get one; one of these men had just gotten out of prison; two were homeless and GA gave them enough money to get a place to stay. One 18-year-old quit his job and went on GA so that he could return to high school and still buy diapers for his baby. The remaining seven men admitted to using GA as an alternative to work; three of these seven used it to supplement their family's AFDC benefit.

These thirteen respondents who applied for GA because they could not find work did so because they felt they could no longer survive without it.

[A] few years I worked there before I lost the job. And then it was after that I had trouble finding a job, and it just takes a couple to three weeks before you even get a check. And I had nothing to live off of. (30-year-old)

And:

The only reason I am on it [GA] is because I had a problem, fell back, lost my job, I had a good job, I liked it and everything. But I went to jail. They couldn't hold that position open for no three weeks. So Bam! Lost my job. Then that's where welfare came in. I'm staying at a place and had to pay rent. (28-year-old)

Finally, from a 28-year-old man who had been on GA twice, each time for only one month:

Because I wasn't working and didn't have another job. So I usually get on, get me one check, have enough to get me an apartment. . . . I don't even like welfare. I prefer not to be on it. But with me being in the situation I am in, that's the only reason why I get it.

Many men reported panhandling, selling their plasma, sweeping store fronts, or doing odd home repairs to survive before applying for welfare. These men reported difficulty in surviving on GA but felt that it gave them enough to prevent them from becoming homeless. A majority of these men lived with roommates, either with strangers or with significant others. The others lived in single rooms they rented by the week or month.

Nine men had used GA more than once. Of this group, only one had received assistance for more than five months. Although a few men had lost their eligibility for failure to follow the reporting rules, most left the rolls through employment. The following explanation from a 24-year-old about leaving GA was typical, "I think welfare . . . you use it to get on your feet, and then you should get off and look for better things."

A majority of men expressed shame and embarrassment about being on General Assistance. A few stated that although they received food stamps, they were too embarrassed to use them and would ask their women friends to buy food with the stamps for them. Even though many men commented that receiving GA was a necessary part of the social safety net, the social stigma attached to its use was high.

People treat you like you are low. I mean you're poverty. You had to borrow. Everybody look at you like—you know. I feel that way about myself . . . it is really depressing. I hate it. (28-year-old)

And:

I felt lower, lower than people, just smaller than they were. Just walking up to that place [the welfare office], I felt that I'd hate to be on this stuff [welfare]. . . . I just felt ashamed of myself really. (30-year-old)

Finally,

I didn't want nobody to know. Anybody would ask me, I'd be making up lies after lie. . . . So just to keep face and keep people from "downtalking" you, I lied, just to keep my friends, and just to keep things like they were. (24-year-old)

Men noted the importance of the job training program and the welfare workers in the county who assisted them in finding work. One 25-year-old man whose GA case worker helped him get a job with a state agency remarked that his worker just would not "give up" on him and that it felt good to have someone believe in him. The following response was typical:

What I got out of it was it kept me at it; otherwise I might not have worked so hard finding a job. . . . They were really supportive . . . they had phones there you could use . . . [and they] let employers leave messages for people in the program. . . . I did find a job (27-year old)

Others noted the help they received with creating résumés and improving job interview skills.

I did go and apply for a few jobs, and nothing really worked out. So I went back on General Assistance, and through that, they were actually very helpful in helping me to end up working. (27-year-old)

As one 30-year-old said, "It refreshed my mind a bit on how to go out and get a job." These men stated that they did not know how they would have survived without GA, either because their families were also poor and were unable to help them, or because they could no longer turn to those families for financial support because of their histories of drug or alcohol abuse. They felt that GA gave them an opportunity to look for a job and change the direction of their lives.

Discussion

This research informs the literature on welfare use by providing information on the role GA plays in the lives of male recipients. It addresses two primary questions.

1. *Why would a young, able-bodied man use GA?*

Fifteen of the 20 respondents used GA for seven months or less. Thirteen of these 20 used it as a last resort, either because they could not find a job, were homeless and needed it to get established, or had just been released from prison. Although a few men felt that they had a right to assistance because they were citizens in need of help, most expressed embarrassment and shame about their use.

All the men in this study reported work histories that were interrupted by jail spells, homelessness, a move to another area of the country, or layoff because they had failed to follow directions or to show up for work. The length of time respondents had held jobs varied from one day to eight years. Men in this study reported experiencing persistent poverty as children—17 of the 20 respondents had grown up in poverty. Twelve men had grown up in a single-parent home, and nine were members of families that had received AFDC while they were children. McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) found that men who grow up in a single-parent family are more likely to drop out of school and to be idle as young adults than are those from two-parent families. They note that these outcomes are highly related to the income and residential mobility of the family. Unfortunately, while they measure the adolescent birth patterns of women in these families they do not discuss those of men. Thirteen of the 20 men in this study were fathers, and only one was married to the mother of his child. Most of these births had occurred while the men were adolescents.

Fourteen of the 20 respondents had spent time in a juvenile detention center, jail or prison. One 28-year-old man had started shoplifting when he was 11 in order to get clothes or money. The longest time he had spent in detention or jail was a month, although he estimated that he had been picked up by the police between 60 and 70 times. Further research is needed to fully explore and understand the influence of poverty, parental status,

and criminal involvement on the welfare use and employment of young men.

2. What does welfare mean for young men?

A majority of respondents expressed a strong preference for work; however, they felt GA was a necessary part of the social safety net. For 13 respondents, as already noted, it was a last resort. Three of the seven men who used GA as an alternative to work had just turned 18 and were living in families that received AFDC. These three men used GA to supplement the family's AFDC benefit. When they realized they could get more money from a job than they could from GA, they went off welfare and found minimum-wage jobs. This was their first experience in the labor market.

Respondents in this research who had received GA more than once, in both the current county and another state, were asked about differences between programs. These respondents consistently stated that they received substantive and crucial employment-related support from the current county's GA program, including positive feedback on their résumés and interviewing strategies, and access to job opportunities. After receiving this help, most were able to obtain and retain employment. All felt more confident about their ability to obtain a job. More information is needed on programs that include employment-related services for this population.

A majority of respondents in the present research had low levels of both human capital, in the form of education and basic job skills, and social capital, in the form of connections to the labor market through family or friends. No one factor, but rather a combination of internal and external circumstances, brought them to their decision to use GA. Future research is needed to fully explore the connection between the level of human and social capital and the welfare use of men.

Seventeen of the 20 men in this study grew up in poverty, and as adults they have remained poor. The intergenerational poverty of men has not received the same level of attention as that of women, despite its influence on the ability of fathers to support their children, which in turn influences childhood outcomes. Research indicates that about one-third of fathers whose

incomes were less than \$5,000 at the time paternity was established continue to have below poverty level incomes three years later. The younger the man was at the time of paternity, the more likely he is to have a low income (Meyer, 1993).

Sullivan (1989a, b; 1994) argues that young men should be included in discussions of solutions to poverty and welfare dependence in order to encourage and support their connection to family and community. There are few opportunities for job training available to men outside the welfare system, and the current round of welfare reforms at the state and federal levels excludes poor, single adults from services regardless of whether or not they are fathers. A majority of men in the current research had a family member who had been on welfare, and nearly half were the sons of AFDC recipients. Most of these men expressed strong feelings about work and the role of fathers, but they face severe personal barriers to success in today's economy. This research shows some of the obstacles and outcomes these young men face, but much more needs to be learned about their employment, paternity patterns, and welfare use if we are to reduce poverty among families.

Because the cost of GA programs is borne entirely by states or local jurisdictions, its elimination has increasingly been suggested as a way to reduce expenditures in the effort to balance budgets. Since 1989, at least five states have eliminated GA benefits for employable adults and families, six others now limit the length of assistance for able-bodied and, in some cases, disabled adults, and still others have reduced the amount of benefits to some or all of their caseload (Nichols and Porter, 1995). In fiscal year 1992 alone, nearly 450,000 recipients lost assistance when programs were cut or eligibility was changed. The impact of these cuts on recipients was not considered. Rather, it was assumed that they would find employment (Danziger and Kossoudji, 1994; Nichols and Porter, 1995).

Such decisions are short-sighted. The personal and social consequences of eliminating benefits for more than 82,000 single persons and childless couples in Michigan who were considered employable have been great. Both Hansen (1992a, b) and Danziger and Kossoudji (1994) find evidence of increased homelessness,

hunger, use of emergency room services, and use of nonprofit service providers among the former recipients.

This increase in homelessness and destitution has led the state to shift costs to local and federal governments, through the increased use of homeless shelters and support services, and to nonprofit agencies, through the increased use of food pantries, soup kitchens, and emergency rooms (Hansen, 1992a; Danziger and Kossoudji, 1994). These cuts did not take into account the long-term costs that are borne by society in the form of increased poverty, focusing instead on short-term gain in a jurisdiction's balanced budget. If their access to services were to be increased rather than decreased, many recipients of GA could become employed former recipients and taxpayers, and thereby increase their contributions to their families. The long-term gains for society would far outweigh the short-term costs.

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Moving Along: An Exploratory Study of Homeless Women with Children Using a Transitional Housing Program

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The increase in the number of women and children who are homeless, particularly in the last fifteen years, has generated the innovation of shelters that combine longer term housing arrangements and social services. These organizations are usually called "transitional housing," intended to assist this population toward the economic goal of "self-sufficiency." The impact and success of this strategy is often debated. However, there has been scant research investigating how residents of this setting use skills and resources to secure housing outcomes and community re-integration. Through multiple in-depth interviews and other qualitative data collecting strategies, a conceptual model is presented which offers an initial understanding of this rehousing process.

Traditional solutions to assist the homeless population, such as shelters and soup kitchens, were developed primarily to serve single unemployed, chronically mentally ill, and/or alcoholic men (U.S. HUD, 1989). The increase in the number of women and children who are also homeless, particularly in the last fifteen years, has generated the innovation of shelters that combine longer term housing arrangements and social services. These organizations are usually called "transitional housing," intended to assist this population toward the often-stated Housing and Urban Development (HUD) policy and funding goal of "self-sufficiency." Broadly interpreted, this goal refers to the establishment of economic independence. Transitional housing, also known as "second stage housing," is now seen as the bridging effort between emergency shelters (first stage) and permanent housing (end stage) for homeless women with children.

This three-stage approach to helping homeless women with children has unofficially become the national housing strategy used to address this growing social problem. While many advocate building more affordable housing, Dolbeare (1992) argues that more housing alone would not be enough to eradicate homelessness. Considering only structural inadequacies in society does not account for the plethora of research that continues to correlate homelessness to institutional, ideological, political, and personal variables (Gulati, 1992). However, supplying temporary housing while providing social services seems to address some of the competing needs of this population.

Missing Information

Research on homeless women with children focuses on characteristics, social support networks, or precipitating events that lead to homeless (Bassuk, 1990; Bassuk, 1991; Burt & Cohen, 1989; Goodman, 1991; Hagen & Ivanoff, 1988; Johnson, 1989; Johnson & Kreuger, 1989; Reamer, 1989; Shinn, Knickman, & Weitzman, 1991; Weitzman, Knickman, & Shinn, 1990). Occasionally, studies will examine the outcome of specific intervention services provided to this group (Helvie & Alexy, 1992; Phillips, DeChillo, Kronenfeld, Middleton-Jeter, 1988; Wenzel, 1992; Ziefert & Straugh-Brown, 1991). More recently, research has been focused on homeless "careers" and the shelter setting (Friedman, 1994; Glick, 1996; Kelly, Clyde-Mitchell, & Smith, 1990; Piliavin, Sosin, Westerflet, & Matsueda, 1993; Weinreb & Rossi, 1995). However, few studies exist which examine living in a multi-family (group) transitional shelter. This exploratory study was conducted to determine how residents of a group transitional housing program use and develop skills and resources in this setting to secure self-sufficient housing re-occurrences and community re-integration.

Methodology

Employing a qualitative methodology to investigate this question, data was collected over a four and one-half month period (14 weeks), for approximately eight to ten hours a day for five or six days out of the week, at one group transitional house (House). The primary data collection strategies used included

multiple in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Data was triangulated through continuous review of agency documents, observations, informal conversations with residents, staff discussions, client records, and meeting notes. All interviews were transcribed. A reflexive journal was maintained by the researcher and reviewed with an outside source in order to ensure objectivity and maintain focus.

The sample consisted of twelve women. Six participants were current occupants of the data collection site (House). Six were former residents of the House. A purposive sampling strategy was used to select informants and determine sample size (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). All participants had at least one of their children staying with them while they were in the House. Former residents were selected if they continued with House services and met the criteria above.

Demographics of the sample were as follows: five women were White, six were African-American and one was of Puerto Rican descent. Eight had been homeless before. Seven were still in contact with their families of origin. The average age of the participants was thirty-four and one-half years old. Among the families, there were sixteen children. Most of these children had other siblings who were not with their mother for various reasons when they entered the shelter. Two fathers remained in contact with their children. Only two women were employed at the time they entered the shelter.

A total of four resident participants were asked to leave the House prior to the completion of this study. These four residents did not want to continue to be interviewed in the community, however, they agreed to let their stories be used to defend the results. Other residents were asked to participate to keep the sample size at twelve.

Participants signed informed consent forms, as did the staff. The researcher developed an interview guide that was pre-tested with residents not used in the study. The staff of the House provided background information on their own job positions, experience with the population, their perspectives of the setting, and how the women moved toward self-sufficiency.

Permission for the study required the approval of the Board of Directors and the Executive Director. The researcher signed

agency forms used for volunteers which outlined issues and responsibilities of confidentiality. These forms allowed access to files, documents, and meetings in the organization. However, the researcher remained as a participant observer and did not fill the role of a volunteer or relief staff. This degree of involvement allowed the researcher great flexibility to develop and maintain relationships with the participants.

As Liebow (1993) eloquently writes, participant observation methodology transforms the researcher into the research instrument. Exposing one's biases is important to the validity of the constructs. As the researcher, my interest in homelessness stems from multiple moves due to personal reasons, significant professional work with families in transition, and an awareness of the impact of issues of space and structural form due to years of travel and overseas living. The information selected for this article captures a portion of the richness and complexity of the process of living in a transitional housing setting while attempting to move toward self-sufficiency.

The participants developed a close relationship with the researcher, confiding their complaints and concerns about issues in the House and impending departure. It is also fair to say, that I, even though acting as a researcher, developed attachments with the participants and others who walked through the doors of the House. Because I was not an "official" of the House structure, I had great latitude with where I could go in the facility, and what I could do with the women. It was not always in the interest of science that women agreed to participate in this research. My availability to transport women to appointments, to view alternative housing arrangements, and to facilitate visits with their significant others generated many of the beginnings for the research relationships.

The women were supportive, gracious, and at times, incredibly factual about the realities of societal opinions of their situations, which they reported through lens of honesty, strength, and dignity. While the themes emerged into a speculative understanding of the experiences of these women as they moved toward self-sufficiency, they were confirmed by the participants. Information about the House structure was checked with the staff. A formal report was presented to the Executive Director and shared with all employees.

Limitations of the Study

The small sample of this study just begins to explore the experiences of this population in this setting. While this is often a liability identified with this methodology, this is also a characteristic of this setting. The number of residents in group transitional housing settings are restricted in order to offer comprehensive intensive case management services for extended periods of time.

In order to incorporate emergent issues or themes that developed over time as the researcher gained a greater understanding of the issues and setting, the design of this research was left flexible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which was important because of an unexpected event in the community which impacted services at the data collection site. The City Council recommended that the House be expanded due to a recognized need for more family shelter space. Some neighborhood residents resisted the expansion and organized to prevent it. The small staff worked to solicit the surrounding community and local officials for support. For two months, regularly scheduled resident programs were postponed or canceled. This frustrated the residents as they tried to conform to the rules and programs in the House.

The Research Site

The House is located in a predominantly African-American part of a university town located in the Mid-West. It is approximately three hours from three major metropolitan areas and attracts users from those cities and local surrounding towns. The shelter is a nonprofit organization that provides temporary residence for homeless single women and women with children for up to 120 days.

The facility, a large old house, had been remodeled to include five bedrooms which could comfortably sleep sixteen women with children. Frequently, the House exceeded this capacity housing up to twenty-two. All bedrooms had bunk beds. The kitchen was converted to reflect a restaurant-style cooking environment. The ground floor bathroom and bedroom were fitted to accommodate those using wheelchairs or with other special challenges. Bars on the ground floor windows prevented unwanted intrusions.

The five primary staff personnel were females. The Director had oversight responsibility. Every other staff member had responsibility for a service program component. There was an Aftercare Coordinator, a social worker with a Bachelor in Social Work degree, who led weekly support group meetings and provided follow-up services to former residents; an Outreach Coordinator, who screened and assessed calls for services; a Client Advocate, who provided on site counseling and monitoring services; and a 30-hour a week Volunteer Coordinator, who was also responsible for House supervision along with the duties suggested by the title. Furthermore, there were several part-time workers for evenings and nights, who provided House security coverage and additional assistance to the residents.

Data Analysis

The data rules to select salient themes were the following: at least three women had to demonstrate or articulate the activity, the data had to be generated from the action or perception of the participant, and coded data had to represent the transaction between the women and elements of the physical setting as well as the meaning associated with the activity. While the initial focus of the research was designed to explore resident activity toward self-sufficient living, the impact of prior housing places and the meaning attached to specific spaces in these homes created the outline for a matrix for the emergent themes—a procedure recommended by Bogdan and Bilken (1982) and Miles and Huberman (1994).

Themes were repeatedly compared against emerging patterns throughout the study and alternative hypotheses were explored. Beginning codes reflected coping skills used by these women in their home of origin that emerged as patterns of behavior in the research site. Codes were grouped into categories which reflected how the women interpreted their relationship with the service environment and their adaptation to new housing situations as they moved toward self-sufficiency. The major categories that emerged were: place-identity, safety, adaptation, alienation, and home. A conceptual model of the process of moving toward self-sufficiency was developed. The following segments highlight the

interpretation of the stories of these participants which led to the formulation of the model.

On Becoming Homeless

As other researchers have found, the reasons for homelessness for these families varied, but were predictable. Miss B, Miss N, and Miss D left their alcoholic husbands. Miss Be, Miss M, Miss R, Miss S, and Miss W were forced out of their living situations due to strained family or partner relations. Miss L and Miss C were homeless due to persistent poverty. Miss A and Miss J suffered from drug dependency issues. Despite all the associated stresses in lives of these families, for all these women, the realization that they were going to be homeless came as a shock. Miss D, a quiet, African-American woman with a two year degree in human services, echoed the sentiments of the women when she said:

I never would have thought that I would be actually homeless and would need shelter, you know. I do have people that I consider good friends who maybe I could have stayed with but when have you children, it is hard to impose on people.

Miss L spoke of the impact of having her child with her as a reason to seek shelter. In her remarks, she elaborated on what became a recurring theme in the stories of the women. The codes for this theme suggested that the House had a meaning associated with it which generated a feeling that influenced how the women participated in the space.

When I first moved in, I was scared to death to move in here. I didn't want to but I didn't have any choice. We couldn't go any farther the way we were. We need help. I want help. I want to get out of the situation.

Prior to admission, each woman was screened and approved for services by the Outreach staff worker. This worker also provided a quick orientation to the physical layout of the House, staff, rules, and residents who were around.

As a Shelter Resident

For these participants, the initial days in the House were the most stressful. During this time, the women realized that this "home like" setting was a special type of social service.

I was very scared, unsure, didn't know what was going on, scared if I broke a rule or I did something that was wrong, I was going to be on the street (Miss L).

I was pretty quiet. My child was getting used to it so it was like I was trying to make her comfortable at the same time I was trying to make myself comfortable (Miss W).

Each woman had a different entrance experience. For some, it was easy to meet other occupants; others never were accepted into the resident culture.

The story of Miss M portrays a woman who had difficulty gaining support from the community. Miss M, a small, overweight woman with a wandering eye condition as well as an occasional hygiene problem, made other residents and some of the full-time staff feel uneasy around her. Miss M liked to sit at the dinning room table watching others in the main room. She would often be writing while observing her seven year old daughter play in the adjoining room. Rarely did she initiate conversation with others or have dialogue directed toward her. Furthermore, her constant writing at the table generated an uncomfortable message to others in the House. They called her a "spy," an allusion to her eye condition.

I talked with her. She showed me what she was writing. They were poems capturing the despair of love lost, the hope of love found, and the need for community in difficult situations. This is just an example of one of them.

The Way is Long

Let us go together, The way is difficult,
Let us help each other, The way is joyful,
Let us share it, The way is ours alone,
Let us go in love, The way grows before us,
Let us begin (Miss M).

In addition to the stress of becoming part of a new community, the responsibility of completing chores in the house was difficult for some women to accept.

My first week here was rough because I was working. You know, I had to get up, I have to get my child. You have to do your chores (Miss D).

A working resident had to give the staff her schedule so that appropriate chores could be assigned. For example, if a woman worked in the morning, she would receive an afternoon or evening chore. However, if a woman had appointments with other agencies, these activities had to be arranged around her chore schedule.

Rules

As a resident of the House, a woman had to follow rules regulating everything from parenting, chores, living-mates, eating times, entertainment, sleeping and waking times, smoking locations, visitors, mail, medication, money use, supplies, overnights, and limitations on bedroom space. Each rule violation sustained a penalty. Residents quickly learned which rules carried the stiffest punishments and which would garner only a verbal warning. When a resident did not do her chore, this usually incurred a verbal reprimand. However, spending a night out of the House without permission could mean immediate expulsion from the House. A resident who did this usually had a "story" of a car breaking down or of the inability to get to a phone to call. These stories were attempts to minimize the penalty.

Most of the residents agreed that rules were needed; however, they complained when rules interfered with their own activities or plans. A former resident gave this perspective:

I got kicked out because of the rules. I didn't want to listen to nobody. And when I came here and I found out what kind of rules they had, that's when my boyfriend and I were going together and I couldn't deal with coming in at 10:30 and I couldn't deal with putting my money up in the savings. I stayed out, spending the night out, lying and telling them I was stranded in 'another town' or the car couldn't get started and they finally caught up with me. They said if you're out, you've found a place to stay, so I had to come and get my clothes (Miss R).

Conflict was a consistent theme in the stories for the women as well as the staff. It took time for the women to learn how to maneuver in the House. The staff of the House struggled to maintain harmony through a variety of organizational structures such as resident meetings, a verbal warning system, threats of forced leaving, and the delegation of additional chores.

Interestingly, the rules also created a map of how space was used in the House. For example, smoking was allowed only on the porch. This space became the primary gathering place for the residents, including those who did not smoke, because the porch had the fewest rules and staff were rarely there. Residents and any of the users of any House service bargained among each other for cigarettes, favors and shared "street" information on the porch.

Furthermore, all these women had experienced some form of threat in their homes throughout their lives which impacted how they perceived and used their immediate space in the House. In order to make sense out of the coded data, facts about "residential symbolism" (Moore, 1979) was used to interpret these transactions. This literature suggests that personal characteristics such as self-esteem, sense of belonging, and self-identity in part develop from and are connected with conditions of an individual's physical environment, particularly a home. (Cooper, 1974; Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983; Relph, 1976; Wapner, 1981; Wapner & Craig-Bray, 1982).

Services and Roles

All residents received social services to encourage self-sufficiency. These services included individualized counseling, parenting classes, house meetings, and a weekly evening support group meeting for current and former residents. Review of the case notes indicates that these goals could be simple, such as making a phone call, or more complex, such as setting up a budget or finding an apartment. Budgeting was a consistent problem for the women.

I am going to have to be able to keep a budget. If I can sit down with somebody and set it up when I can keep my bills together and like on a calendar (Miss L).

It was expected that the residents would show some movement toward their personalized program goal by their next individualized meeting. Interestingly, in this one area there was no "penalty" attached to non-completion of a goal. Therefore, many clients did not actively attempt to accomplish their goals. In informal conversations, the residents seemed to think that these

counseling meetings were not useful toward moving them to self-sufficient living or independent housing opportunities.

However, the women did feel that participation in the evening support group was effective. This group was successful, they said, not because it provided information toward self-sufficiency, but because it was a bonding experience. One member's comment illustrates this.

We come together in that group and I don't know - in a way, we don't just come right out - yes we do! We do say that -thank you - you know, for the shelter and thank you for the help—we do say that. That's our time to really explore and express and so we do, because whatever's stated there is really kept confidential and we really let it go sometimes (Miss D).

A local community group provided baby-sitting in the House during the evening program, which most likely contributed to its effectiveness as a bonding group.

Over time, it was noticeable how residents consistently exhibited predictable behaviors toward program services. These behavior patterns generated codes that reflected resident interpretation of their role in relation to staff expectations and rule accommodations. Some participants were clearly adept at demonstrating role complementarity which garnered them "privileges" with the staff such as extended shelter stays, chore readjustments, transportation favors, and overnight permits.

However, there were those that experienced the House environment as additional stress to their already tense situation. When frustration was expressed at the House services and program expectations early in a residents' stay, a mutual distrust and avoidance of informal contact began between the resident and staff. For those residents who did not follow the rules in spite of the consequences, demonstrated behaviors were coded into the theme of role confusion.

Understanding Their Stories

According to Gruneburg and Eagle (1990), as shelter residents increasingly suffer from low-self-esteem, loss of will, little interest in self-improvement, or lacking motivation to re-enter independent living situations, individuals develop coping strategies to

facilitate staying in the shelter. This process is called "shelterization," in which individuals adapt to the helping environment.

Utilizing this concept creates opportunities to examine the process of moving toward self-sufficiency in a new conceptual framework — one that recognizes the impact of a persons' history of transactions with various environmental experiences, which along with physiological conditions, can integrate into a component of personal identity (Rivlin, 1990). This process has been called "place-identity" in the research literature from the environmental psychology field.

Place-identity is a substructure of the self-identity of the person consisting of broadly conceived cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings and conceptions of behavior and experience that relate to the variety and complexity of physical settings that define the day to day existence of every human being. At the core of such physical environment-related cognitions is the environmental part of a person, a past consisting of places, spaces, and their properties that have served instrumentally in the satisfaction of a person's biological, psychological, social and cultural needs (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 59–60).

This concept, combined with ecological principles, (Germain, 1983, Gutheil, 1992) was used to interpret the stories of how the participants of this study utilized their resources, particularly space, not only in the House, but in their prior housing situations, and in their adaptation to new residences for those that moved on from the shelter. In addition to adaptation, the concepts of alienation, safety, connections to home of origin and rehousing occurrences contributed to a fuller interpretation of the participants' stories and to perhaps a better understanding of residents in transitional housing moving toward self-sufficiency. The additional themes used to understand this process which were generated from the stories of these women follows.

Adaptation

Comfort and ease in the housing situation came with making friends and learning to adjust to the housing situation. This required the three skills of place-identity.

Knowing a physical setting, being able to detect changes in it and to grasp what has to be done about changing it involves skill of *environmental understanding*. The individual not only has learned to read his or her physical settings, but has become skillful in understanding what changes in it mean in relation to his or her own needs and behavior. Such understanding is necessary but not sufficient. The person must also have *environmental competence*, such that he or she knows what to do and how to behave in relation to the physical setting as dictated by his or her understanding of it. That competence includes using the setting as it is in light of all its properties including its objects and facilities as well as the presence of other people. Thus included are not only skills of talking in a routinely crowded space but how to use a variety of gadgets in it (e.g., telephone, intercom, etc.). But as we already suggested physical settings are subject to change over time, so not only must the person be ready to understand them, but he or she must also have skills of *environmental control* in changing the setting, the behavior of others or his/her own behavior (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 72).

The entrance experience of Miss A demonstrates this. She was cooking in the kitchen her first night in the House. She was preparing the evening meal for the House occupants, a chore usually given to residents after they had been in the House for awhile. I asked her how she happened to have this chore already, and she said:

I know that this is a good way to meet the House. Once the cooking gets going and the onions start smelling, people come in here to see what's cooking, you know. I mean, they got to eat and they want to find out what it's going to be. Then, the talking just starts happening, you know, comparing how to do it, what to add. So, I get to see those around.

Miss A's knowledge of House patterns and use of the kitchen space to familiarize herself with the other residents demonstrate her use of place-identity skills. The story of Miss M presented earlier portrays an experience where these skills were not as developed.

While these skills are not articulated as a prerequisite for community living, they were expected to be used by residents to accommodate to the group living situation. The staff used

behavioral indicators, such as cleaning up after one's self, sharing space, and parenting patterns, to evaluate each residents' accommodation to the House, as well residents' compliance to House rules. All of the women who adapted to the House structure demonstrated more developed place-identity skills.

Alienation

Residents that could not or would not adapt to the House setting were asked to leave. These endings were not therapeutic, nor made with referrals to assist the homeless families in changing their status. These families left quickly and without fanfare.

Former residents also indicated that they had difficulty settling into their new dwellings. Their stories represent what Marcuse (1975) called "residential alienation." This psychological process is noticed when individuals are unable to symbolically shape, control, or indicate ownership of their residence. These women related stories of displeasure with landlords and problems with the places where they were living. They reported having maintenance request ignored and being told they could not hang pictures or paint the walls. Miss Be, a young mother with five children in a Section 8 single family house, said:

The landlord is really pissing me off. And like I said I was not happy with the house when I moved into it in the first place. When I first moved in, nothing had been done. The rooms, none of the rooms had been painted like I was told that they would be.

Safety

A fear for personal safety in their living situation was a persistent theme for these women, whether they were in the House or in the community. It is not surprising that this strongly influenced how they perceived the House environment. The shelter represented the first place that these women felt protected, even though money and other items were stolen from the office lock box mid-way through this research project.

Former residents, in contrast, reported feeling unsafe in their current environments. Miss S slept in her car for a month parked in a friend's driveway rather than stay in the first place she was able to afford after the House. One woman had been robbed in her home (Miss Be). Another was in an apartment complex known

to be ridden with drugs (Miss C). This woman complained that she frequently heard gun shots. Miss Be and Miss C kept their children inside their homes, afraid to let them out. As a result, the women reported that their children got on their nerves. This feeling of being trapped with their children, challenged effective parenting skills taught at the House and heightened the participants' feelings of isolation and helplessness. For the women living outside of the House, the various safety constraints coupled with residential alienation diminished their sense of community and attachment to the new neighborhood.

Home of Origin

Each woman's experience in her childhood home influenced how she used space and services provided at the House. Eleven participants in the study experienced either physical assault, sexual assault, and/or emotional abuse in their home of origin.

Miss Be, a former resident, explained that she was forced to leave the House because she did not clean her room. She knew what the penalty was for not complying with this rule; however, she just could not meet staff expectations. When I explored with her what her room meant to her, she tearfully related her story of repeated sexual assault by a family member in her bedroom at home. She learned to stop those intrusions by keeping her room a mess. Her space became safe when it was unbearable to others. She continued this pattern in environments where she felt threatened and lacked control, including the House and her current Section 8 home.

Despite financial troubles, family problems, broken homes, and exposure to drugs and violence, the women remembered their home of origin as a good place. Memories of being with grandparents and siblings, climbing on trees, reading, and having cherished possessions evoked smiles and hopes for opportunities in the future. All the women identified a major life event (besides the abuse) in their home of origin that began their present troubles.

Leaving the House

For former residents, the experience of self-sufficiency was disillusioning. All the women reported feeling pressured to move

out of the House since most were unable to find a suitable place to live in 120 days. However, some were able to forestall their exit from the House through the use of place-identity skills that helped them follow the rules, adapt to the space, and show benefits from the various service programs offered. Miss L stayed at the House for seven months. Her longevity was seen as an asset to the staff. She facilitated newcomers' entrance into the environment, continued to make small progress on identified goals, demonstrated effective parenting skills with her son who initially demanded a lot of her attention, and remained faithful to the father of her child, who was also homeless, and spent the winter in the local jail for a misdemeanor.

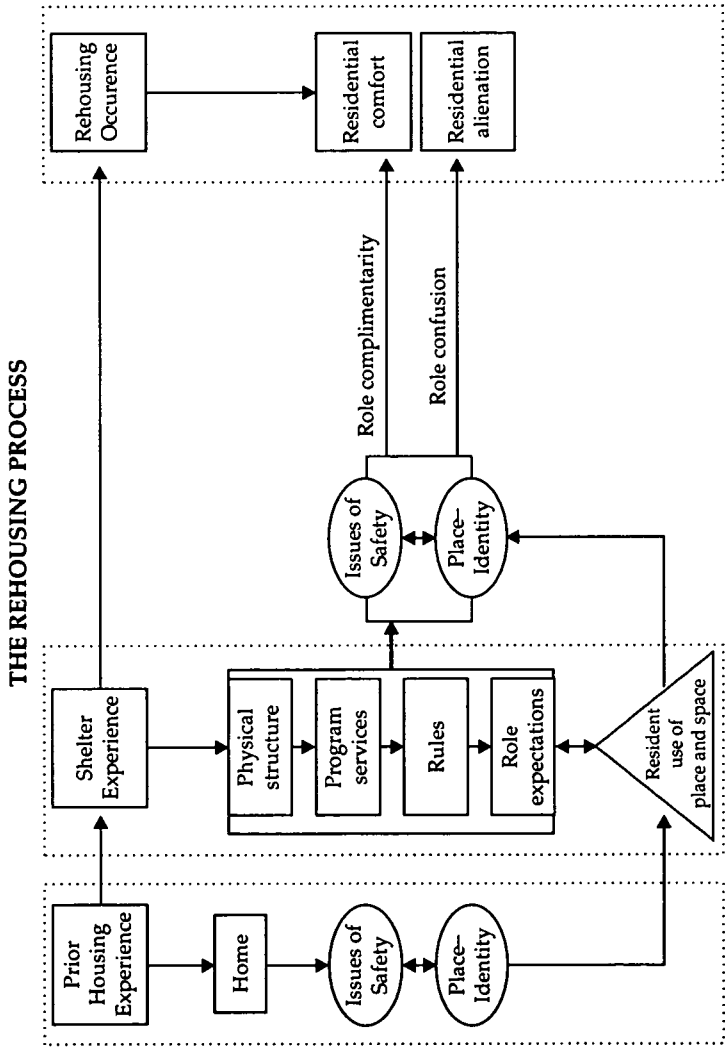
Those who had to leave the House often made quick housing decisions. Only two former residents from the sample (Miss N and Miss D) were stably housed with employment that allowed them to support their families with minimal federal or state assistance. The others, due to a myriad of problems including drugs, health and mental health concerns, continued to receive various government support services and lived in substandard conditions, again one step away from homelessness.

The Re-Housing Process

Figure 1 shows a conceptual scheme to begin our understanding of the experiences of homeless women with children using transitional shelter services. The scheme is based upon analyses of the stories the women offered about their homeless episode and housing histories.

This diagram suggests two important findings. The first finding is that experiences of place-identity and safety acquired in prior housing experiences impact housing re-occurrence or self-sufficiency throughout the transition period. As a woman moves into a transitional environment, place-identity skills help her adapt to the physical space and expected roles. How one leaves the shelter environment is often based on whether the resident can accommodate to the housing structure and secure the services of the program. Self-sufficiency, evidenced by a housing re-occurrence, is promoted when one feels safe in the place defined as home. Otherwise, residential alienation evolves. The second finding is that the transition process from homelessness to

Figure 1
A conceptual representation of themes impacting residents in transitional housing settings as they move towards self-sufficient living.



self-sufficiency is a complex journey which necessitates the importance of using a holistic approach toward understanding the person-in-the environment.

Implications

According to Huttman and Redmond (1992), shelters can pronounce personal difficulties and heighten family insecurities due to the unique structural functioning of the daily operations in the temporary housing situation. Achieving self-sufficiency in a new housing environment may require transitional housing staff to access the place-identity skills of residents in order to accurately determine adaptation to program services. This suggests that additional service interventions may be necessary such as those that build place-identity skills to foster adaptation to roles specified by the housing situation and the physical environment. Those women who experienced role complementarity — the projection of behaviors and attitudes congruent with shelter expectations — stayed in the House longer and had better housing outcomes in the community. Miss L was able to wait until her partner finished his jail time and the whole family moved in with his a friend of his. Miss A was selected to be the first resident in a single family transitional house with the option of staying there for a year with continued services. Miss D received a Section 8 certificate and moved into a single family house when it became available, even though it was after 120 days. Miss W moved into a two room apartment with air-conditioning. She heard about this place on the “porch.” These residents were able to use the program services to acquire information for housing resources and wait for housing vacancies.

Those who did not adjust to the group housing situation and the expectations of the staff left the House sooner and moved to less satisfactory housing. Miss M was asked to leave and could find a friend who would let her spend only a few days with her. She was unclear of her plans after that. Miss B returned to her husband because she did not abide by the curfew rules of the House. Miss R also was asked to leave the House after breaking curfew and money management rules. Her immediate housing arrangements were not known. Miss S had a place but slept in

her car for safety reasons for over a month. Miss J lives in various welfare hotels.

Conclusion

As this nation embraces the concept of self-sufficiency for its safety net programs for the poor, and as families continue to find themselves homeless, transitional housing programs will be used more often. They will focus on services presumably associated with economic independence. However, as this research suggests, social workers and staff in shelters also need to incorporate strategies to build place-identity skills. These skills can promote personal and environmental resources to facilitate the goodness-of-fit between the resident and her next stable environment.

Finally, this research raises questions concerning transitional housing rules and the goal of self-sufficiency. Did the rules in this House promote self-sufficiency in residents? Or did these rules produce patterns of behavior that were adaptive only to the transitional environment, a goodness-of-fit? If a resident does not comply with rules of a shelter and has to leave, does that suggest an inability to be self-sufficient? Or does the goal of self-sufficiency in a highly-controlled, structured environment conflict with skills needed to obtain or maintain economic independence? Further research is needed in this area to answer these questions.

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The Class Politics of Domestic Violence

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The claim is often voiced that wife abuse is a problem that "cuts across" all social and economic lines. Yet there is considerable research evidence suggesting an inverse relationship between wife abuse and the socioeconomic status of both victims and perpetrators. The question of the relevance of social class has generally been construed as a factual one, in principle resolvable by collecting more and better data. Doing a participant observation study of a treatment programme for men who batter, I was forced to bracket the "objective," empirical question, but freed to see how certain ideological practices worked to keep class seen-but-unnoticed. The abstract terms and categories of the dominant discourse of abuse were deployed in ways that subsumed and subdued the men's own experiences of themselves and their lives. In this way the particular local setting was bound to the relations of ruling of patriarchal capitalism. The approaches of "peacemaking criminology" and "restorative justice" offer possibilities for alternative, more effective responses to men's violence against women.

"All women are vulnerable"

The authors of the recently released final report of the Canadian Panel on Violence against Women assert that male violence affects all women:

All women are vulnerable to male violence; all women fear it at some level, are potential victims and suffer pain when struck or when verbally and psychologically tortured; all women look for ways to explain or understand what is happening to them; and all women want to be safe. (Canadian Panel, 1993, p. 25)

Once abuse has occurred, a woman's financial position will determine the "survival strategies" at her disposal (Canadian Panel, 1993, p. 19). The authors also acknowledge that "broader

factors," such as class, culture, race, colour of skin, sexual orientation, physical and mental abilities, education, age, language and literacy levels, can affect vulnerability (Canadian Panel, 1993, p. 25).

However, although such characteristics affect the intensity and degree of a woman's vulnerability to violence, they do not alter the conditions common to all women. It is not the "human" condition, rather it is the "woman" condition. (Canadian Panel, 1993, p. 25)

In emphasizing the universal risk of wife abuse, the authors of the Panel Report echo a claim commonly found in the popular media (for example: Hazel, 1992, p. 7; Cox, 1991, p. A8), in briefs and reports of advocacy groups (for example: New Brunswick Advisory Council, 1989, p. 12), in training manuals for social workers, counsellors, doctors, nurses and other professionals (for example: Ontario Medical Association, 1991, p. 1 Pressman, 1984, p. 28-29; Canadian Nurses Association, 1992, p. 5), as well as in the academic literature (for example: Stets, 1988, p. 3-5; Maiuro *et al.*, 1986, p. 287; Freedman, 1985, p. 47; Kuypers, 1992, p. 32).

In narrative accounts of family violence, cases of wife abuse involving victims or perpetrators holding high status occupations are often "capitalized." For example, in a newspaper story titled "Three Canadian Women Die Each Week—At Hands of Intimate Male Partner" (*The Fredericton Daily Gleaner*, December 19, 1991, p. 47), four specific cases are mentioned; the single SES reference identifies the first murder victim as "a young lawyer." Similarly, on the same day as the Panel's final report was released, an article appeared in *The Globe and Mail* titled "Thousands of witnesses offered accounts of abuse"; six women are quoted, one identifying herself as a nurse, and another her abuser as a "psychology professor" (V. Smith, 1993, p. A3). Typically court cases of wife assault receive minimal newspaper coverage; when a case involves a more prominent member of the community, however, coverage is much more extensive. (For example, the April 4, 1995 edition of *The Fredericton Daily Gleaner* devoted 32 column/inches to a story reporting the conviction of a local businessman for assaulting his common-law wife; in the same issue, another case received the more typical 1 column/inch treatment.)

Slippage can often be detected between claims concerning incidence and ones about prevalence. Token, non-controversial

assertions to the effect that "abusers come from all walks of life" commonly serve as implicit warrants for ignoring socioeconomic factors altogether. This blurs the possibilities that (a) the problem may be disproportionately found in certain strata, and (b) the form of the problem, and consequently the effectiveness of various interventions, may be significantly conditioned by class. In the extreme formulation of the universal risk theory, the problem is so pervasive and endemic that any attempt to identify risk-markers is bound to fail. The abused woman is any woman / Everywomen. And the abusing man is any man / Everyman.

The Research Data

Given the frequency with which the universal risk theory has been enunciated, it is jarring to encounter in the research literature fairly consistent evidence that the rate of battering is significantly correlated with socioeconomic indicators such as income level, employment stability, educational attainment, and occupational status of both perpetrators and victims.

On the basis of a telephone survey of 602 married or formerly married women in Maryland in 1977 and 1978, Petersen concludes that "wife abuse is very concentrated in certain segments of society and is not distributed fairly evenly across all strata of society, as the feminist explanation predicts" (Petersen, 1980, p. 400-401).

Data from the Canadian Urban Victimization Survey, conducted in 1982, involving telephone interviews with 61,000 residents of seven Canadian cities, led Johnson to conclude that women in low-income households were significantly more likely to reveal that they had been victims of physical and sexual assault by a spouse or former spouse (Johnson, 1990, p. 173).

Reexamining data from the National Crime Survey of 59,000 households, Schwartz reports a "highly significant relationship" between income level and spousal assault (Schwartz, 1988, p. 376).

Administering the Conflict Tactics Scale to a representative sample of 604 currently or recently married or cohabiting women between the ages of 18 and 50, living in Toronto, Smith discovered that "[t]he chances of a low-income woman being severely abused in the past year, or ever, exceeded those of a well-to-do woman by

a factor of ten" (Smith, 1988, p. 23). Educational attainment of both partners was also negatively related to abuse, as was occupational prestige. Unemployed husbands were almost twice as likely as fully-employed husbands to have attacked their wives during the survey year, and somewhat more likely to have done so some time in the relationship.

Kennedy and Dutton conclude on the basis of a 1987 representative sample in the province of Alberta that household income affected reported rates of wife assault; "... households with incomes of \$6,000–16,000 reported overall husband-to-wife violence rates of 13.8%, compared to 7.5% for those with incomes over \$45,000" (Kennedy and Dutton, 1989, p. 50).

Lupri presents results based on a self-administered questionnaire, using a national sample of 1834 Canadian men and women over the age of 18. Using the Conflict Tactics Scale, he calculates that the rate of wife abuse for men with annual incomes of less than \$20,000 was double that for men with incomes of \$60,000 or over (Lupri, 1990, p. 171). Lupri also provided respondents with a checklist of twelve "stressful events" involving negative changes in economic circumstances they might have experienced in the previous five years. The frequency of violence directed towards partners increased with the number of stressful events, from 8% of men who reported none or only one of the events, to 18% of those reporting two or three sources of stress, 19% for those reporting 4 or 5, and 33% for those registering 6 or 7 such sources (Lupri, 1990, p. 172).

According to a 1993 telephone survey of 12,300 Canadian women conducted by Statistics Canada and reported by Rodgers: "Women with a household income of \$15,000 and over reported 12-month rates of wife assault consistent with the national average, while women with household incomes under \$15,000 indicated rates twice the national average" (Rodgers, 1994, p. 6).

Hotaling and Sugarman's review of the research literature led them to conclude that "the bulk of empirical evidence points to a clear connection between wife assault and low family income." They also note that "[t]here is no more controversial finding in the literature on wife assault than that concerning social class or socioeconomic status (SES)" (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1990a, p. 400).

Dealing With the Disjuncture

In the various popular, professional and academic literatures, much is made of the fact that most available data reflect a variety of "biases," such that the actual incidence of family violence in middle and upper socioeconomic groups is underrepresented. Appeals to this argument preserve the theory of universal risk in the face of apparently contradictory evidence. The "class effect" is treated as largely or entirely the result of the lower visibility of the abuse that does take place in higher SES groups (Kuypers, 1992, p. 32; Ontario Medical Association, 1991, p. 1; Stets, 1988, p. 3-4; McGuire, 1991, p. 28; Sherman, 1992, p. 6-7; New Brunswick Coalition of Transition Houses, 1991, p. 6; Gauthier, 1991, p. 27; Douglas, 1991, p. 532-3). Studying victims who have come forward to police or social service agencies for help, or who have taken up residence in shelters, arguably skews the distribution towards an overrepresentation of lower socioeconomic categories. The same can be said of research based on samples of men charged and convicted of assaulting their partners, or participating in treatment programmes in certain kinds of agencies. Presumably reporting-bias entails several more-or-less discrete tendencies: the greater likelihood of lower SES groups availing themselves of legal and social welfare services; the greater capacity of higher SES groups to avoid or minimize such stigmatizing contact; the greater likelihood of higher SES individuals knowing how to access, and being able to afford, individualized, private treatment-situations; the reduced tendency for professionals of various kinds to inquire about violence when dealing with clients who exhibit middle class appearance and demeanour; and so on.

It is sometimes suggested that women from higher SES backgrounds, and particularly women whose social standing is higher than their partners', may actually face *greater* risks (Kuypers, 1992, p. 32; New Brunswick Advisory Council, 1989, p. 12). The hypothesis is that men with lower status than their wives may experience a threat to their control in the relationship, and may resort to violent intimidation to re-establish their dominance.

In addition to the attempts to discount evidence of the relationship between abuse and socioeconomic indicators on methodological grounds, criticisms have been made of the overly

restrictive ways in which abuse has been conceptualized. Physical violence is the most evident and dramatic form, but serious abuse can also take emotional, sexual and financial forms. The universal risk theory is elaborated by positing that while all women are at risk, the forms that the abuse takes may vary by socioeconomic status.

Particularly important is the notion of “emotional” (also called “psychological”) abuse. The range of behaviours that can be construed as emotional abuse is very wide indeed, encompassing not only such overt actions as name-calling and insulting, but also ways of relating that involve withdrawal, inexpressiveness and disengagement (“passive aggressive” behaviour). In the “Power and Control Wheel” (originating in the Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, and widely used in treatment programmes for batterers) emotional abuse is defined as: “putting her down; making her feel bad about herself; calling her names; making her think she’s crazy; playing mind games; humiliating her; making her feel guilty.” Lupri *et al.* use the expression “psychological violence” and employ the following indicators: 1. Yelled at the other; 2. Did or said something to spite the other; 3. Insulted or swore at the other; 4. Sulked or refused to talk; 5. Stomped out of the room; 6. Smashed, threw, or kicked something. Interestingly, more than three quarters of their respondents engaged in one or more of these behaviours during the previous year; the researchers decided to narrow their focus to a group of men who committed any of these acts eleven times or more during the year (Lupri *et al.*, 1994, p. 55).

An effort is made to demonstrate that emotional abuse is both widespread and very serious. It can occur in the absence of physical abuse; however when physical abuse does occur, it is almost always accompanied by psychological abuse. Rodgers calculated that three quarters of women reporting physical or sexual abuse also reported emotional abuse, with 18% of women reporting emotional abuse but no physical violence by a partner (Rodgers, 1994, p. 7).

The argument is sometimes encountered that emotional abuse may actually be higher in higher socioeconomic groups. If the overall level of abuse is more-or-less constant, and if there is some evidence to indicate that physical abuse—related to SES,

then it would follow that the rate of emotional abuse should be higher in higher SES groups. Lupri *et al.* (1994) present data to indicate that while rates of physical violence are relatively low among men with university degrees, chronic psychological abuse is more common, particularly among those with graduate degrees (but see Strauss & Sweet [1992, p. 354] who report no significant relationship between SES and "verbal aggression"). This leads the authors to wonder if "emotional hurt" may be a substitute for "physical hurt" among well-educated men. They go on to list three reasons why this question is important:

First, the finding points to the importance of incorporating emotional abuse into our definition of violence. *Restricting the definition of violence to physical assault only tends to overrepresent men of lower socioeconomic status and to underrepresent men of higher status, and thus introduces a serious class bias.* Second, this finding underscores an argument made earlier: emotional violence is another form of victimization that should not be ignored. Third, the finding supports the claim that *violence is considerably more widespread across the socioeconomic spectrum than was assumed previously by practitioners and researchers alike.* (See also the elevated rates of chronic psychological violence among men in the two upper income categories and the rates of those with medium and high SES scores.) (Lupri *et al.*, 1994, pp. 59 and 62, emphasis added)

It seems that often the claim of universal risk functions as an "incurrible proposition," preserved in the face of empirical evidence to the contrary by discrediting the research on methodological and conceptual grounds. An incurrible proposition is "seemingly formulated as a descriptive assertion," but is actually "a proposition which 'no happening whatsoever would prove false, or cause anyone to withdraw' " (Pollner, 1974, p. 43, quoting Gaskings). Gaskings asks: "If such a proposition tells you nothing about the world, what, then, is the point of it—what does it do? I think that in a sense it is true to say that it prescribes what you are to say—it tells you *how to describe* certain happenings" (Gaskings, quoted by Pollner, 1974, p. 44).

How the classlessness of the problem functions as an incurrible proposition can be seen in the following passage, taken from the concluding section of a report of research comparing

domestically violent and non-violent men in terms of several dimensions of assertiveness.

Another issue worthy of comment has to do with the demographic characteristics of the domestically violent males in the present study. Specifically, the range is limited and biased toward unemployed and lower socioeconomic strata. *Although such characteristics are in line with those commonly reported in epidemiological studies of domestic violence [2 citations], domestic violence problems occur across all socioeconomic levels [1 citation], and there is a need to investigate patterns of assertiveness deficits in more broadly sampled populations.* (Maiuro et al., 1986, p. 287, emphasis added)

Instead of drawing some assurance from the fact that the domestically violent sample generally did fit the profile reported in other studies, the authors' acceptance of the claim that "domestic violence problems occur across all socioeconomic levels" warrants the conclusion that additional research with broader samples is needed.

Fieldwork Experience

The disjuncture between the claims of universal risk and the research evidence is usually cast as a factual dispute. Conceived as such, the conflict might be settled by further research, using more sophisticated conceptual models and more rigorous methodologies and sampling procedures. The research I conducted, however, did not allow me to address directly the question of the objective, empirical relationship between class and abuse. My inquiry took the form of a nine month participant observation analysis of a treatment programme for batterers (McKendy, 1992). Abandoning the "factual question," I was better able to take notice of the particular ways in which the issue was talked about, in the concrete setting of my research, and written about, in the academic, professional, political and popular texts I collected. Gradually I moved from a position of hearing assertions concerning the relevance of class as accurate-or-mistaken reports about the "world-out-there," to one in which I could recognize their *performative* character. Guided by the approach Dorothy Smith identified as institutional ethnography, I attempted to discern the

ideological practices that accomplished the classlessness of abuse (Smith, 1987, 1990a, 1990b).

Instead of treating ideology as disembodied ideas about the world, Smith (following Marx) views it as a method, a set of practices whereby abstract conceptual schema are developed by professionals, academics, media personnel, policy makers and administrators, who are removed from the local settings in question, and whose experiences and interests are significantly different from those of the individuals directly involved. Such schema accentuate certain features of situations and attributes of persons, while discarding others. "Mystical" connections among the selected particulars are stipulated so as to mandate certain courses of action, and preclude others. Smith points out the *circularity* of the process:

[A]n interpretive schema is used to assemble and provide coherence for an array of particulars as an account of what actually happened; the particulars, thus selected and assembled, will intend, and will be interpretable by, the schema used to assemble them. The effect is peculiarly circular, for although questions of truth and falsity, accuracy and inaccuracy about the particulars may certainly be raised, the schema in itself is not called into question as method of providing for the coherence of the collection of particulars as a whole. (Smith, 1990b, p. 139)

The concrete actualities of people's everyday lives are made over into the images and categories provided by the abstract schema, transformed into the generalized forms in terms of which they become recognizable and actionable. Smith argues that this is the main way ruling takes place in our kind of society.

From the outset of my research, the vagueness and elasticity of the category of "abuse" troubled me. My concerns were not just intellectual but also personal and political. The relationship between the categories "violence" and "abuse" was imprecise and shifting: sometimes the terms appeared to be used interchangeably; at other times, "violence" seemed to be restricted to overt physical attacks or threats, and treated as a subcategory of the more general phenomenon of "abuse." The variety of behaviours that might be constructed as "abusive" seemed indefinitely expandable. As my work progressed, I had more and more difficulty

taking for granted the notion of abuse as an objective, bounded, stable and measurable category, pointing to a specifiable range of concrete behaviours. At the same time I worried about denying or minimizing the real suffering some individuals experienced at the hands of others.

Sitting in the group, listening to the counsellors catalog the various forms of abuse, and participating in the ritualized self-labelling that began each session, it dawned on me that the abstract category was so malleable that, in principle, aspects of virtually every intimate relationship *might* be construed as "abusive." Every man (if not every person) was *potentially* an "abuser" . . . myself included. And thus every woman was potentially a victim.

The disjuncture I had previously encountered textually I now experienced first hand. Based on explicit disclosures (passing comments concerning jobs, money, schooling, and so on), along with my observations of class-coded styles of speech, dress and appearance, it was clear to me that almost all of the men I saw being caught with the net of "abuser" were working class and poor. (Of the twenty men for whom I obtained direct information, three were unemployed, one was a university student, six worked as unskilled labourers, four in "blue-collar" trades, three were privates or NCOs in the military, one operated a small retail outlet, one worked on a family farm, and one held a semi-professional technical position.) The rhetorically-established *potential universality* of the problem now clashed, not with abstract statistical information extracted from journals and books, but with the *actual, highly particularistic* patterns that I was able to see for myself.

While I was positioned to see the classlessness of abuse as an ongoing practical accomplishment, the counsellors did not see things this way. To them, class *was* irrelevant. Operating inside the "ideological circle," they understood their own activities as being consistent with that "objective fact." The class backgrounds of the men were seen-but-unnoticed. Only when I posed the question directly did one of the counsellors characterize "the majority" of the men with whom he came in contact as "working poor."

At first I was very cautious about this: I was studying one programme, over a brief period of time, using a research strategy that hardly qualified as rigorous! Judged by the standards of traditional sociology, mine was a "case study" with very lim-

ited potential for generalization. It was only by working through Smith's formulation of the "problematic of everyday life" that I acquired greater confidence concerning the general significance of my observations. Smith writes:

The relation of the local and particular to generalized social relations is not a conceptual or methodological issue, it is a property of social organization. The particular "case" is not particular in the aspects that are of concern to the inquirer. Indeed, it is not a "case" for it presents itself to us rather as a point of entry, the locus of an experiencing subject or subjects, into a larger social and economic process. The problematic of everyday life arises precisely at the juncture of particular experience, with generalizing and abstracted forms of social relations organizing a division of labor in society at large. (Smith, 1987, p. 157, emphasis added)

What I was witnessing was not a singular, self-contained setting, fully explicable in terms of the particular interests, backgrounds and idiosyncracies of the participants, and the concrete contingencies they faced. Rather, through such everyday processes as securing funding, hiring and training staff, making and accepting referrals, and establishing liaison with other agencies, governmental departments and community organizations, the setting was organized *extralocally*. Adopting Smith's strategy of institutional ethnography meant that my task was no longer assaying biases that might affect the quality of research data, but rather using the site as a point of entry to delineate broader relations of ruling.

The treatment programme I studied took place in a "family agency" which offered a range of counselling services: one-on-one counselling for emotional problems, traditional marital and family counselling, financial counselling, and, in addition to the programme for batterers, group sessions for the women victims of abuse, children who had witnessed family violence, and sex offenders. Like other "quasi-autonomous non-governmental agencies" ("quangos") that proliferated as governments contracted out health, welfare, correctional and administrative services, funding was extremely limited and precarious: a combination of fees from clients (based on a sliding scale), government programme grants, and charitable donations from community groups. (On "quangos," see Langford, 1983.)

Trained as clinical psychologists and social workers, the counsellors pieced together their programme for batterers by adapting familiar techniques from other therapeutic situations, stitching them together by means of what might be called the "dominant discourse of wife abuse." This discourse the counsellors learned as they went along, attending workshops and conferences, readings various publications and interacting with colleagues. Their actions could be seen as both enabled and constrained by this discourse. They used it in ways that mandated those courses-of-action they were prepared to provide; these centred around anger management, improving communication skills and increasing self-awareness. But the work of the counsellors was not a straightforward "application" of the abstract frameworks and techniques. Routinely they had to call upon their experience, ingenuity and resourcefulness in order to transpose the messy, unique and changing actualities of the men's lives into the abstract forms, and categories in terms of which they could be made actionable as the problem of "wife abuse."

This process was one which in effect subsumed and subdued the accounts the men themselves were prepared to provide. Counsellors were vigilant in detecting and challenging what they saw as the men's stubborn tendencies to deny or minimize the harm they brought their partners, and to shift responsibility to others (often their victims) or to external circumstances. As a method of forcing the men to abandon their self-justifying accounts, the counsellors blocked the men's attempts to contextualize what they had done in ways that conveyed their own experiences of powerlessness. They were only allowed to tell what happened by magnifying their own agency, reconstructing events as outcomes of decisions they had made. Few of the participants were willing or able to recognize themselves as the self-possessed, rational and emotionally self-sufficient individuals the discourse made them out to be. By turns they were puzzled, bored, shamed and angered; rarely were they engaged in the process of rebuilding their lives and transforming their selves.

If what went on in the treatment group was enabled and constrained by this dominant discourse of wife abuse, pursuing the institutional ethnography entailed examining how that discourse was put together.

Conceptual Coordination and Relations of Ruling

Over the decade that spanned the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, the issue of wife abuse was effectively lodged within the "social problems apparatus of the state" (Morgan, 1981). Referring to the situation in Canada (Ontario and British Columbia in particular) Gillian Walker traces the complicated "conceptual politics" which shaped the problem so that it became the focus of official attention and action (Walker, 1990a). Particularly formative was the ongoing struggle between feminist activists working at the grass-roots level, and professionals, located within government agencies, universities, professional schools and other bureaucratic settings. As their positions evolved, eventually a *modus vivendi* was worked out which invoked the framework of criminal law. Walker argues that the resultant "conceptual coordination" did mobilize resources to address the problem, but in ways that absorbed the feminist project within the ruling relations of the capitalist-patriarchal state. The policies and programmes certainly resulted in "more shelters" and "more prisons"; whether they also brought greater safety and justice for women is far less clear.

Feminist activists saw the beating of women by their husbands and boyfriends as a pervasive feature of patriarchal society, part of the "war against women" which also included rape, stalking, sexual harassment on the street and in the workplace, and pornography. This "male violence against women" was cast in highly instrumental terms. Men used a variety of intimidating tactics to maintain their control over women. The everyday/every-night lives of virtually all women were directly or indirectly affected. Even women who had never themselves been beaten or raped were forced to limit their behaviour because of the threat of such violence. Women's vulnerability forced them into greater dependency on the men in their lives, making them susceptible to more subtle forms of psychological, sexual and financial manipulation. This analysis led to the conclusion that while not all men personally employ violence, all can be said to derive some benefit.

This perspective constructed a certain model of men's agency (Liddle, 1989, p. 763 ff). From the point of view of preserving their privileges, intimidating and abusive behaviour took on a

certain kind of rationality. Men had to know what they are doing. Thus they must be forced to accept full responsibility for their behaviour. Nothing should be said or done that might have the effect of excusing them. Explanations which highlighted irrational and expressive motives were suspect.

Likewise questionable were standard sociological models designed to account for the incidence and patterning of domestic violence in terms of interacting cultural, structural and social psychological variables, such as "poverty," unemployment, low levels of formal education, patterns of alcohol and drug use, and inter-generational patterns of abuse. Such deterministic models were seen as "explaining away" the problem by diminishing the intentionality of the male perpetrators. Moreover, when the focus on risk markers included attributes of the women victims, the hint of "victim provocation" brought the charge of "victim blaming." (For a discussion of the ongoing controversy surrounding these issues, see Gelles and Loseke, 1993.)

The politics of victimhood developed "zero-sum" features. To the extent that the men's behaviour was treated as less than fully voluntary, the victimhood of women seemed diminished. It was as though the only choice was *either* to hold the individual perpetrator fully and absolutely responsible, *or* to make his suffering somehow equivalent to or commensurate with that which he had inflicted on another. Bringing up the question of social class seemed to spread the victimhood to men too, and seemed to excuse thus their abusive behaviour.

The tendency for feminists to advocate the universal risk theory was galvanized in their ongoing conceptual struggle with competing claims-makers. Both the positions of Marxists and professional social workers were seen by feminists as "de-gendering" the problem. In order to keep focal the gendered nature of the violence, feminists effectively displaced sociological accounts, and privileged psychological and biological ones. This led to the view described in the first section: that this is something that can happen to any woman, that nothing other than her gender can account for her victimization, and that the profile of the male abuser cannot be specified sociologically but only psychologically or biologically.

Angered when women's experiences of oppression were ignored, trivialized and distorted by men on the left, feminists rejected the analysis that subsumed the problems of sexism and patriarchy under the critique of the exploitative class relations of capitalism, and that sometimes even appeared to romanticize a robust working class masculinity.

More significant in forming the feminist position than the reaction to male-stream Marxism was the confrontation with social workers and members of other "helping professions" who took an increasingly active part in defining and responding to the problems of violence women experienced in their homes. These practitioners named the issue "family violence," thereby associating it with the already established problem of "child abuse." Whereas the feminist framework stressed the pervasiveness—and "normalcy"—of male violence, seeing wife battering in particular as an expected feature of everyday life in patriarchal society, the orientation of social work was to view the problem in terms of individual and social pathology, making it actionable using the well worn "bag of tricks" assembled over the decades of dealing with "family problems" and "problem families." Within the professional paradigm, there was less inclination to characterize interpersonal violence as instrumental and rational, and more to treat it as expressive, irrational and pathological.

The social work perspective traditionally provided room for issues of class inequality to enter into the formulation of social problems by coding them as "poverty." However, in the context of the conceptual struggle with feminist activists (and also the growing feminist influence *within* the profession) the issue of class was effectively shunted aside.

As described by Walker (1990a; 1990b), ultimately, a way to move the issue forward was found. The conceptual coordination took place by construing the violence as a form of assault under the existing provisions of the *Criminal Code*. Then the major impetus was to have wife abuse taken seriously by the police and the criminal justice system. A violent attack by a husband against his wife within the home should be dealt with as severely as an attack by a stranger in a public place. Police forces developed protocols which included mandatory arrest when the investigat-

ing officer had probable cause to believe that an assault had been committed. Previously, the victim (typically the only witness) had to press charges, frequently without the support of authorities (and sometimes in the face of their active discouragement).

Battered women became victims of assault, with rights under the law. To the extent that legal remedies were enacted, all of the underlying assumptions and practices of criminal law came into play. Given the highly developed feminist critique of law, this dovetailing of feminist concerns with those of "law-and-order" advocates is ironic. The feminist analysis of men's violence against women as a pervasive feature of everyday/everynight life in patriarchal society led to a call for the fundamental reshaping of political and economic institutions. By contrast, criminalizing wife abuse entailed identifying and dealing with particular offenses specified under the assault provisions of the *Criminal Code*. In the eyes of the law, individuals were presumed to be free, autonomous and equal; the basic principle of individual responsibility came to the fore. The task became detecting and reacting to the specific criminal acts of individual men. Certain men were singled out, and required to stand in for all men. That these were disproportionately men who were poor, and often members of racial minorities, should not come as a surprise.

With the changes in police practice, the number of cases of domestic assault coming before the courts increased dramatically. There was considerable political pressure from grassroots women's organizations to "take the problem seriously." In the context of criminal proceedings, this meant "getting tough" with offenders rather than letting them off "with a slap on the wrists." While jail sentences were a possibility for severe beatings and repeat offenders, the normal disposition in most jurisdictions soon became fines, suspended sentences, probation and conditional discharges. Beyond the idea of using sentencing to send out the message that wife assault was a serious offense which would no longer be tolerated, in many particular cases judges, prosecutors, lawyers, and even sometimes advocates for battered women, concluded that little would be accomplished by sending the men to jail for extended periods of time. As well as practical considerations related to costs of incarceration, there was the recognition that removing the man from the labour market would

often increase the suffering of his victim, and add to the public welfare rolls. Moreover, while certainly wanting the violence to cease, some women insisted they still cared about their partners, and did not wish to have them severely punished.

Perpetrators seemed as much in need of treatment as punishment. Over the span of a few years, in many jurisdictions in Canada and the United States, specialized programmes were organized to receive men convicted of wife assault. Typically treatment took the form of group counselling, frequently within existing community-based agencies. A number of competing models were developed, including ones identified as "pro-feminist." Perhaps the most common treatment modality was defined in terms of "anger management." From the beginning, controversy surrounded all aspects of these programmes: their underlying philosophy and design, funding and staffing arrangements, and their effectiveness in reducing or eliminating the violent and abusive behaviour of the men involved.

With the movement from the criminal to the treatment setting, the framing of the problem shifted from the relatively specific legal category of assault, to the spongier notion of "abuse." However the emphasis on "individual responsibility" was carried over in ways that effectively individualized and de-politicized the problem.

A Peacemaking Alternative

The dominant discourse constructs the "wife abuser" as a highly rational and autonomous decision maker, fully responsible and culpable for his actions. Yet typically the individuals actually singled out for punishment and treatment have been relatively powerless. "Getting tough" with these men has not been effective in reducing the level of intimate violence.

Inspiration for alternative ways of taking the problem seriously might be drawn from the developing theory and practice of peacemaking criminology (Pepinsky and Quinney, 1991) and restorative justice (Zehr, 1995). This would focus attention on a "cycle of violence" which the dominant discourse tends to ignore: the cycle of interpersonal and societal violence.

The expression "cycle of violence" is commonly used to point to two distinct patterns: (1) *inter-generational transmission*, where-

by children who experience or witness family violence learn that violence is an expected part of intimate relationships, and are supposedly more likely as adults to themselves behave violently, or to accept being victimized by others; (2) *recurrent phasing of violent episodes*, whereby tension builds in a relationship that eventually explodes in a violent outburst, followed by a period of contrition and forgiveness, and then a so-called "honeymoon" stage of relative stability and peace. This latter model is elaborated by the argument that over time, the duration of the peaceful interludes tends to diminish, and the frequency and intensity of the violence escalates.

While both these glosses are plausible, they provide for remedies that focus primarily on resocializing individuals. *In part*, might intergenerational patterns of abuse be explained in terms of the intergenerational transmission of poverty? *In part*, might the recurrent phasing of violent episodes reflect continuing alienation and economic deprivation?

Taking the "third cycle" of interpersonal and societal violence into account leads to the conclusion that fixing individuals will never be sufficient. *Societal violence* is the chronic, non-dramatic violation that takes place everyday as a result of social injustice (Gil, 1996). Growing up in poverty, children are denied opportunities to nurture their talents and build their confidence and self-respect. Adults cannot secure employment that is meaningful and rewarding, and are rendered incapable of participating in civil and political society. When unable to act purposively and positively, individuals experience frustration, anger, disappointment and shame. All too often—particularly in the case of men—these sentiments are expressed violently.

In this light, admonishing certain individual men to take responsibility, and tutoring them in techniques of effective communication and anger management, can never be an adequate solution. Both personal and social transformation are needed. Familiar notions of causality, intentionality, rationality, emotionality and responsibility must be altered in order to work out the implications *for practice* of the insight of Breines and Gordon:

. . . wife beating may be expressive in the individual case but instrumental in the collective . . . while the individual attacks may appear

irrational, taken together, they are an important ingredient in the continued subordination of women; even to women not directly victimized, these attacks teach lessons. (1983, p. 515)

Nils Christie suggests that "Much deviance is expressive, a clumsy attempt to say something." He goes on to counsel: "Let the crime then become a starting point for a real dialogue, and not an equally clumsy answer in the form of a spoonful of pain" (Christie, 1981, p. 11). Men who have behaved violently need to be challenged and supported so that they can effectively and non-violently explore what it is they have been trying to say. A peace-making response must involve creating social spaces outside the relations of ruling in which this dialogue can safely.

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Debunking: A Role for the Practicing Sociologist

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Introduction

Individual sociologists have been effective in solving organizational problems. They have been spectacularly unsuccessful in solving persistent social problems such as poverty. These ultimate troubles may never be solved but they must always be worked with. Sociological ideas cannot be the only knowledge system used in working with social difficulties. No reductionistic system has ever been successful. Creating the conditions which will even improve any deleterious social behavior requires a wider perspective and more resources than the sociologist, as sociologist, can muster. Practicing sociologists can make their greatest contribution to ameliorating major social malfunctions by putting increased emphasis on their traditional role as debunkers. That is, by showing when policies or programs are based on false perceptions or poor data.

The Injunction

Since its inception sociology has either promised to or been called on to demonstrate that it is useful in improving society. It has also been enjoined to avoid "real world" politics and concentrate on being a science. Lately, the tussle between these presumed polar opposites has shifted in favor of application. A significant segment of the profession is moving from a disciplinary to a professional orientation. In addition to the now traditional Society for the Study of Social Problems there are several "applied"

groups who, with the active support of the American Sociological Association, are creating professional practice certification.

Response to the Injunction: Promising Too Much

While sociologists have never been able to ameliorate social problems, it is not as if they haven't tried. The origins of the discipline are rooted in a desire to improve social conditions. Saint-Simon wanted sociology (Schewendinger and Schewendinger, 1974) to be a positivistic science that would enable people to manage the economy better. The University of Chicago (Bulmer, 1984), founded in 1890 under the leadership of William Rainey Harper, included the sociology department when he directed the university to use knowledge based on data to solve social problems. Early Chicago sociology was influenced by Mead and Dewey (Cook, 1993) who had a strong social reform orientation. Philosophical pragmatism (Kutz, 1984) and attempts to influence social behavior continue to underlie Chicago sociology.

When sociological ideas have been the major basis for intervention there have been few positive results. The obstacle of reductionism could not be overcome. Millikan (1959, p. 170) says that some of this comes from a "mechanical and inappropriate application to both research and policy of the principle of division of labor." This results from exaggerating the degree to which research will result in problem solution, expecting to be able to predict things which we cannot now predict, and from assuming that research conclusions make the difference rather than the process of analysis which underlies them. This has not worked to enhance either the influence or the image of sociologists. One of the chief complaints (Rosenberg, Gerver, and Howton, 1964, p. v) has been that sociology has created disappointment because it has promised to do more than it can do.

When it got involved in government operations that involved secrecy (Horowitz, ed., 1967) it found itself compromised. In perhaps its largest endeavor, The War on Poverty, there was little concrete to show for all the effort and money spent. To cite one example. In New York City, "Mobilization for Youth," fueled by the ideas of Cloward and Ohlin (1960), aimed to reduce delinquency. A similar program, "Haryou Act," followed shortly (Haryou,

1964) and was influenced by the psychologist Kenneth B. Clark. One cannot point to any new principles for working with youth that came from these efforts and there have been no lasting effects that came from these efforts.

Sociology has backed itself into a corner where too much time is spent in methodological nit-picking and ideological argument. Not enough attention is paid to creating knowledge and demonstrating what sociology knows about human behavior. Freese (1972) says that sociological knowledge is not cumulative because it does not pay enough attention to fundamental theory building. Rose (1992, p. 707) adds the charge that lazy scholarship not only results in lack of knowledge cumulation but, "there is too much rediscovery of old findings."

Davis (1994) says that Sociology has become "incoherent." Cole (1994) maintains that the inherent nature of human problems precludes developing grand theory or solutions and that it will have to settle for lower level theories. Lindblom (1979) goes so far as to say that the very ethos of social science precludes it from being much help in solving problems.

The Policy Option

There are those who advocate that rather than attempting to solve problems sociology (Wiseman, 1979) should develop a theory of policy intervention and make applied sociology (Freeman and Rossi, 1984) be equivalent to making policy recommendations. This, however, has not shown any better results than direct intervention. Social scientists are having increasing difficulty in getting their ideas heard and accepted by policy makers. Williams (1971) sums up his experience with social science in government by saying that the studies and proposals based on sociology were not relevant and were not likely to become implemented. He felt that agencies had not developed good ties with the scientific community and that not enough attention has been given to implementation problems. If the results (MacRae, 1976) of social science research and intervention are to be applied by policy makers it is necessary that they and the general public have a level of education which enables them to identify results which are valid and applicable to the problem at hand. We are far from

attaining the level of education necessary for this to happen. The effort must continue (Lerner, 1959) for it makes an important contribution to preserving democracy.

The Social Survey as a Precursor to Debunking

Sociology has a long history of conducting data gathering activities to promote social change. In the past this was called "The Survey Movement." While a survey is held to the same technical standards as research, it is not "research" in the sense that concepts are developed or generalizable hypotheses are tested. The distinction between a survey and research lies in aim rather than technique. Any survey could become research by conceptualizing the data.

It is seldom possible to discount a survey because its methodology is incorrect, though this is often tried by those who disagree with its results. The real problems come with value positions and their implications. Long ago Willard Waller (1936) pointed out that to understand why anything is considered a problem requires finding where there is a conflict of values. One may be against poverty; there is also a limit as to how much they are willing to raise their taxes to alleviate this.

To openly conduct surveys with explicit value bases makes clear that in the endless search for social good it is possible to entertain many versions of the truth. Where there are no open political processes government becomes autocratic, relatively permanent, and monolithic

Past Surveys

Historically the survey has been one way that sociologists have had an impact on the world without getting involved in being responsible for implementing change. Surveys have been done almost since the beginning of written history, if only to have data for tax collection purposes. A convenient landmark for the start of the modern era lies in the work of Frederick Le Play, a French mathematician and mining engineer, who in 1855 published a six volume work called *The European Workers*. He observed and lived with more than 300 "average" European working families and focused on their budget; how they spent their

money. He is generally credited with introducing the term "laboring classes" and with being a pioneer in the methods of case-study and participant observation.

Le Play's work had great impact in Europe. This was because he wrote from a believable and replicable data base. His aim was to project a view of the working class family as a source of stability and morality in a social order run by the upper classes. He had come to accept the necessity of a factory system but wanted to retain a feudal social order. To him the basis for all social reform (Nisbet, 1978) was to eliminate intervention by the state in people's lives. The advance which Le Play brought was not in his political philosophy but in his methods. If data was collected by replicable techniques there was at least a rational basis for arguing over differing interpretations.

Something like this happened with one of the most famous of Le Play's successors; Charles Booth published in seventeen volumes, between 1892 and 1902, *Life and Labor of the People of London*. Booth was a politically conservative shipowner. He was irritated over a literary account of the condition of the poor; W.C. Preston's *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, published in 1883; and set out to prove him wrong. Not only did Booth find that it was he that was wrong but he also recruited for his staff people who became noteworthy social reformers. The most renowned of these were Beatrice Potter Webb and Octavia Hill.

Booth established a tradition which led to the attempt to use the survey as an instrument for reform. Among the outstanding ones were B.S. Rountree's *Poverty A Study of Town Life* published in 1901 and then redone in 1936 as *A Second Survey of York: Poverty and Progress*. In 1915 Arthur Bowley and A.R. Burnett-Hurst published *Livelihood and Poverty*. Between 1930 and 1935 Hubert Llewelyn Smith published a nine volume redo of Booth's work as *The New Survey of London Life and Labor*.

The Survey in the United States

It is hard to say how influential the English surveys were in bringing change but they are valuable sources of historical information about the nature and conditions of poverty and landmarks in developing research methods. When the survey movement

came to the United States it took on American character. It was clearly dedicated to reform, often presenting its material in a dramatic form.

The first decades of this century can be characterized as an age of reform. It was Theodore Roosevelt who gave a name to this era in a celebrated speech, "The Man with the Muckrake," given on April 14, 1906, at the laying of the cornerstone for the House of Representatives. It was a plea for honesty and sanity in the wave of exposures then sweeping the country. During this era there was an outpouring of expose books and articles, many based on solid research, which became caught up in "yellow" journalism, whether the authors intended this or not. Among the more noted of these are Gustavus Myers' *The History of the Great American Fortunes*, Ida M. Tarbell's *The History of the Standard Oil Company*, Lincoln Steffens' *The Shame of the Cities*, and *The Struggle for Self-Government*, and Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* and *A Ten Years War*.

There were also surveys which covered the same topics as those in Europe. In 1895 Jane Addams published *The Hull House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago*. In 1898 there was Robert A. Woods, *The City Wilderness* and in 1901 Robert Hunter's *Tenement Conditions of Chicago*.

These early efforts were soon followed by a series of large surveys which involved broad community representation. Many of these were supported by the Russell Sage Foundation. Among the largest and most prominent of these were the two Pittsburgh Surveys. The first was under the direction of Paul Kellogg and was published in 6 volumes in 1914 and 1915. The main concern of the study was what was happening to steel workers during a period of industrial expansion. The second was published in 1938 and was done under the direction of Philip Klein. Now the focus was on needs and services in the whole community. Other notable surveys included Shelby Harrison's *Springfield Survey* published in 1920, Raymond Moley's *Missouri Crime Survey* in 1926, and the *Wickersham Crime Commission Survey* published in 1929.

Through the first three decades of this century there is no area of American life or its problems that wasn't the subject of a survey. There were probably 4,000 surveys done during this

period. Like all such movements it had its time of glory and then declined. The survey movement was at its peak when sociology as we know it was in its infancy and there were only hints of a later sharp divergence between those with "pure" and those with "applied" interests.

One of the great lessons of the survey movement is that valid data is not enough to ensure change. Rita Davidson (1971, p. 17) Maryland's first Secretary of Human Resources, described her first trip to the legislature as one where she was prepared with an array of charts and tables because she was determined to have all the facts necessary to justify her program:

We met for over three hours. When we came out I met one of the most conservative members of the State legislature who has been around for fifteen years and is sort of a Wilbur Mills of Maryland. I asked, "Are you going to help me now with my program?" He answered, "No!" I said, "Why not?" He said, "Rita, I'm going to do something better for you. I'm going to tell every State legislator I know that I never heard such a fine presentation. I never heard a program so justified in all my life. You are indeed a remarkable woman. That was the finest performance I have ever seen anybody make before the State legislature!" So I said, "Then why aren't you going to help me with my program?" He said, "Because I don't like it!" . . .

The limits of rationality are reached when people oppose any position solely on value grounds.

As the survey movement declined it was partially replaced by investigative journalism. Albert Deutsch had an important influence on public policy with such books as *The Mentally Ill in America* and *Our Rejected Children*. The War on Poverty got a big push from an essay that Dwight McDonald wrote in *The New Yorker* on Michael Harrington's *The Other America*. As noble as these efforts were they do not replace the systematic collection of data to document social need. While surveys are still done they are used more as planning instruments and do not have the impact that they had in the past.

The Sociologist as Debunker

While the role of the sociologist in the social survey is well known less attention has been given to the role of debunker.

Yet, some of the landmark studies which characterizes the development of sociology as a modern social science were debunking studies. LaPiere, (Dockery and Bedian, 1989) beginning in 1930 travelled the country for two years with a Chinese couple. They presented themselves in ways that ranged from disheveled campers to well-dressed and prosperous people. In 251 instances of seeking hotel and restaurant accommodations they were refused only once. This was a period of negative sentiment toward Asians. In a subsequent follow-up mail survey ($n = 128$) over 90% said that they would not serve orientals and most of the rest were uncertain. Only one person said yes and she was also the only one who remembered serving them. The distribution was about the same on a matched control sample. Since the attitudes were asked after the behavior had occurred LaPiere knew what people had done as opposed to what they said they would do. He concluded that questionnaires were not a good basis for predicting behavior.

Modern social science, both theoretical and applied, could be said to have gotten its start (Stouffer, et al., 1949) in the four volumes on the American soldier in WWII. Several of the studies debunked assumptions made about the relationships between attitudes and behavior. Among the most important of these were a series of studies done on the attitude of troops toward integration. Before integration (Stouffer, et al., 1949, pp. 568–596) more than 80% of the white troops were opposed to any form of integration. Among the soldiers who served in units that had various degrees of integration only 7% strongly opposed the idea after it was done.

This is a lesson that sociologists need to teach with great regularity since the reduction of many problems is often predicated on changing attitudes before behavior. The reverse is usually true. One wonders how many programs designed to ameliorate problems connected with race relations have foundered because of the false assumption that attitudes have to change before behavior. What Stouffer and his associates demonstrated was that if you change behavior the attitudes will follow. While few organizations have the army's ability to control behavior, that doesn't negate the principles of behavior change that these studies illustrate. The challenge is to find ways to do this without compromising anyone's rights.

There is no shortage of topics for debunkers. Billions of dollars

are wasted and millions of lives are compromised because not enough attention is devoted to bringing a focus on erroneous information. To cite some examples: The effect of television on violence is a hotly debated topic. Lande (1993) concluded that while there may be a small group of vulnerable viewers, not much more could be said because social science researchers do not agree on the nature of the evidence.

Facilitated communication claims that people with severe autistic like disabilities can communicate through keyboards if they have a guide to hold their hand. A meta-analysis (Jacobson, Mulick, and Schwartz, 1995) of existing studies show that this is a claim that cannot be substantiated.

Post traumatic stress disorder (Scott, 1990) is a presumed psychiatric condition whose "existence" was established through a political process rather than through clinical research. It projects the idea that war is abnormal and the condition is created when a normal person is overwhelmed struggling with this aberrant condition. Today careers are built and pensions are given when this diagnosis is made.

The history of the Dissociative Disorders is equally interesting. They were not recognized until 1980 in the DSM (Moss, 1993). The most extreme form is known as Multiple Personality Disorder. It is estimated that 20% of the individuals in the adult general psychiatric hospital have a Dissociative Disorder and 5% have MPD. The diagnosis is made with much greater frequency. What is most probable is that there has been no real change in psychodynamic problems and people are just fitting their symptoms to what is a socially acceptable reason for irregular behavior.

It is even the case that many of the "findings" of sociological research need to be debunked. Weitzman (1985) showed that after divorce women suffered a 79% decline in their quality of life and men a 42% increase. Peterson (1996) reconstructed the original data and then reanalyzed it. His findings show that the figures were a 27% decline for women and a 10% increase for men. Weitzman (1996) accepts that she had a methodological error but still argues that the difference that was found should be a basis for action.

Careful study of almost any "popular" social problem like sexual abuse, family dissolution, spouse abuse or child abuse,

shows that more attention is paid to them but their incidence has not increased. The family is not disintegrating. Family life (Coontz, 1992; Chronicle, 1992, p.8) was not better in earlier eras and the family was never self-sufficient. One thing does stand out about these popular problems. Once identified no one seems to get over them. One of the most fashionable forms of treatment seems to be for adult survivors of some past stress.¹ Whatever presumed aid comes from these survivor groups is at a high price. One apparently never gets over the effects of past trauma. Freud at least offered the hope that with understanding you could put down past burdens.

These examples reflect a politicization of knowledge. Data that do not fit politically correct assumptions are rejected. Monahan and Steadman (1983, p. 1) cite John Gunn about continued attempts to link crime and mental disorder. Gunn said:

The main problem in discussing any relationship between criminal behavior and mental disorder is that the two concepts are largely unrelated.

That doesn't prevent those with a stake in the presumed connection from denying the data.

Elizabeth Whelan, (1992) president of the American Council on Science and Health, says that creating a politically correct science is undermining public health. E.g., the ideology of extreme environmentalists focuses attention on the minute amounts of carcinogens on barbecued chicken rather than the compliance problems that harm large numbers of people. Her example can be generalized to include all of sociology.

Conclusion

The argument presented in this paper is that it is not possible for sociologists using only a sociological perspective to solve large scale social problems. Rather, the practicing sociologist can have his greatest impact on social practice by resurrecting and emphasizing their role as a debunker; that is, one who uses the methods of social science to demonstrate that what everyone assumes to be true is not.

This is an age of skepticism and doubt. Arthur Hays Sulzberger (1973) also thinks it is an age of mediocrity. People have come

to doubt rational technical solutions that are proposed by social scientists. There have been too many failures. Anti-rational forces like deconstruction and post-modernism are powerful influences in the University. They threaten to undermine the contribution sociology can make to improving the world. There is no more important function for sociologists than debunking.

Note

1. One of my favorite cartoons shows a large auditorium with about two people sitting in it. Strung across the back is a banner which says "Convention of Adult Survivors of Normal Parents." A separate paper could be written on the evil stepchild of this movement "recovered memories."

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The Social Unit Plan (1916–1920): An Experiment in Democracy and Human Services Fails

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Participatory democracy and community development are explored by looking back to the bold experiment undertaken in Cincinnati, Ohio, from 1916 to 1920, called the Social Unit Plan. It is a glimpse into the economic, political, cultural and social consciousness of those who participated in the experiment during that period in American history. The paper suggests that by understanding the cultural and social lives of participants, our awareness of the range of options or possible efforts at addressing human social welfare needs in the past and the present are enhanced.

The Social Unit Plan (1916–1920) was an “experiment” conducted by the National Social Unit Organization intended to implement the concept of democracy and community participation within a large urban center in order to address the effects of urbanization and industrial capitalism ongoing in American life. The experiment was planned as a cooperative effort between recipients and providers of services. The base of this “cooperative commonwealth” was the belief in “making democracy genuine and efficient—providing the machinery through which the people [could] express their desires easily and continuously, and putting at the disposal of all of the people a consensus of expert skills” (Schaffer, 1971, p. 161). From its conception, The National Organization met with great enthusiasm from all parts of the country and drew prominent national figures as leaders in its efforts to address the “ills” of the Nation.

In the March 16, 1919, Sunday edition of the New York Times, Dorothy Thompson wrote an extensive article with numerous photographs describing the “adventure in democracy” as the Social Unit plan was called by its founders:

"A corner grocery, and men and women gathered around a ballot box, discussing candidates for a 'block council'. . . . A narrow street agleam with star and candle light, where groups of children sing sweet tunes and neighbors toss coins for their songs. . . . An immaculate health station crowded with mothers and children—not poor mothers only, but fine looking women with well cared for children. . . . These are glimpses into the life of a unique community, where 15,000 men, women, and children are adventuring in democracy" (Thompson, 1919, p. 5)

Within a year of Dorothy Thompson's enthusiastic description, the "adventure in democracy" experiment in the Mohawk-Brighton district of Cincinnati, Ohio, was to close operations. Less than a year later, the National Social Unit Organization would go into receivership and nationally prominent supporters would abandon any association with this effort toward community participation and democracy. It vanished into a changing society.

The revisiting of social movements, their means for achieving social ends, and the world within which they evolved can provide the distance from which insights can be gained as to the workings of our present society and its people in their attempts to address human needs. This paper will describe the National Social Unit Plan Organization's Mohawk-Brighton demonstration project in Cincinnati, Ohio (1917–1920) and, in particular, its notion of participatory democracy. The author will then address the historical/cultural context within which the Social Unit operated. This brief description of the times and words of the participants will provide only a glimpse into the "forms men, women, and children develop and use in experiencing the world" but a glimpse which expresses history as a lived experience and an expression of a people's culture in time (Susman, 1984, p. 288). Looking back from our present time, I will suggest that the cultural context of the project was a significant factor in its demise and that transformed manifestations of the social consciousness of that moment in history are contributing to our present day attempts at addressing human services.

Wilbur Phillips and Participatory Democracy

Writing in the *Bulletin*, a newspaper published by the Social Unit Organization in Cincinnati, Ohio, Wilbur Phillips (1940),

founder of the National Social Unit Organization and director of the Cincinnati demonstration project, responded to questions of why the organization's money was used to organize a community and not merely given to charitable groups or directly to the disadvantaged. His response expresses the fundamental purpose of the Social Unit concept and the organization's approach to the underlying causes of social problems:

The Social Unit Plan aims to create a community organization which shall not merely relieve suffering but get at the underlying problems which the community formulates. The backers of the plan believe that money invested in the services of the workers to create such an organization will be paid to the people ten times over in money saved by the prevention of sickness, unemployment, and poverty.

The Social Unit Organization is not a Charity Organization Society. It is not trying to relieve suffering through out-door relief in the Mohawk-Brighton district. That would be like bailing out a boat with a hole in the bottom without stopping to plug up the hole. What the Social Unit Organization is trying to do is to *prove that by organizing after a certain definite plan* the people can find out the true facts about poverty, sickness, needless deaths, and other social ills, and can gradually discover how, with patience and wise effort, those ills may finally be met in a permanently effective way. (P. 203, 205).

Wilbur Phillips was the son of a Baptist clergyman in a small town in New York. In his book, *Adventuring for Democracy*, Phillips commented on his father's life in the following passage: "poverty stalked his steps, dragging with heavy hand at his threadbare coat-tails . . . [but] above all else, [he was] a lover of human beings [and] found compensation in the life he led, and particularly in the daily service he rendered his needy flock," (Phillips, 1940, p. 6). He expressed some of the roots of his later work when he wrote of how poor women had "claimed [his] allegiance . . . those women who scrub and cook and wash and mend as [his] own mother did in order to give their children a chance in life" (Phillips, 1940, p. 16).

Wilbur Phillips attended Harvard University where he worked on the *Harvard Crimson* and was consumed by doubts and questions concerning the purpose of life. After graduation, he wandered through Europe. He returned home to an opportunity to work for the New York Milk Committee. It was during this time

that he came to realize that protecting the lives of babies was "a highly complicated social problem in which many factors besides milk stations had a part to play" (Phillips, 1940, p. 59–60). He believed that poverty and its consequences could not be changed through charity.

In 1911 he and his wife were appointed executives of the Milwaukee Child Welfare Commission. Milwaukee had just elected a socialist mayor and there was political support for the development of a comprehensive approach to infant care. The program developed and coordinated the work of doctors, nurses, social workers, and community residents in preventive efforts. Eight women known to the community were recruited to work with local health nurses to contact, educate and organize the mothers to utilize the services at the local community stations (milk, child care, and medical examinations). A new election reverted the political atmosphere to a mainstream political agenda and the program was disbanded in 1912. As if to foretell the future, this successful program, supported by those local community people involved as well as responsible community groups, was disbanded by mainstream political values of the period.

Wilbur Phillips' experiences in New York and Milwaukee had coalesced into his development of the Social Unit Plan. Steeped in the themes of the Progressive era, Phillips went about a "scientific," systematic and pragmatic "engineering" of the relationship of members of a community and the services they used or needed as members of a society. The fundamental purpose of the Social Unit Plan for Phillips was its "method of democratically organizing and educating a whole community so that people [would] be able to plan and carry out any type of program. Any form of activity they wish[ed]. These potentialities [were] boundless" (Phillips, 1940, p. 338). Others, supportive of the Social Unit Plan, described its conceptualization and implementation of participatory democracy as the "most significantly conservative piece of community work going on in America, as the type of community work which will bring about a gradual modernization of industry and government without violent fractures, [and] without civil wars" (Colliers, 1919, p. 2). John Elliot, President of the National Association of Neighborhood Workers, reflected in his talk before the National Social Unit Conference in October 1919, that in the

Mohawk-Brighton district "you find a real organization that takes the people of the neighborhood and makes them care for each other; that makes them work for each other. And in doing that I believe that we are doing the most patriotic kind of work and something that we can all unite in doing" (Elliot, 1919, p. 5). During a discussion session at the conference, Dr. Thomas P. Hart, of Cincinnati, editor of *The Catholic Telegraph* commented:

Social Unit Plan has made, and is making now, social workers of every man, woman and child in the Mohawk-Brighton District. Not workers to go abroad and, with a patronizing manner, try to tell people how to live, but social workers who will meet together in their own neighborhoods, and confer together, and tell themselves how to live in a better and more intelligent and more progressive manner. That is where the democracy of this plan comes in, exciting the social sense of the people of this community so that they become interested in improving conditions in their neighborhood" (Collier & Elliot, 1919, p. 6-7).

Edward T. Devine, a former President of the National Conference of Social Work and an editor of *The Survey* defined Phillip's experiment in democratic organization as "participation by the whole body of citizens in questions which heretofore, for the most part, had been decided by a small minority" (Devine, 1919, p. 13).

Participatory democracy was for Phillips the central purpose of the experiment taking place in Cincinnati. The primary intent of the Social Unit Plan was "to promote a type of democratic organization through which citizenship as a whole can participate directly in the control of community affairs, while at the same time making constant use of the highest technical skill available" (Devine, 1919, p. 4). Phillips argued with his staff during the later siege of conservative attacks that "the theory is the main point at issue . . . we are not interested in the practical services just as things in themselves, their chief value is a test of the theory" (Phillips, 1940, p. 327).

Organization and Structure of the Social Unit Plan

In 1916, the National Social Unit Organization was established in New York City. The National Organization had on its board of directors such prominent citizens and supporters as Mrs.

J. Borden Harriman, Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim, and Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson. The National Organization was going to provide the organizational expertise and the start up money to support a demonstration project in a major American city for a three-year trial period. It would be up to the citizens to decide if the project had been successful and if they wanted to maintain the organization. There was considerable national publicity given the proposed demonstration project and many cities made efforts to have the project located in their city.

The Social Unit Plan was appealing in many ways to conservative "reformers." It attempted to implement the basic notions of good citizenship, responsibility, community participation, local neighborhood-level decision making and self-help. It was based on self-help and participation rather than charity. It thus reflected the ideals of individualism. But, it was the collective participation that would come to be a cause for fear and non-support.

The Social Unit Plan was based on a simple organizational plan for the community. The entire district was to be organized into both a geographical Citizen's Council and a Vocational or Occupational Council comprising different vocational groups living or working within the district. The Citizen's Council would represent the consumers of services while the Occupational Council represented the providers of technical and skilled professional help. The Citizen's Council would consist of representatives of "block units" of a set number of families. Each block would have a local resident (who would be paid \$4.00 per week) as their "block" worker. The block workers (all women) were to establish close relationships with their neighbors and thus be in a position to collect information about needs and issues which could then be addressed by the technical and skilled experts.

Implementation Through Preventive Medical Services

Negotiations for attracting the National Organization's demonstration project to Cincinnati were carried on by the Municipal Tuberculosis Committee represented by the Chairman, Dr. Landis, City Health Officer, and Courtenay Dinwiddie, Superintendent of the Anti-Tuberculosis League. Efforts were already underway by the committee to establish community health centers to function in prevention efforts. It was, in part, this interest of

the Cincinnati representatives that resulted in the Social Unit's focusing on health services for its demonstration project and for Cincinnati to be chosen as the site of the project by the National Organization. The National Organization had proposed that the initial demonstration focus on public health issues. Lowrie (1920) reported that the Baltimore newspaper, *The Town*, noted that the Social Unit Plan could "radically affect the future alignment of medical practice and social work . . . throughout the country" by creating a collaborative relationship between the experts and the local citizen groups or consumers (1920, p. 557).

The first service established was post-natal care for infants and mothers. Block workers and visiting nurses educated the block members on the importance of registering the birth of children in order that services could be provided immediately. Post-natal examinations were offered by the doctors in the local clinics. The nurses worked with the mothers and provided medical attention in the homes. The block workers provided the bridge between the experts and the members of the neighborhood. They collected information and educated their neighbors about the services. They provided feedback to the service providers concerning any problems with the structure or the need for services. An example of the coordination of services was the handling of the influenza epidemic of 1918. The Social Unit Plan organization was able to have educational and procedural materials printed within a day of the first warnings that an epidemic might be starting. Leaflets were distributed to nearly every household in the district listing the symptoms and giving instructions on how to take care of family members. Emergency examination stations and dispensary services were set up to act quickly to each new case. This rapid and thorough response resulted in the district having the lowest incidence of death from influenza of any district in the city (Chaddock, 1919).

The Social Unit Plan in Historical and Cultural Context

Susman (1984) has commented that history is "an aspect of growing awareness and understanding that enables us to understand the world, function in it, and even change it. . . . history, like culture of which it is a part, is something lived, something

used" (p. 288). The possible confluence of circumstances occurring during the Social Unit's development and demise was something lived out in the consciousness of those who participated as members of an American community and a changing world. A glimpse into the cultural and social lives of those who participated in the civil life of Cincinnati enhances our awareness of what was possible or permissible for consideration as a means for providing services and structuring the civil lives of participants. The significant changes in the consciousness of citizens during the progressive period are with us today and suggest possible limitations for present efforts at addressing human social welfare needs. The following will briefly sketch out American culture as lived out by the white middle-class and working-class communities of Cincinnati and similar communities during this period of change.

The City of Cincinnati and the Start of the Twentieth Century

The Social Unit Plan demonstration project took place in what had been called the Queen City of the West as Cincinnati had been the gate way to the West for the early part of the nineteenth century (Harlow, 1950). Cincinnati grew from a town of six square miles in 1850 to a metropolis of 50.6 square miles in 1910 (Miller, 1981). In 1905, more than \$3,000,000 was invested in ten and fifteen-story office buildings, department stores, hotels and restaurants in the new specialized areas that emerged as "function" began to segregate the community into downtown, suburbs, and industrial areas (Miller, 1981). Transportation, electricity, and communications had transformed the physical reality of the citizens and their sense of community. Transportation development had permitted individuals to live away from where they worked and played. These changes were reflected in a growing number of "white-collar" employees and professionals such as "copyists, accountants, salesgirls, stenographers . . . in downtown firms [as well as] teachers, medicine, law, librarians, social workers, managers, [and] clerks" (Miller 1981, p. 15). During the time of the Social Unit Plan experiment in the Mohawk-Brighton district, Cincinnati had the largest percentage of wage earners (14.5%) of comparable sized cities (Lowrie, 1920). Cincinnati was second to Philadelphia in the number of homes "owned

free of encumbrances" and the majority of working men lived in homes (Miller, 1981). Many of these homes were acquired by the workers through local building associations and, according to the spokesman for the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, "represented years of their personal savings . . . [as well as] interest in the welfare of their own city" (quoted in Miller, 1981, p. 35).

Cincinnati was considered a conservative community but it had embarked on some innovative efforts as a community. During the turn of the century, the city had constructed one of the largest municipally owned railroads in the country and by 1920 was busy constructing a rapid transit belt line exceeding 20 million dollars. The University of Cincinnati was supported by city taxes and had developed one of the first major cooperative educational programs in the country. There was a strong relationship between the city government, industry, business and the student cooperative program. The Cincinnati City Hospital had been recently constructed at the cost of four million dollars with an annual outlay in operating expenses of more than four hundred thousand dollars. The Taxpayers Association focused its reform on creating a city run as a business for efficiency and economic soundness. The Central Labor Council promoted and gave tips to its members on personal growth, upward mobility, individualism, education and home ownership. Miller (1981) describes the attitudes of the unions and labor as rejecting even contact with the new immigrants from Italy, Austria-Hungary and Russia as undesirables without initiative or vocations. His analysis of the attitude of the city power structure showed a very narrow mindedness that was self-serving and defensive, although they considered themselves progressive and reform minded

The growth and development taking place in Cincinnati represented progressive and reform efforts of the powerful groups in the city. The Chamber of Commerce Annual Report, 1913, stated that "the problems that confront us will not be settled by the radical nor by the standpatter, but by the progressive conservative . . . [and that] a new order of things must prevail [but] the knife that will perform the operation must not cut so deeply enough to kill" (quoted in Miller, 1981, p. 121).

The actual residents of the site of the experiment within the city, the Mohawk-Brighton district, represented skilled and semi-

skilled workers, small business owners, and professional and semi-professional wage earners. Wilbur Phillips (1940) described the district as "not unlike a small town, with its schools, [and] its more or less prosperous citizens" (p. 183).

The Progressive Era

The Social Unit Plan expressed the ideals of a period in history generally referred to as the Progressive Era. This appellation has been assumed by many to have represented a monolithic liberal attack on the corruption of "big business" and the conditions of poverty. The historical study of progressivism reveals that there was no specific social/political issue or group of people who could be identified as descriptive of an exclusive progressivism (Rice, 1977; Weibe, 1995). The progressive movement consisted of numerous shifting coalitions around different issues with the specific nature of those coalitions varying from situation to situation (Filene, 1967). Rice (1977) comments that the characteristics of progressive and conservative political leaders were not appreciatively different. What might be taken as a common thread was the intent to approach social and community issues from the perspective of science, engineering and corporate management principles and technology. The belief in creating a more efficient and productive social machinery was a progressive theme. Reformers and muckrakers believed in the ability to create a better society through modern corporate management, organizational efficiency and creativity even as they deplored their consequences. Although looked at as dehumanizing by some social critics, the emerging culture of abundance was also viewed as an opportunity to find "solution[s] to fundamental human and social problems, a new world of fulfillment and even liberation" (Sussman, 1984, p. xxix).

American democracy was forged in the privileges of white land owners who saw themselves as individuals free of European class hierarchies. The popular elections open to white males had a leveling effect on class differences and created a sense of being united as The American People (Weibe, 1995). Reformers saw the growing power of industrial influence and socioeconomic inequity as destroying their notion of American democratic consciousness. Social critics called for a revival of American democ-

racy in the form of citizen participation in government. Phillip's Social Unit Plan expressed these early ideal goals. Yet, the concern for efficiency and effective management was translated into democracy expressed in the "role of the people . . . to elect good leaders but . . . the leaders and their subordinates should . . . then follow the general public interest unfettered by direct influences from the masses" (Chambers, 1992, p. 171). Paradoxically, the reform movement's push for efficiency and skilled management ultimately resulted in an abandonment of the lower-classes and the immigrants who were ill prepared to participate in the new engineered world of progress. Robert Weibe (1995) describes the consequence of progressive concern as not with "getting out the vote but getting things done [which resulted in a shift from] making governments more responsive to people's needs [to resulting in] making them less responsible to people's voices" (p. 165).

This shift was supported, in part, by the human devastation of World War I, which left many social critics and reformers disenchanted. Pell (1984) notes that they lost faith in the masses who were now viewed as "naive and even dangerous" (p. 11). In terms of the shift in the thoughts of social critics and progressive reformers, Phillips' faith in people to participate directly in democracy was fast becoming an anachronism. Meanwhile, the masses were changing how they viewed their lives and their futures.

The Changing Cultural Context of Daily Life and the Social Unit Plan

Looking at a society's culture is not meant to imply that culture exists as a specific normative condition equally experienced and lived by all during a period of time. The "culture" described here influenced everyone in contact with its many forms of expression but had no exact form for all. Differences in socioeconomic status and ethnicity provided just two of the innumerable variables affecting lived cultural contexts in this changing world out of which the Social Unit Plan emerged. The dominant culture reflected white, native born, male privileges and the following descriptions must be understood from that point of view.

The times of the progressive period saw the changing consciousness of persons as members of a growing mass culture which was creating a desire for material things. This was a shift in the expression of the Puritan metaphors, hard work, sacrifice,

self-denial, and self-sufficiency to the metaphors of self-expression through the corporate generated demand for goods, spending, buying, materialism and consumerism. What is suggested here is that the world was changing not only in its physicality but in its meaning and the way people lived and dreamed their lives. This was a period of transformation, one in which ideas and values are transformed and variations on cultural themes emerge and change in the consciousness of people. For example, the beliefs of the Puritan world were not replaced by the changes but were transformed in terms of understanding and expression yet maintaining an ethos of American democracy, individualism, and personal responsibility. The Social Unit Plan took place within the cultural context of this changing consciousness which impacted its reception as an alternative social structure.

As evidence of the changing cultural context of the times, Susman (1984) lists the appearance of such words in the vocabulary of the period as "plenty, play, leisure, recreation, self-fulfillment, dreams, pleasure, immediate gratification, personality, public relations, publicity, [and] celebrity" (p. xxiv). Words are indicators of how people are constructing meaning. They act as metaphorical constructs or the lens through which a "culture" interprets, understands and acts in the world (Lackoff and Johnson, 1980). These new words reflected the change in consciousness.

The start of the twentieth century saw a search for individuality in terms of self-fulfillment and self-expression in the form of success and achievement, and their symbolic material markers such as an automobile, clothing, radios, and private homes in suburbia. Freud had come to give a series of lectures at Clark University in 1909. By 1915, *Good Housekeeping* magazine was running a series of popularized versions of psychoanalysis (Heller & Rudnick, 1991). The "self-help" and "self-improvement" movements were of growing interest with enormous sales in books on the subject. Susman (1984) describes these changing experiences through emerging institutions such as "department stores ("places of plenty"), restaurants, hotels, [as well as] amusement parks, . . . planned suburbs and the new profession of interior decorating . . . the comics, [and the] moving pictures" (p. xxvi). The world was changing and the ideas of whom they, the citizens of Cincinnati, were and what was important in their lives was

swiftly changing too. Individualism was becoming a private affair of material success and pleasure. As noted above, this changing world view was most available in the growing white middle-class and skilled working class.

The Changing Face of Individualism

Pell suggests that it is the very notion of the importance of the "individual" that distinguishes this country from similar democracies but which have a history of collectivity. John Chambers (1992) describes the American perspective as "unlike their British counterparts, [in that Americans] tended to assume that the principles of individualism, competition, and governmental inefficiency were laws of God" (p. 6). Although there was never a time when American government did not engage in some form of support or promotion of the needs of business, the *ethos* was a belief in the "self-regulation" of the marketplace or non-interference with individual effort and achievement. Robert Weibe's (1995) cultural history of American democracy contends that beyond the notion of popular self-government, at the heart of the American belief in democracy is a belief in individual self-determination. The industrialization, urbanization, corporatism of American life resulted in individuals acquiring "what were in effect property rights over themselves . . . this personalized understanding of property made industriousness central to the meaning of modern individuals" (Weibe, 1995, p. 13). The American myth of "rags to riches" was a theme which ran deep in the American consciousness. It was expressed with many variations and accommodations as the context of life changed within American society.

Reform, Corporatism, Individualism and Democracy

With the rapid changes to mass production, advertisement, the creation of materialism and consumerism, and the development of larger corporations, the robber baron was replaced by oligopoly and management looking for expansion and control. It was this "corporate revolution" that spurred the battle against the trusts. As corporations combined and consolidated, their success threatened the very *ethos* of individualism which made this expansion possible. Smaller companies, merchants, craftsmen, businessmen and unions of the period joined in confronting what they

perceived as a threat to their own chances of individual success. Individualism represented a personal challenge in a new form. Frederick Turner had proclaimed the "West" closed and settled. The new opportunities for success lie in business and work. This was the new frontier for the "rugged individual." Unions did not strike to eliminate the wage labor market but to improve working conditions, wages, and protect skilled workers against immigrants within the economic system that was providing an increasing standard of living for its members.

Wage labor had increased and America was quickly becoming a "nation of employees" (Chambers, 1992). The American myth of "rags to riches" was an important incentive for the employee to "make it" in the corporate world as a part of management or as labor. Individualism was a state of mind, the belief that you are independent and "self-sufficient" by the "sweat of your own brow" and can obtain material things which signify this personal achievement. Corporate capitalism and consumerism had become the new "West" and it was by means of corporate capitalism that the individual could express "his" (this was a white male world) individual achievements.

This description does not purposefully hide the fact that 40% of the population of the United States lived in abject poverty. The muckrakers' stories and photography were brought into the homes of increasing numbers of middle and upper-class homes in part by means of the new consumerism and technological advances of corporate capitalism. But the resulting reforms were, for the most part, to protect the American beliefs of individualism and democracy expressed in terms of a changing meaning and context of American life. Importantly, those with political power could not see a world any different from this natural order expressed in the American rhetoric of individualism and democracy. The intentions of many involved in reform was to protect democracy and individual rights by means of the "scientific engineering" of the system to make it as efficient and productive as corporations. Despite muckraking and reform efforts, individualism and limited collectivity or government was sustained and transformed during the Progressive era. Democracy was understood to mean personal control of one's own life and limited control of the institutions of government or collectivity that

insure persons their individual rights. Barry Shain (1994) describes American individualism as a state of consciousness which is "suspicious of societal, congregational, local governmental, and possibly even familial intrusions into the private realm of the individual, and usually condemns communal oversight and restrictions as illegitimately invasive" (p. 87). Individualism transformed and conformed to the new mass culture and corporate politics. The American ethos evolved and transformed the manifestation of individuality and democracy and thus retained the belief in the rights of the "individual as against the collectivity" (Pell, 1968, p.6).

The progressive white middle-class and skilled labor of Cincinnati reflected this shift in consciousness to a realm of private lives. In contrast, the Social Unit Plan was founded on a belief in community and a utopian dream of the people working intimately in directing the civil and social structures effecting their lives. Thus, the Social Unit Plan was not only becoming an anachronism in terms of social critics and progressive thought but was becoming out of step with the swiftly changing consciousness of the people themselves.

The Demise of The Social Unit Experiment and the National Organization

At the height of the National Social Unit Organization's success, Franklin K. Lane, the Secretary of the Interior in President Woodrow Wilson's cabinet, was made honorary Executive of the national organization. On Wednesday, March 30, 1921, a brief article tucked into the financial section of the *New York Times* noted that an application had been made to the New York State Supreme Court for appointment of a receiver for the National Social Unit Organization. The complainant asserted that the National Organization owed him \$362.00. The Social Unit Plan experiment in the Mohawk-Brighton District of Cincinnati had closed its doors in November 1920. The National Organization went into receivership and the idea was abandoned as a movement.

In October 1919, Dr. Devine's report on the Social Unit Plan to the National Conference focused the community debate over the Social Unit Plan on a key issue. He noted that "the Social

Unit concept goes deeper than particular political institutions or reforms of government. It penetrates to the very heart of the social order and raises the challenge as to whether the people are or are not capable of deciding, with stimulated and socially controlled expert assistance, what their needs are and how they shall be met" (Devine, 1919, p. 7). Was the community willing to accept in fact that definition of democracy, the rhetorical definition used by ordinary citizens, orators and politicians? Edward Devine then put forth the central question by asking "if the social unit plan succeeds, to what does it logically lead?" and responded that it is, in other words, a potential substitute for existing government . . . not only for existing municipal departments and government, but also for voluntary social agencies . . . and the founders of the Social Unit have not denied this" (Devine, 1919, p. 8). It was this potential for fundamental change in American individualism and democracy that contributed to the disavowing of the project in Cincinnati and nationally. The Reverend J. Howard Melish, a national figure of the time and a member of the National Organization, acknowledged the fears of those opposing the experiment: "It is not that these men are villains, individually. Most of them are fine fellows. But they think [the] unit threatens the whole order for which they stand, the order that not only supports their personal interests, as they see them, but the order which most of them believe is best for everyone" (Phillips, 1940, p. 325). Wilbur Phillips posited the American consciousness of the time as he saw it in similar tones. He argued that to believe in democracy meant that one had to allow for participation of citizens in the organization and control of production and distribution of resources. Phillips saw no compromise, democracy and participation were the same. He characterized his opponents at the time as thinking: "I regret to say this, but I'm a practical man and don't believe you are going to change human nature. Men have always fought for all they can get—and always will. The idea of a cooperative—a democratic—society is a beautiful one, I'll admit. But it won't work. If anyone tries to put that over, I'll fight" (Phillips, 1940, p. 367).

Technically, the Social Unit experiment was disbanded because of lack of funding support from the city of Cincinnati. Although two independent commissions had found "a sincere

and active attempt . . . to introduce [democratic control]" with no evidence of "preaching of any political or economic program," the Council of Social Agencies had refused to jeopardize their fund raising by continuing to support the Social Unit project (Norton, 1919, p. 186). The Council of Social Agencies considered the fact that "the Cincinnati War Chest has been made possible by the gifts of all the people, many of whom at the present time would be unwilling to contribute to the Social Unit experiment," thus funding would end after completing their contractual agreements with the National Organization (Council of Social Agencies, 1919, p. 34).

Although it has been asserted by other authors that fear of Bolshevism or failure in community organizing efforts resulted in the Mohawk-Brighton experiment's demise, it must be remembered that both the demonstration project and the national organization vanished as a social movement at about the same time and as the progressive movement was ending (Shaffer, 1971; Betten, & Austin 1990). Even though the "Red Scare" and Attorney General Palmer's raids were taking place in 1919, the "purges" were disappearing by early 1920. From June of 1919, employment and prosperity were exceeding those during the war (Coben, 1972). By the time the Social Unit experiment and the National Organization were disbanded, those "proclaiming the need for one hundred percent Americanism [were speaking] to an audience which no longer urgently cared" (Coben, 1972, p. 157). What remained was the fundamental American consciousness that could not conceive of their own society in any other form. Both the consciousness of the growing middle class of Cincinnati and the nation were not compatible with the idea of true participatory democracy in the production and distribution of services at the grass roots level. What had brought about this swift end in progressive thought was, in part, a transformed consciousness of a nation and its people.

Arthur Link (1973) describes the contributing factor in the changing consciousness and the demise of the progressive movement as a "widespread, almost wholesale, defection from [progressivism and social concern's] ranks of the middle-classes" (p. 113). This new and expanding middle-class was both a sign and a signifier of the changing cultural order based upon corporate

capitalism and personal enhancement. Link (1973) described this new consciousness as a manifestation of a new:

"business civilization based not on monopoly and restriction but upon a whole new set of business values: mass production and consumption, short hours and high wages, full employment, welfare capitalism, and what was more important, virtually the entire country acknowledges that the nation's destiny was in good hands. It was little wonder, therefore, that the whole complex of groups constituting the middle classes . . . had little interest in rebellion or even mild reform proposals that seemed to imperil their leadership and control (p. 113).

Social welfare and the provision of human services are obviously complex undertakings and our understanding requires consideration of many confluences of power and resources. Yet, more fundamental than these influences, the very sense or consciousness of what needs to be done and what options are available circumscribes the possibilities available for deliberation. Parenti (1970) contends that a fundamental component of what constitutes power within a social context is "not to prevail in a struggle but to predetermine the agenda of the struggle—to determine whether certain questions ever reach the competition stage" (p. 502). In this light, the cultural values or meanings expressed within the American ethos of individualism, democracy, and corporate capitalism did constrain and inhibit the possibilities available to the influential citizens in determining Cincinnati's approach to social changes brought on by industrialization, science, technology, and urbanization. These physical changes and intellectual advances resulted in a redefinition of American democracy and its corollary, individualism that moved away from collective participation toward a modern, transformed version of individual achievement, expression, and responsibility.

Implications for Community Participation in Social Welfare

American society has evolved at its heart the ethos of free democratic-based citizenry as well as a belief in market capitalism. In a fundamental way the consequences of the juxtaposition of these basic ideas are an ongoing conflict of interests and values.

Fainstein and Fainstein (1993) have proposed that when the egalitarian values that are the foundation of our democratic ideals of citizen participation results in a push for "social protection from the inequalities generated by capitalist mechanisms and regulation of industries, they threaten to destroy the self-regulating markets at the core of capitalism," there is an inherent conflict in interest and values.

If the intent of participatory democracy or developing access to decision making to address the consequences of socioeconomic inequalities are the goals of community practitioners in human services, then the outlook is bleak for community practice theory and practice. If the examples of the Social Unit Plan and the history of community participation (mobilization for Youth, Community Action Councils of the War on Poverty, and Model Cities for example) in this country are any indicators, efforts at community participation in order to address human social service needs must take a serious look at the limitations imposed by the form of individualism and democracy within American market capitalism. The American consciousness is not one conducive to this utopian notion of a collectivity of citizens actively engaged in the running of their institutions.

These limitations are particularly significant when considering the professional community practitioner who advocates for community participation as the solution to redress the present inequitable distribution of economic resources and participation in political decision making (Weil, 1994; Faulkner, Roberts-DeGennaro & Weil, 1994; Rivera & Erlich, 1992; Reisch & Wenocur, 1986). Reisch and Wenocur (1986) proposed that one means for obtaining democratization would be through the development of "neighborhood governments to foster greater participation in decision making . . . [and] the formation of community cooperatives in the area of energy, housing, and food distribution" (p. 87). Although small efforts at instituting "democratic" neighborhood participation may have local success stories to tell, it is unlikely that any serious threat to existing economic or political power distribution will ever come from these efforts.

There are several reasons that would account for the improbability of success in democratization. First, most individuals within American communities share a common cultural heritage

imbued in the American ethos and are thus of a consciousness that works against cooperative efforts and centralized authority. Unless a particular issue is viewed as an immediate threat to their economic or esthetic interest [such as NIMBY grass roots efforts], establishing an ongoing participatory effort is extremely difficult at best. Second, if the power structure perceives that resistance to proposals is high, they usually institute a participatory mechanism giving the appearance of input or minimal input from community members into the final structure of an already conceived and developed proposal. Acceptable accommodations might then be added to the basic proposal to appease opposition. In a study of organized citizen participation in Dayton, Ohio, McNamee and Swisher (1985) found no significant democratic challenge to the existing power structure and its politics. Their findings suggest that as the citizen groups were accommodated and institutionalized into a participatory body they became less effective in determining fundamental and long term policy for their community. Citizens themselves came to recognize that they lacked any long term influence and participation dropped off dramatically. Third, privatization of services is a serious threat to community participation. For example, in health care the rapid movement to for-profit, corporate ownership of hospitals, health maintenance organizations, and insurance coverage has resulted in a distancing accountability between consumers of services and the remote (literally, in a physical sense in most cases) corporate offices and investors who are interested in profits. Services are viewed as a commodities and consumers are not seen as participants in determining health care policy. In this growing set of circumstances, community participation or democratization, as called for by community practitioners, is not remotely possible. There are powerful American values concerning individualism and democracy being played out on an individual and corporate level constricting collective consumer participation in policy formulation and operation of services.

The Social Unit Plan is an ideal model for the development of "neighborhood government" and democratization of the oppressed. It was a conservative effort in which users and providers joined together and cooperated in the provision of services. It successfully incorporated participatory principles into providing

increased health care services to nearly 15,000 people. Yet, it could not be sustained in the atmosphere of the American consciousness. It did not fail for lack of organizational efforts, structure, and powerful supporters. It failed because it represented a threat to basic cultural beliefs (even though myths) about individual freedom and the chance to "make it." Present efforts to gain access to the decision making power for community members will face the same American values but expressed in present day ideological language—big government, liberalism, work-ethic, family values, and the American way. A significant effort to organize the disenfranchised into truly democratic cooperative structure cannot be considered as a possible alternative in today's world. Community practitioners calling for "neighborhood governments" or democratic participation in order to make fundamental, long term changes must recognize these limitations. Otherwise, they are failing to recognize the deep context of meanings that make up the fabric of the American culture and its impact on how people organize their lives. Importantly, they are perpetuating a myth of participation with their constituents. Given the context of community practice in America, practitioners, planners, and administrators must either address the ethos directly in a social movement or acknowledge the limitations and learn to work within the potential accommodations that can be gained through community action and organization.

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African-American Facilities for Dependent and Delinquent Children in Chicago, 1900 to 1920: The Louise Juvenile School and the Amanda Smith School

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This article examines two "homes" and later industrial schools founded in the Chicago area for African-American dependent and delinquent children during the Progressive Era: the Louise Juvenile Home and Industrial School; and the Amanda Smith Industrial Home and School. The juvenile court's inception and expansion, especially through the Chicago Woman's Club, as well as African-American club women and probation officers, is first described. The African-American women's activism in fighting segregation and in fund-raising for the schools is especially highlighted. Nonetheless, both schools' success, as well as eventual demise, were due largely to their economic dependence upon the juvenile court.

The first American juvenile court system was created in Chicago in 1899 to remedy a host of social ills, including the rise in juvenile delinquency, "neglectful" and "undesirable" home conditions, and "improper" parental care (Bremner, 1974, pp. 506-511). In actuality, however, the court created a bureaucratic machinery replete with scientific and legal classifications, categories, case studies, surveys, and dispositions. Of particular significance to this article is the examination of the court's differential treatment of African-American youth and children in terms of classifications, court deliberations and dispositions, and facilities. Not only were African-American children more often classified as delinquent rather than dependent, despite the children's age, and nature and number of offenses; they were also sent to segregated industrial schools which received little state funding or administrative support.

This article discusses two industrial schools to which African-American children from Chicago were sent in the early 20th century: the Louise Juvenile Industrial School, established by Elizabeth McDonald, an African-American rescue worker and volunteer probation officer; and the Amanda Smith Industrial School, founded by missionary and temperance speaker, Amanda Smith, in Harvey, Illinois. Because of the prominence of white club women in the articulation of the court system, I begin with an examination of their influence as progressive maternalists. Their ideologies and activism differed greatly from African-American women, who subscribed to Du Bois's talented tenth leadership, a deep-seated Christianity, and their culturally veritable roles as "other mothers" (Collins, 1991) and community caretakers.

"The Path of Rectitude":

Progressive Maternalism and the Chicago Juvenile Court

Social welfare and feminist scholars have corroborated the prominence of a middle-class, white maternalistic rather than paternalistic influence in the juvenile court system (Abramovitz, 1988; Boris, 1991; Ladd-Taylor, 1994; Platt, 1969; Schlossman, 1977; Skocpol, 1992; Youcha, 1995). The roots of this maternal influence ran deep in the Cook County Juvenile Court, beginning with the Chicago Woman's Club's advocacy of the first juvenile law and court in 1899 (Bowen, 1925). Indeed, the very language of the first juvenile law intimated such an influence, as the words "neglected," "disreputable," "depravity," and "unfit" carried freighted images, interpretations, and recommendations largely culled from middle-class maternalistic ideologies. As Eileen Boris (1991) has astutely assessed, the very language and ideas which female reformers used to guide them in their activism was that which concurrently promulgated women's subordinate economic and social positions. Molly Ladd-Taylor (1994), in her analysis of "progressive maternalism," has likewise examined the ways in which white middle-class women's concepts of motherhood reinstated women's traditional roles. Essentially, the juvenile court reinscribed women's "dependent" status economically, politically, and socially. For poor African-American women and children, the consequences were especially dire.

The conditions of crowded and dilapidated tenements, unsanitary living conditions, and poverty in Chicago's Black Belt were those which court officials thought especially "neglectful," "unfit," and even "immoral." Such conditions were certainly not conducive to what they deemed "proper" home life. Notwithstanding, child welfare reformers argued that keeping home life intact was of utmost importance in preventing delinquency and truancy. The nagging question before the court was whether poverty itself constituted "neglect"; if so, many children, especially African-American and immigrant, would be removed from their homes. Social reformers sympathized with their impoverished conditions, arguing that reform should encompass *family* life, not atomize it (*Proceedings of the Conference on the Care of Dependent Children*, 1909). Despite this cloaking of reform in terms of the collective "family," the intervention of probation officers, as well as the creation of mothers' pensions, pointed to ways in which motherhood was carved into middle-class prescriptive, and thus, restrictive roles through the juvenile courts and the welfare laws. For example, inscribed within the restrictions for mothers' pensions were the criteria of morality, economic dependency, and citizenship (Abbott & Breckinridge, 1972; Bogue, 1928; Goodwin, 1992; Gordon, 1994; Leff, 1973). One unwritten restriction was race: court records in Chicago, as well as nationally, indicated that African-American women and their children received few mothers' pensions. Crawley (1927) noted that as of 1920, mothers' pensions were granted to twenty-four African-Americans out of the five hundred and seventy-three applications in Chicago.

Thus, African-American women—as club members, juvenile court officers, and founders of homes—faced not only immense challenges but contradictions. This held particularly true for African-American probation officers. For one, they had to deliberate on home conditions in communities where the city government had not yet provided any infrastructure through laws nor inspection agencies. As of 1905, the city of Chicago had no tenement house department; instead, the inspection of tenements rested with the Building Department and the Department of Health. Additionally, a chief sanitary inspector had not been legally appointed (Wald, 1905). Paradoxically, then, even though there were few mechanisms in place to inspect the unsanitary con-

ditions of tenements, garbage disposal, and vacant lots, parents were held accountable for "neglectful" conditions within their own homes.

Secondly, African-American and other women received little training or remuneration for the efforts as probation officers. In the early years of the juvenile court, there were sporadic and unsystematic efforts at "standardizing" the education of probation work. Curiously, this allowed women further influence in their clients' homes and was consistent with most ideologies which considered women morally superior in domestic and household affairs. Although their visits were termed "inspections," replete with case study reports and evaluations, the probation officer was encouraged to form personal relationships with the family: to be a friend, a confidant, a teacher, and even a member of the family. Female probation officers performed a multitude of roles and duties, ranging from instruction in child care and household chores to visiting children's schools and canvassing the neighborhood for unwholesome past-times (Abbott & Breckinridge, 1917; Schlossman, 1977). As Eli Zaretsky (1982) has epigrammatically noted: "The form in which the welfare state expanded was public, the content private" (pp. 14-15). This "private" instruction, under the moral guardianship of probation officers, dovetailed conveniently with volunteerism, as early court officials argued that salaries would lead to political corruption.

The third constraint faced by African-American women concerned the placement of dependent and delinquent children. Despite the fact that probation officers in many cases intimately knew the conditions of family life, they served only in an advisory capacity to the juvenile court judge who made the final decision. Although court deliberations were not recorded, it is likely that probation officers exerted *some* influence, particularly as they were matched as "cultural brokers" to the families, based on their similarity in race, ethnicity, religion, and first language (Lou, 1927). Nonetheless, there were few facilities in which African-American children could be placed. Crawley (1927) noted that as of 1926 there were only three African-American facilities which accepted dependent children; as such, African-American delinquent children were sent to state institutions or returned home under the supervision of probation officers. This situation was

complicated by the often interchangeable classifications of "dependent" and "delinquent" for African-American children so that they could be accommodated at segregated facilities.

Despite much evidence of the progressive maternalists' influence, we know little about the specific contexts of the probation officers' home visits and interactions. How, for example, did the women mediate, interpret, and make recommendations concerning family conditions and court laws? Conversely, how did their court work influence their ideologies and community uplift practices? The ideologies and activities of African-American club women, many of whom were appointed probation and truant officers, provide some contexts. Most African-American female activists spoke of "doing Christianity," evident in their missionary, rescue and social uplift work. This was congruent with Du Bois's model of leadership, which demanded that the African-American middle-class reach down and assist those less fortunate. African-American club women and probation officers also reenacted traditional community roles as "other mothers" or "fictive kin." In the establishing of "other homes"—be they orphanages, industrial schools or homes for working girls—the African-American women extended their caregiving and moral guardianship (Knupfer, 1996).

Such a community ethos was demonstrated in the multiple strategies the club women employed for child welfare issues, including creating mothers' clubs, forming committees to canvass the streets, inspecting tenement conditions, and writing newspaper articles to highlight the need for playground and recreational facilities. To alleviate delinquency, they organized and chaperoned youth clubs, dances, lyceums, and picnics, thus luring adolescents away from neighborhood saloons, dance halls, and pool rooms. Although the club women spoke of "rescuing" and "protecting" young women in language not unlike the YWCA and other child-saving agencies, they also confronted the economic and social ills facing many parents. Accordingly, they established day nurseries for working mothers, family health care facilities, industrial education and night classes, and homes for dependent and orphaned children, as well as for young working girls.

Underneath the concern of African-American girls' protection were the tensions and implications of sexual misbehavior.

This was not unique to African-American girls, as immorality and incorrigibility were the two primary causes for all young girls' delinquency in Chicago. However, the historical and persistent sexual violation of African-American women made the issue of morality an especially troubling one. Hine (1989) has unfolded the argument that many southern African-American women migrated to the North to escape the sexual aggression of men. However, many young women were prey to the very same mistreatment in the North. Most young migrants from the Chicago train station were directed to the Black Belt for lodging, where they roamed past brightly-lit saloons, cabarets, and pool halls in search of lodging. As men were often given preference over women as lodgers, in part because they were perceived as less demanding, many young women were left without accommodations (Grossman, 1989).

African-American women were alarmed at such vulnerabilities. Club leader, Elizabeth Lindsay Davis warned of how "many of [these] girls were going astray by being led unawares into disreputable homes, entertainment and employment. . . ." (Meyerowitz, p. 54). Much press coverage was devoted to "disorderly" and "good time" houses, as well as young women's indecent apparel and dance steps (*Broad Ax*, Sept. 18, 1909; *Chicago Defender*, July 13, 1918). What remained unacknowledged, at least publicly, by both white and African-American club women, was the possibility that young women might prefer such life styles. As Meyerowitz' study (1988) of "women adrift" in Chicago documents, many young women favored their own independence, evident in their choices of living quarters, friendships, and entertainment. What has emerged from her study is an underside of young women's lives, revealing increased independence, sexual curiosity, and frequenting of public dance halls, cabarets, and movie theatres. Such independence ran contrary to the Young Women's Christian Association, the church-sponsored homes, and the Chicago juvenile court.

Suffice it to say that African-American club women and probation officers were acutely aware that their children and youth were particularly at risk. As the following sections on the Louise Juvenile Home and the Amanda Smith Home indicate, discrimination for African-American children and youth was double-

edged. On the front end, many lived in impoverished neighborhoods, making them more vulnerable to the judgment of "neglected." On the back end, many were placed in segregated institutions with inadequate resources and funding.

The Louise Juvenile Home and Industrial School

Even before Elizabeth McDonald founded the Louise Juvenile Home, she was deeply involved in rescue work, having been "anointed" by God to "go into the highways and hedges and compel men and women to come in" (*Broad Ax*, Nov. 14, 1903). While there were no records of her rescue work prior to 1903, it was likely that her volunteer work as a probation officer to the juvenile court after 1899 gave her further access to dependent children and their families. The first annual report of the Cook County Juvenile Court in 1900, in its enumeration of probation officers, noted six probation officers paid from private sources, in particular the Chicago Woman's Club, as well as "one colored woman who devotes her entire time to the work, free of charge, and whose services are invaluable to the court as she takes charge of all colored children" (Lubove, 1965, p. 140). There is little doubt but that the "one colored woman" was Elizabeth McDonald. Indeed, McDonald epitomized what a later annual report considered essential for successful probation work: "the spirit of a missionary" (*Cook County Juvenile Court Report*, 1906, p. 4).

Such a missionary spirit was evident in her 1903 report submitted to the *Broad Ax*, in which she rendered a brief sketch of her life and her recent work. Therein, she described her rescue of eighteen persons from "shameful lives" (*Broad Ax*, Nov. 14, 1903.) Similarly, although her recorded activities as probation officer included removing children and mothers from "disreputable homes to less "criminal surroundings," she also spoke of her efforts to deter young girls from frequenting the "dens" and "traps" of the Black Belt (*Broad Ax*, Nov. 14, 1903). Although McDonald occasionally attempted to divide her "official" duties as probation officer from those of rescue worker, both were often informed by her deeply-felt religious beliefs. In the case of one home visitation, she found the family not only in abject poverty

but the parents subject to much drinking. Upon discovering that the parents had "wandered" from their faith, she urged them to attend church, as well as to "leave off strong drink." Her efforts were successful: not only were the children baptized, but the family returned to church (*Broad Ax*, Nov. 14, 1903). In another case, a young girl was removed from a "house of immorality" and sent to an industrial school. Shortly thereafter, the house was torn down so that other young girls would not fall prey to such temptations (*Broad Ax*, Nov. 14, 1903).

In reference to her probation work, McDonald stated that she did not receive "one cent of salary" (*Broad Ax*, Nov. 14, 1903). This was in accordance with the earlier juvenile court law which stipulated that the court could appoint "discreet persons of good character" as probation officer but that they would receive "no compensation from the public treasury" (Bremner, 1974, pp. 506–511). However, McDonald did receive in-kind donations and financial assistance from women's club and private donors. When funding for poor families was inadequate, she decided to take the examination necessary to procure a salary as a probation officer. Although McDonald did not pass the examination, due in her account to her lack of formal schooling, she nonetheless continued to draw young girls away from the saloons and cabarets, to visit inmates in the jails and asylums, and in one case, convinced a young couple to marry before the Juvenile Court (*Broad Ax*, Nov. 14, 1903).

In 1907, the Louise Juvenile Home officially opened in Chicago. McDonald's private home had always been open "to receive the suffering of any nationality" and she continued this non-discriminatory policy. Located west of Morgan and Hyde Park, in a ward where the population was no more than 20 percent African-American, the home provided care for fifty-six white and African-American children and two mothers. Two non-salaried staff members, McDonald herself and Elizabeth Scott, a student of Walden University, taught the children industrial education, mostly of washing, ironing, cooking, sewing, and needlework (Crawley, 1927; Du Bois, 1909; Jackson, 1978).

The home's first anniversary in 1908 highlighted its accomplishments, especially the purchase of an eleven-room house, whose upper level rental provided revenue for the home. Al-

though most of the funding was to have originated from charitable organizations, McDonald admitted that she "had failed absolutely along that line" (Du Bois, 1909, p. 81). McDonald's deep involvement in rescue work must have certainly consumed much of her time, time which might have been spent on fund-raising. However, McDonald argued that there would not have been as many jail and penitentiary inmates to rescue if she had been able to reach them as younger children through home visitations, preaching and prayers. Like Du Bois, she insisted that rescue work was "greatly needed" (1909, p. 61). The 1909 annual report continued to detail the number of religious conversions and prayer meetings alongside her home efforts: "49 conversions, 250 home visits that included prayer meetings. 40 visits to the jail, paroled 3 prisoners. Cared for 89 children and 1 mother. Got employment for 7 persons" (*Broad Ax*, Dec. 25, 1909).

By 1913, the debt had grown to over fourteen hundred dollars, despite the increase in individual donations, obviously too small to be of much significance (*Broad Ax*, Dec. 30, 1911; *Broad Ax*, Jan. 4, 1913). Relying upon her affiliation with the juvenile court system, McDonald found a solution. In July of 1913, through the home's incorporation, the Louise Training School for Colored Boys was founded to "provide home and proper training for such boys as may be committed to its charge" (*Broad Ax*, July 26, 1913). The school officers consisted of legal and court representatives, and the board of trustees included jailers and probations officers, as well as African-American female and male leaders.

Thereafter, the reports were no longer signed by McDonald as "Yours in His name," but as Superintendent. The previous annual reports of prayers and conversions were replaced with descriptions of anniversary celebrations, where state inspections were followed by military drills, choir singing, plantation songs, and uplifting talks (*Broad Ax*, Oct. 4, 1914). Boys aged five through twelve were taught vocational skills such as shoemaking, fixing window screens, and other handiwork (*Chicago Defender*, Sept. 20, 1913; *Broad Ax*, Oct. 4, 1914). The curriculum paralleled that offered at John Worthy School, the Juvenile Detention Home, and other homes for dependent and delinquent boys. The Juvenile Detention Home's course of study steadfastly directed the boys' future as industrial workers, as well as helped them "readjust

mentally and morally," through wood work, basket making, and folksong and patriotic singing (*CCJC Annual Reports*, 1912 & 1919). However, such training for African-Americans boys was considered by many court personnel to be futile, given the youth's lack of opportunity and discrimination in employment. Bowen (1913), in fact, had concluded that these problems were the major causes of delinquency among African-American boys.

Unlike the Juvenile Detention Home which strictly separated children according to the classification of dependent and delinquent, the Louise Juvenile Industrial School took in both dependent and delinquent African-American boys. In the case of delinquents, however, the juvenile court most often sent first-time offenders to homes and industrial schools; second- and third-time offenders were sent to the John Worthy School (*CCJC Annual Reports*, 1918 & 1919). Concurrent with the incorporation was increased financial support from Cook County, as the "Training School for Boys" Act stipulated a payment of ten dollars per dependent boy committed to training schools. The African-American community, too, lent its support, especially the women's clubs.

There were few newspaper accounts of the School from 1915 until 1920, when it officially closed. McDonald's dream of moving the school to a farm was partially met in 1917, when the school relocated to a thirty-acre plot adjacent to the Glenwood Manual Training School, twenty-five miles outside of Chicago. Since the superintendent of Glenwood was also the treasurer for the Louise Juvenile School and both were schools for dependent boys sent from the Juvenile Court, the schools became administratively joined, at least for the next three years. According to the Cook County Juvenile Court's annual reports, the number of boys sent to the Louise Manual Training School during this time fluctuated from two in 1918 to ten in 1919. When the school closed in 1920, the children were either sent to Glenwood, to relatives, back to the juvenile court, or to the Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society. Elizabeth McDonald and her husband moved to California, where she continued her social welfare work (Crawley, 1927).

The Amanda Smith Home and Industrial School

Amanda Smith, was considered one of the "Race's foremost evangelist who spent [her] life and fortune in temperance, religion

and charitable work. . . ." (*Chicago Defender*, Mar. 6, 1915). Born in 1837, Smith along with seven of her siblings were slaves. In time, her father not only bought her freedom but his other children's (Brown, 1926; Majors, 1893; Smith, 1893). Although Amanda had little schooling, she became an evangelist in the Methodist Episcopal Church, participating in religious and temperance conferences in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Upon a later return to England, after many years of missionary work in India and Africa, she heard a voice asking her what she had done for her own people back in America. The vision of an industrial home for children appeared before her, the beginning of the Amanda Smith Home for Colored and Dependent Children (Brown, 1926).

Smith purchased property in Harvey, Illinois, a temperance town outside of Chicago. However, it was not until 1899 that the orphanage home was opened with five children and with funds of 288 dollars. One year later, enrollment increased by sixteen children, fourteen of whom were school-aged; by 1903, thirty children resided at the home. The growing number indicated the home's connection to the juvenile court, even though no financial support from the county was forthcoming (McClellan & Bartlett, 1994). Similar to McDonald, Smith was compelled to spend much of her time fund-raising through her evangelistic and temperance engagements. Consequently, the Amanda Smith Home, like the Louise Juvenile Home, faced a rising debt. Although inspectors found the home to be "inadequate" according to state standards, as it was deemed the only substantial facility for African-American children in the state, it was not closed (Spear, 1967).

Such official inspections, however, conflicted with opinion from the African-American community, as members of one women's club reported "the cleanliness and sanitation was without flaw or blemish, the garden work was first class . . . peas, beans, tomatoes, cabbage, potatoes, all the lettuce and radishes were served from the garden" (*Broad Ax*, June 29, 1914). The club women also surveyed the chicken yard, and samples of clotheslines, neck halters and other rope-making products made by the children. Clearly, though, the Chicago communities were cognizant of the home's need for financial assistance as Smith had placed a plea in the *Chicago Defender* to help raise at least one thousand dollars for fuel, lumber, hardware, groceries, and

plumbing. The home continued to rely upon community support, as well as a financial windfall from an English friend. Despite this financial grace, little did Smith know that as early as 1910 the activities of the West Side Woman's Club would change the future of the Amanda Smith Home. At an October meeting of the West Side Woman's Club, over one hundred club women and social reformers convened, many of whom were affiliated with facilities for young working girls and dependents. This meeting provided the impetus for the opening of a three-story home for girls ages four through fourteen. The home, however, was short-lived, as in 1913 it merged with the Amanda Smith Home (*Chicago Defender*, Oct. 8, 1910; *Chicago Defender*, May 25, 1912).

The West Side Woman's Club was only one catalyst, though, in this change. Because of racial segregation, many institutions created for dependent children did not admit African-American children. As the African-American community interpreted the situation, many young dependent girls were designated as "delinquents" and sent to a state school. According to one newspaper account, due to discriminatory practices, "it became necessary at times to send dependent girls to the State School for delinquent girls, when they should have had the care and training of dependent girls" (*Broad Ax*, Aug. 17, 1913). This perception, though, was not entirely accurate. Although there was a county-funded school for African-American girls, the Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls, it was established for dependent, not delinquent, girls. Juvenile court records from 1912 through 1918 indicated that African-American dependent girls appearing before the court for the first time were sent to the Amanda Smith Industrial School; those dependents who returned to the court two or more times were sent to the Illinois Technical School (*CCJC Annual Reports*, 1906, 1912, 1915, 1917).

The Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls received further criticism from the African-American community because it was maintained under the auspices of the Catholic Church (Bowen, 1913). They argued that not only was the color line drawn but that no respect was given to Protestant girls' religious affiliation. One editorial stated the African-American community's feelings most succinctly:

our people insist that if our girls are to be "jim crowed" at all we prefer to have them sent to an institution organized, maintained and controlled by our people, who are directly interested in the welfare of these unfortunates. If we must be segregated, we want to segregate ourselves; we do not want to be "jim crowed" by white people and then pay them for doing it (*Broad Ax*, Aug. 17, 1913).

The situation was resolved in August of 1913 through the joint efforts of African-American and white club women, juvenile court representatives, and other "Race" leaders. In the decision to transform the home into an industrial school for dependent African-American girls, African-American club women and auxiliaries pledged to "make the school a success" through their support. Consistent with an industrial emphasis, the Amanda Smith Industrial School for Girls fittingly opened on Labor Day. As with the Louise Juvenile Industrial School, the Amanda School received county funding; the law stipulated that each dependent girl attending an industrial school receive fifteen dollars (*CCJC Annual Reports*, 1918 & 1919). Shortly thereafter, members of the West Side Women's Club inspected the school and promised to assist. They promptly set up stations in Chicago where toys, candies, and clothing were collected for the girls' Christmas presents. A new sewing machine and a bolt of gingham was donated; clubs pooled their resources to finance a coal fund. The women also encouraged community members to visit the girls not only to provide them with company but to encourage future donations (*Chicago Defender*, Dec. 20, 1913; *Chicago Defender*, Apr. 22, 1916; *Chicago Defender*, Nov. 18, 1916; *Broad Ax*, Feb. 15, 1913; *Broad Ax*, Jan. 26, 1917).

Although Amanda Smith had been "relieved" of her administrative responsibilities in 1911, due to ill health, she continued to be active and greatly respected by the African-American community. When she passed away in 1915, the African-American newspapers recounted her missionary and temperance work, as well as her work at the home and school. Although she was occasionally criticized by community members for accepting financial support from white philanthropists, Amanda Smith had not wavered in her determination to keep the home and school open. Even after her death, the school remained opened for several years. As of 1917, thirty-eight girls, ranging from four to seventeen years of

age, attended the school. Tragically, in 1918, the Amanda Smith Industrial School burned to the ground and two children lost their lives. Some attributed the fire to faulty wiring, which the state inspector had "overlooked." According to Sophonisba Breckinridge, the state was implicated not only in the persistence of segregated facilities but in the deaths of the two children (Gittens, 1994).

Conclusion

This article has examined two schools established for African-American dependent and delinquent children in the Chicago vicinity. Paradoxically, both schools' success, as well as eventual demise, were due to their relations with Chicago's juvenile courts. Although the county and state provided stipends per number of children to the schools, it also condoned segregated facilities which were inferior in structure and maintenance. Despite Amanda Smith's and Elizabeth McDonald's unwavering commitment to the schools, as well as multitudinous contributions from the African-American women's clubs, both schools did not survive into the 1920s. By 1917, a chapter of the Urban League was established in Chicago; as an umbrella organization, it subsumed many of the child welfare activities which had typically been perceived and performed as "women's work."

This is not to suggest that African-American women did not continue to work with the courts. Quite the contrary, the numbers of African-American female probation officers, lawyers, and social workers working with the courts increased during the 1920's. However, as there were few facilities available for dependent and delinquent children, more families began to take in children through the coordination of the African-American branch of the Illinois Children's Aid Society. Despite such coordinated efforts, delinquency rates increased as the poverty and housing conditions in Chicago's Black Belt worsened. African-American children continued to be "delinquenced" through poverty, inferior housing conditions, and segregated facilities.

Even today, in Chicago, these dilemmas persist. The once middle-class African-American communities of Woodlawn, Englewood, and Morgan Park are largely segregated and known now for their rival gangs and dilapidated public housing. Several child welfare cases in Chicago have received national notoriety,

such as the "Keystone" children and the 11-year-old boy who dropped a youngster from the eleventh floor of public housing. Similar to the 1909 conference on dependent children, the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services still grapples with distinguishing between "neglect" and poverty, even though a newly-created policy not only supposedly spells out these differences but provides caseworkers with cash to assist families in need (*Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 24, 1995).

Yet alongside the daily trials of poverty, violence, and inadequate social facilities exists a strong female community activism, not unlike that expressed by Amanda Smith and Elizabeth McDonald. In Chicago's public housing, women such as Cabrini-Green's Hattie Calvin and Washington Park's Artensa Randolph speak out on behalf of children's and mother's welfare. As presidents of their local housing councils, these women are not paid employees but volunteers (*Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 13, 1995; Dec. 19, 1994). In a spirit hauntingly similar to Smith and McDonald, Bethune teacher Corla Hawkins, known as "Mama Hawk," takes in homeless and troubled children, providing them with food, care, and respite. She hopes to establish a residential school for up to two hundred poor children on Chicago's West Side and has been given preliminary approval by district officials (*Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 8, 1995).

Functioning as "other mothers," these women continue the African-American female traditions of caring and extended family out in the community. As Cheryl Gilkes (1983) has extensively documented, the activism of many African-American women today rests on these historical issues of child welfare. Through such activities African-American women continue the legacy of cultural bearers, as well as ensure the survival of less fortunate community members (Radford-Hill, 1986). Unlike white progressive maternalists who advocated for poor women through the lense of their middle class lives, the African-American women described herein have spoken from a different type of collective, one based on common ground and experiences.

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The Legacy of McCarthyism on Social Group Work: An Historical Analysis

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This paper explores the impact of McCarthyism on the ideology, education, practice, and public image of group work. The authors argue that the witchhunts that occurred during the period and its climate of widespread fear purges and political conservatism diminished the gains the social work profession had made in the 1930s and 1940s through its participation in progressive activities and left the profession, particularly social group work ill-prepared for the issues and activism of the 1960s and 1970s.

Introduction

This paper explores the impact of McCarthyism on the ideology, education, practice, and public image of group work. It utilizes primary sources of the period under study, including oral histories, archival collections, and printed matter such as social work, journals and proceedings of social work conferences. The authors argue that the witchhunts that occurred during the McCarthy period and its climate of widespread fear, purges and political conservatism diminished the gains the social work profession had made in the 1930s and 1940s through its participation in progressive activities and left the profession, particularly social group work ill-prepared for the issues and activism of the 1960s and 1970s.

Despite the fact that Joseph McCarthy was active for only a brief period of time approximately 1947 to 1954, his name has

come to represent a longer period of U.S. history, roughly 1945 to 1960. For the purpose of this study, the term McCarthyism embraces the oppressive activities that span those fifteen years.

This study is significant because, as current political developments portend all too frequently, remnants of the past can reappear in new and more insidious forms. Many of the issues prevalent in the 1940s and 1950s, such as academic freedom, advocacy for the poor and oppressed, and support for politically unpopular positions (such as abortion rights and affirmative action today), continue to challenge social work. Because social workers today are frequently struggling against political and cultural mindsets that are fundamentally anti-social work in their orientation, the story of McCarthyism must be told to remind us that such persecutions could happen again.

The Place of Group Work Within Social Work Prior to McCarthyism

The roots of McCarthyism can be traced to political developments of the 1930s which both directly and indirectly involved social workers, particularly those within the group work field. A major development was the enormous expansion of the federal government to regulate the economy and establish a network of publicly-funded social services. For this to occur, it required the political cooperation of communists, socialists and their allies with all agencies of social reform

After the death of Roosevelt and the breakdown of wartime and depression-era alliances, the longstanding hostility of conservatives to the New Deal was fueled by the atmosphere of the Cold War. In this climate, those who sought to roll back the New Deal "were not always scrupulously careful to distinguish between liberals and communists . . . and seemed to say that subversives and social reformers were the same thing" (Latham, 1965, p. v). Since group workers had played such an active role in both the radical and reform elements of the New Deal coalition, they were particularly vulnerable to this type of attack.

Consequently, social group work, with its focus on humanism, equality, democracy, and social action was particularly affected by McCarthyism. With roots in the fields of recreation education

(informal and progressive) and social work, group work had long focused on such concepts as building relationships, mutuality, understanding others, and tolerance of diversity (Northen, 1994). Group workers organized in 1936 as the National Association for the Study of Group Work which became the American Association for the Study of Group Work in 1939, and, in 1946, the American Association of Group Workers. The organization cut across all agency, religious, racial, and occupational lines. AAGW focused specifically on advancing the principles of democracy, a focus out-of-favor with many conservative elements at the time.

In the 1930s and 1940s, these philosophical underpinnings were strengthened by the influence of Jewish refugees from Nazi persecution, such as Gisela Konopka and Hans Falck, who held strong humanistic beliefs in the rights of group members and a passion for democratic participation. Many of these seemingly moderate stances became politically suspect during the oppression of the McCarthy era. This led to a retreat from reform by many practitioners and educators who feared being labeled Communists or Communist sympathizers.

As strong advocates of civil liberties, social group workers were easy targets for political demagogues and their allies who equated the promotion of First Amendment principles with questionable allegiance to the state. In the October 1948 issue of *Social Work Journal*, the AASW listed among "Civil Rights in Social Work"

the right to hold and express opinions and to act in accordance with their beliefs . . . the right of association and membership in any organization . . . to solicit funds for any purpose, *except as prohibited by law,** [And] the right to advocate support or oppose legislation, to engage in political activity to publicly criticize agency policy, to join a union [and to engage in] boycotts or strikes (pp. 150–151).

Within the social work field, the risk of a McCarthy-like attack on civil liberties was perceived nearly a decade before the Senator's election. As early as 1938, Solomon Lowenstein declared to a social work audience,

*Emphasis added.

One cannot fail to be concerned st the serious efforts being manifested in parts of our country to prevent the constitutional guarantees of freedom of assembly . . . in the last presidential election various attempts were successfully made to prevent the appearance of candidates of the Socialist and Communist parties (Lowenstein, 1938. p. 5).

Nearly a decade later, in a climate of growing political repression Arlien Johnson proclaimed at the 1947 meeting of the NCSW that social workers must make the facts known regarding injustices and that social work is best served by keeping its integrity. She insisted that for the profession "To seek popularity is to deny its birthright" (1947, p. 17). Such comments however, created a great risk of being labeled subversive.

In the period between the New Deal and Korean War, social work experienced dramatic shifts in ideology and practice as it struggled to survive in a rapidly changing environment in which the provision of social welfare shifted from an emphasis on private charity to the increasing domination of the public sector in the funding and provision of social services. During these years, many social workers also fought to build the labor movement and argued for public provisions to protect workers (Dykema, 1978). The Rank and File movement of the 1930s, for example, attempted to respond to the changing environment by stressing social work's original focus on working with the poor and oppressed. It reflected the emergence of trade unionism, the rapid increase in the number of new public sector relief workers, and the return of social work to some of its ideals of the Progressive Era (Fisher, 1936). Many social workers active in this movement later suffered the fallout of McCarthyism.

Through its journal, *Social Work Today*, the Rank and File movement presented a left-perspective on social work and social welfare and warned of the growing threat of fascism at home and abroad. As the war effort increased, trade unions suffered defeats and the members of the Rank and File movement were increasingly redbaited, the movement declined and disappeared by the early 1940s (Fisher, 1980).

During the post-War era, group workers and caseworkers continued to struggle to find common ground and a more open acceptance of each other, a struggle which had begun in the 1930s.

Group workers were seen by many caseworkers as more political and less professional (Beatt, 1955; Schmidt, 1995). For example, as a student at the University of Chicago in the 1930s, Gertrude Wilson was strongly urged by Sophinisba Breckenridge to drop her interest in group work, who argued that Wilson was "wasting" herself by being a person who worked with groups (Gertrude Wilson memoir, 1979, p. 34).

The widespread perception of group work within social work in the immediate post-War period was that it played a leading role in promoting the acceptance of the "democratic premise within social work," but was weak in its development of a clear, unified methodology or theory of practice. Group workers were seen as those social workers who most commonly worked with the least advantaged segment of the population and who ensure "that the unpopular view gets heard, believe in speaking up, taking issue and in compromise to the end of agreement and action." It was not surprising therefore, that a high percentage of social work leaders came from the group work field despite its minority status within the profession (Bruno, 1957, pp. 421–423).

After 1945, building on the work of Grace Coyle, Gertrude Wilson and others, and borrowing from the earlier essays of Bertha Capen Reynolds, group workers also stressed the importance of mutual aid activities within communities and social service organizations (Simon, 1994). In her writings, Coyle clearly articulated the perspective of group work as an instrument of social transformation. She asserted that a primary goal of group work is to "help in the replacing of the social skills necessary in the present distracted state of the world." These include skills at compromise, debate, self-government, *resistance to illegitimate authority*, democratic leadership, etc. (Coyle, 1947, emphasis added). These skills were compatible with the long-held conception of group work as "education for democracy through democracy in slow and gradual stages." (Lindemann in Trecker 1955, p. 33) hardly a revolutionary doctrine.

The Impact of McCarthyism on Group Work

The forces released during the McCarthy era set the tone and direction of the social work profession including social group

work. Harold Lewis (1992) suggests that group work was one of the social work profession's first casualty of the Cold War period.

This was a serious loss, since this method of social work was the most democratic in the profession. The core concept of group work and the goal of its major proponents was participatory democracy . . . What survived, was the method's narrower function, therapeutic aid (p. 41-42).

It is hardly surprising that most social workers, like the rest of society, were fearful of taking a stand on controversial issues during the McCarthy era. Many who were social activists in the 1930s and 1940s were reluctant to continue such activity openly. They were silenced by the "paranoia of the times, the sense of stigma that accompanied the charge of subversion, and the strong need to hide such a discharge or resignation from neighbors, friends, or relatives" (Schreiber, 1990, p. 121). This silent time "divided, the true believers and the nonbelievers. It separated out those who would adapt and those who would fight back" (Krasner, 1995).

Group worker Gertrude Wilson, who spent several years on the social work faculty at the University of Pittsburgh, remembered the many gatherings at the home of Marion Hathway to discuss progressive ideas. These events were refreshing instances of private discussions where people could, at least behind the walls of Hathway's home, share such ideas. Wilson felt that "those conversations around the fireplace were parts of a valuable education in practical political science which has been very helpful to me in my professional and personal life and as a citizen" (Wilson memoir, 1979, p. 172). Particularly vexing to social workers like Wilson were those colleagues whose convictions were not very deep and who were easily intimidated into silence. She declared " . . . in the long run it produced that period prior to the sixties when everything seemed to be very quiet and evidences of social action, particularly among younger people, were very few" (p. 172).

Miriam Rosenbloom Cohn, a group work student at Pitt in the 1940s and later a faculty member at the University of Minnesota for nearly 40 years, remembered the honor she felt upon receiving an invitation to one of Hathway's "soirees," and the care she took

not to take these conversations out of the room (Cohn, 1995). Such informal networks had a lasting impact. In the late 1940s, when Hathway came under fire for her membership in several progressive organizations and there was an attempt to get her ousted from the University of Pittsburgh, she received a great deal of support from alumni and colleagues (Andrews & Brenden, 1993). Cohn found the environment at Pittsburgh in the 1940s very tolerant to radicals. She feels that group workers were more radical than other social work students. By contrast, at the University of Minnesota in the 1950s, she found the social work response at the school to be "dead," absolutely "no response" at all. At faculty meetings, discussions of McCarthyism took place only in abstract terms. These discussions never seemed to filter down to the student body. A strong sense of self-protection permeated the political culture of the school (Cohn, 1995).

Many of the students were veterans of World War II who just wanted to "get on with their lives." Jobs were plentiful and radicalism did not seem to exist among most of the social work students. In Minnesota there was no talk about the Rosenberg trials nor about those who were being persecuted by the McCarthyites. The dominant philosophy was "you don't talk about these things; it had to do with prudence" (Cohn, 1995).

Inabel Lindsay (1980), herself investigated for alleged Communist sympathies, recalled a meeting of the National Conference on Social Work (NCSW) in the late 1940s, when she was Dean of the School of Social Work at Howard University in Washington, D.C. A group of progressive social workers had organized a reception for Henry Wallace. Yet, when a receiving line was established,

Marion Hathway . . . and I were the only professional social workers in leadership roles . . . who dared to stand in the receiving line with him [Wallace] and give our approval (p. 16).

Jacob Fisher, active in the Rank and File movement of the 1930s, as well as many radical organizations, also found himself abandoned by many colleagues when, in 1954, he was charged with being a security risk at the Social Security Administration (Fisher, 1986). While some social workers came forward to support him, most did not. Finally, unable to find social work employ-

ment and alienated from his former colleagues, he left the field. Years later, through the Freedom of Information Act, he came to realize that some former social work friends and colleagues had informed on him. Other social workers experienced similar ostradism.

Meyer Schreiber (1995) found himself under scrutiny when he joined the staff at the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1964 and admitted that he was a member of certain organizations that were considered suspect by the FBI. While he did not lose his job, he later discovered, through the Freedom of Information Act, that colleagues were interviewed about him. He was surprised because "Strangely enough, not one coworker ever told me of being interviewed by the FBI" (p. 659).

Ira Krasner, an activist and group worker during the 1930s and 1940s, who joined the faculty of the Wayne State University School of Social Work in 1951, fought McCarthyism throughout the 1950s. He joined several progressive organizations and opposed the attempt of Michigan Representative, Kit Clardy, to investigate communism on campus. Several members of the School of Social Work also opposed the witchhunts and, while Clardy was successful in getting two faculty fired, "Dr. Fritz Redl of the social work faculty dispatched a telegram to [WSU] President Henry upbraiding him for his actions" (Krasner, 1995).

Later in the decade, Krasner went to Amsterdam on a Fulbright fellowship to assist a school of social work in the development of a social group work curriculum. After one year, he was recommended for a U.N. fellowship. At that time, he received a 42-page dossier listing all the meetings he had attended in his adult years that were of a progressive nature. He was then asked to describe his knowledge and involvement with twenty people who were listed in the dossier. He refused, withdrew his application, and returned to the U.S. When he got back to Wayne State, he was informed by Charles Brink, Dean of the social work program, that an F.B.I. agent had interviewed him about Krasner. The agent told the Dean that Krasner was being investigated because of his membership in an organization known to be infiltrated with Communists. The organization was the American Civil Liberties Union.

Two social work faculty at the University of Connecticut, Robert Glass and Harold Lewis, a student of Marion Hathway's and later Dean of Hunter College School of Social Work, were also investigated by the FBI for alleged communist sympathies. They were staunchly supported by the Dean of the School of Social Work and former AAGW President, Harleigh Trecker, who refused to cooperate with the FBI. As a result of persistent pressure from the University, however, both Glass and Lewis soon resigned from the faculty (Lewis, 1995).

Verne Weed, a long-time group worker and later professor of group work at Hunter College, found herself fighting accusations made against her by McCarthy's committee and even many social workers. She was a member of the Rank and File movement in the 1930s who remained an activist the rest of her life. Through it all, she remained true to her beliefs. "When McCarthy attacked me for signing the Stockholm Peace Appeal, I refused to go on the defensive and reaffirmed my opposition to the A-bomb. When I was attacked as a Communist in connection with the Connecticut Smith Act trial I didn't capitulate to tremendous pressure from some NASW chapter members . . ." (Weed, 1985, p. 84). Her attack by McCarthy in the 1950s resulted in her being forced to quit her job, although NASW support helped her receive a year's pay (Rosengard, 1986, p. 4).

In 1952, at the height of the McCarthy era, group work leaders were keenly aware of the combined effects of this climate of fear and the declining activism of social workers on political and social conditions. Settlement houses, long home to many group workers, were under constant attack. Summarizing the situation in its 1952 annual report, the National Federation of Settlements acknowledged that climate of fear.

Intercultural tensions were heightened in 1952 by the climate of distrust and fear that was created by Senator McCarthy and by his counterparts in local communities . . . Many settlement neighbors participated in groups which seemed progressive and constructive during depression days, but which have now been listed . . . as 'subversive' . . . Settlement neighbors perhaps feel this more keenly than some others. Some of them knew that kind of fear before they came here and in many instances it was the reason for their coming . . . (p. 3, 4).

For many residents of these neighborhoods, going anywhere was seen as risky and fear led them to avoid many group activities.

Saul Bernstein, President of the American Association of Group Workers from 1948–1950, recalls an incident he experienced during the McCarthy era while teaching at the New York School of Social Work. An article he had submitted was accepted for publication in an anthology about group work. He subsequently learned that his article was being considered for withdrawal because a faculty member of City College, who happened to have the same name as he, was suspected of being a Communist. Bernstein immediately "wrote an angry letter to the editor insisting that she be more careful about such things . . . why should my assumed membership in the Communist Party be allowed to reject the paper?" (Bernstein, 1995).

By dividing the progressive and liberal communities McCarthyism fractured the New Deal coalition which had supported the creation and expansion of the welfare state in the 1930s and 1940s. It severely weakened the power of the labor movement in U.S. politics and imposed a climate of censorship that influenced intellectual and cultural life in the country for nearly two decades. Individual social workers' fears of losing their jobs combined with the profession's collective anxiety over losing its tenuous status. Consequently, social workers were increasingly passive on social issues because "to propose a measure to relieve poverty or to combat racism was to risk being called 'Communist' " (Ehrenreich, 1985, p. 142).

During the heyday of McCarthyism, the social work profession's efforts were focused on moving toward unification and the formation of the National Association of Social Workers (1955). Although many social workers continued to work to reform welfare, expand civil rights, and promote true democracy in the group process, professional status received most of the profession's energy. Additionally, the very concepts of welfare reform, civil rights, and democracy were labeled as telling signs of communist leanings. Some social workers agreed that there existed a strongly organized Communist Party, but insisted that people must still be allowed to speak out against social evils and engage in social action. Social workers argued that loyal Americans could

pursue such issues and expressed concern that many legislators and other leaders confused social reform with socialism.

By the mid-1950s, the primary emphasis of group work had shifted towards the "enabling" of clients and the therapeutic function of groups, although individuals like Coyle and Wilson continued to stress the importance of social objectives. Others wrote of the need to preserve group work's sense of moral values and concern for the democratic climate even as it strove to create a more scientific basis for its practice (Bruno, 1957, pp. 425–427). The demise of the journal *Survey* in 1952 exacerbated this trend because no other publication emerged to fill this void. Consequently, "the attachment of the profession as a whole to broad social action was irrevocably weakened" in a climate that was hostile to both social criticism and social reform (Chambers in Trattner, 1994, pp. 308–309).

Many social workers had no more than an intellectual curiosity about McCarthyism (Beatt, interview, 1995) African American social worker Lester B. Granger, president of NCSW, was concerned about social workers who did not seem to understand the impact of the political environment. In a philosophical presentation to the NCSW in 1952, he acknowledged the importance of the professionalization of social work and its commitment to the codification of professional standards and practices. Yet, he was concerned that social work was overlooking some of the critical changes in the contemporary environment and would not be prepared to deal with their effects. He lamented

... we in social work have been so occupied with learning our own way ... that we have seldom been able to offer guidance and reassurance to our even more bewildered public. We have developed standards of professional practice ... but frequently these standards have had slight relationship to professional resources and have been considered ... as having little validity. And, often, as we have defined our standards of practice, we have seen our practitioners' resources swept away by careless, brutish action of half-informed legislators and incompetent administrators ... (1952, p. 11).

In 1953, at the annual meeting of the NCSW, Patrick Murphy Malin, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union,

spoke powerfully of McCarthyism's influence on who actually was being hired in social work agencies and its suppression of the progressive wing of the social work profession: "Such intolerance and fear are producing the demand that our schools and our social work agencies should be staffed by people who are non-controversial." The result was "... inconspicuousness having become a qualification for employment in the very professions which ought to have people of light and leading and imagination and experiment." He concluded: "First, if you want to preserve your free speech, you speak freely. It is as simple, and as difficult, as that" (Malin, 1953, pp. 35-38).

Despite the silence, the hushed voices, and the movement toward mainstreaming the profession, there were social workers who spoke out against the terror that was McCarthyism. An effective strategy utilized by many social workers was to reframe the issue—from the threat of *communism* to the threat to *democracy*. Emphasis was placed on defending the newly established public welfare system and its clients, who were under constant assault by the political right. Correspondence on these themes were frequently published in *The Social Welfare Forum*; *Official Proceedings of the NCSW* or in *The Survey* or the *Survey Graphic*. From the 1940s onward, these publications openly discussed the nation's political climate and its implications for social work.

In 1947, at its annual conference, the American Association of Group Work changed the name of its Legislative Committee to the Social Action Committee, with the specific intention of encouraging programs of education as well as action. Such action would include "... corporate action, as well as individual effort, ... to secure social legislation to meet [the] problems of adverse social and economic condition." Targets of social/political action included such diverse fields as housing, health care, child welfare and youth work, and minority rights (AAGW, 1947, pp. 3-6).

At this conference, Nathan Cohen (1947, pp. 8-11) strongly defended the preservation of an activist orientation among group workers. Speaking in opposition to recently imposed restrictions on social action placed on local agencies by Community Chests, he argued "... we [must] make clear that it is not possible to have social work as we understand it without a democratic cli-

mate." Cohen urged group workers to be active at all levels. The challenge, he stated, is clear, social action or reaction.

In 1948, *Survey Graphic* carried an article written by historian Louise Brown, who asked, "Can this country afford the cost of heresy-hunting?" Her conclusion was that the price included the creation of an intellectual vacuum that could only be filled by fear and hatred. In the same year, *The Social Welfare Forum* included a paper by Dr. Julius Schreiber from the NCSW meeting that connected the current political climate to issues of mental health. A physician, Schreiber discussed the threats to mental health when one is attacked because one has the strength to have patterns of thought and action that are different:

... there are men and women who experience anxiety, intense resentment, and frustration ... because of the open or concealed threat to their security, should they dare to express what they think; they find that many chest-thumping individuals, waving the flag and braying loudly about their own special brand of 'patriotism', hurl at them the angry labels 'radicals!' 'New Dealers!' 'communists!' 'fascists!' (p. 194).

The following year, Benjamin Youngdahl spoke at the NCSW meeting on "civil rights versus civil strife," reminding his audience that

... America would not be great today were it not for the freedom of thought, of expression, of movement, and of association, that has been our heritage (p. 24).

He was particularly critical of loyalty purges that resulted in a person deemed neither innocent nor guilty of any violation; yet, condemned to "a life of impotence" (p. 28). Many of those present at the national meeting of 5,000 social workers testified in other sessions that freedom of thought was being threatened not only from the outside, but also from within the profession of social work itself (Close, 1949).

In the group work section, Grace Coyle warned against the imposition of goals on a group "for issues must be worked out by participation of those concerned." Reflecting on the serious nature of the times, she said "We have been born into a generation confronted with social issues so momentous that they stagger our

imaginations, and will render us helpless unless we can achieve some sense of social perspective" (Close, 1949, p. 380).

In a similar vein, Gertrude Wilson told a large session:

The goal of all those who desire to achieve a society where each individual has equal rights . . . and an opportunity to participate in decision making . . . is an interprofessional undertaking involving teachers, clergy, doctors, lawyers, business and industrial leaders, labor leaders, recreational leaders, social workers, and all citizens. Neither social workers nor group workers carry this responsibility alone . . . We have faith in the capacity of human beings to develop a basis of world wide cooperative living only because we have experienced human relationships in effective groups. No human being develops faith in isolation from others. Faith is the result of a reciprocal process (Ross, 1949, p. 382).

The *Social Work Yearbook* of 1949, in its entry on civil rights (Baldwin, 1949, p. 118), faced the "communistic issue" head-on by suggesting that the House UnAmerican Activities Committee had created an atmosphere fearful of change where procedures "undemocratic and contrary to American principles" were occurring. That same year, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Griffin, 1949, p. 6) announced that three universities—the University of Chicago, Harvard, and Columbia—were "hives of communism." Social worker Edith Abbott, along with others, was named in the article as one of the "most frequent sponsors of Communist fronts." Quoting Joseph Matthews, former director of research for the House UnAmerican Activities Committee, the paper explained that while these faculty were not necessarily communists or even communist sympathizers, ". . . they do the work of communism . . . Some professors have a sense of frustration, of unimportance."

Nathan Cohen's earlier concerns were not unwarranted. By 1949, even a relatively progressive publication like *The Survey* began to reflect the conservative climate of the post-war period. A December 1949 article by John Fitch, "The CIO and Its Communists," reflected the anti-communist environment of the day in its account of the expulsion of the United Electrical Workers and other left-leaning unions from the CIO for their "communist-dominated" leadership. Fitch uncritically used such terms as "fellow travellers" and accepted the underlying premise of the CIO that these unions followed the dictates of the Soviet Union rather

than their members. He also failed to place the attack on the unions in the larger context of the Cold War and severely misjudged the long-term impact of the CIO's actions on the U.S. labor movement (pp. 642–647).

In the face of a growing climate of political repression, the National Conference on Social Welfare continued to hammer away, if somewhat obliquely, at the issue of McCarthyism at its annual meetings through keynote addresses and paper sessions alike. In 1951, Joseph P. Anderson, executive secretary of the AASW, pointed out that the attacks being made in the “present challenge” stemmed from fear and were directly aimed at the philosophy and principles on which public and private social welfare programs were based.

Too many people have reached the conclusion that there are only two choices before us: One is that we must have a society which offers security with no freedom, such as the totalitarian states offer. The other choice is to have freedom but little security, and that is what people say democracy offers. Social workers say that there is another choice, which is that we have a democratic society where government can assume responsibility for human welfare—a society where we can preserve freedom and personal initiative and a democratic way of life and still have the government discharge responsibility in helping to meet the health and welfare needs of all the people (Anderson, 1951, p. 56).

As the attack on services for the poor, particularly public welfare, continued, social workers persisted in their defense of these programs (Dunn, 1952; Granger, 1952; Youngdahl, 1952). After McCarthy's censure by the Senate in 1954, it became somewhat safer to express such opinions. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that political repression inside and outside the profession continued well into the 1960s.

Not all social workers believed that McCarthyism was negatively affecting the practice of social work to any great extent. Many truly feared communism. Maybel Berg felt that the “hunt for communists was good, but it eventually went too far” (1995). Jane Foster felt that there were subversive activities that needed to be stopped, but felt that “innocent people were hurt” (1995). Both of the women practiced social work during the time and felt the era was, in general, a good time for social work.

When asked in a 1981 memoir about the McCarthy era, Arthur Dunham, professor of community organization at the University of Michigan School of Social Work from 1935 to 1963, could not remember anyone having any difficulty during this period. He was never asked to defend his political beliefs despite his pacifism (he was a Quaker), his subscription to *Social Work Today*, or his authorship of a book review for that publication. Yet, when asked if he had a general concern about the atmosphere within the social work profession regarding McCarthyism, he answered "yes" (Memoir, NASW, 1981).

Reflecting on the contradictory recollections of McCarthyism, Professor Paul Ephross of the University of Maryland noted:

Folks of the political left rightly attribute to McCarthyism not only various personal oppressions and tragedies but also get sentimental in a way that may not be accurate (1995).

He explained that we need to remember that the period in which McCarthy was active was "also a period during which we progressive people learned a lot about the horrors of Stalin. When the former had been shot down, the latter knowledge remained, only to be reinforced by other revelations."

The response to McCarthyism in the 1940s and 1950s had a lasting impact on group workers and on the entire social work profession. The fear and purging which occurred left many social workers unable or unwilling to risk "fighting back" or to engage in social action to any great extent. While in the 1960s social workers became involved in many of the movements for social justice, the extent of this involvement was blunted by the experience of the previous decades.

Ephross (1995), while asserting his belief that there was a legitimate concern about communism, acknowledges that one of the legacies of McCarthyism "is a fear of being found ideologically incorrect, even in the future, which I believe is still at work today." He feels that it "began the habit of viewing speakers as disloyal, or un-American, or something terrible, because the rest of us don't like their words or their opinions" (1995).

Krasner (1995) speaks of social work's movement away from social change and toward an investment in treatment modalities

as an outgrowth of McCarthyism. He finds this apparent in both the teaching and practice of social work. He feels that

... we should have learned from McCarthyism that there would be a time when it would return . . . I think we are witnessing that today in terms of the religious right and the conservative movement and the control in Congress by the Republicans . . . We fought McCarthyism in the 40s and the 50s and into the 60s, but today, by and large, our students are not prepared from schools of social work to understand the coming power that is being developed by the conservatives and the religious right. And social workers in general are not adequately prepared to deal with the coming onslaught.

Another major impact of McCarthyism occurred in the voluntary sector agencies in which group work had played such an important role, particularly since the 1930s. Here, the attack on social action and community participation implicit in McCarthyism had several different effects: (1) on the relationship between professionals and volunteers in voluntary sector agencies; (2) on the agencies' definition of their clients; and (3) on the focus of services within the agencies themselves.

While voluntary sector agencies had already begun to modify staffing patterns between professionals and volunteers in the aftermath of World War II, the inward-looking drive for professionalization within social work produced by the conservatism of the McCarthy era compelled these agencies to clarify such issues as the role of volunteers and the nature of board-staff relationships. Professionals, many of whom were trained as group workers (especially in settlement houses and the Jewish Federation field), were given control over direct service functions, administration, supervision, and training. Community-based volunteers were relegated to non-professional duties and, with the exception of boards of directors (increasingly dominated by upper class individuals who no longer lived in the community in which the agency was located), were denied a role in agency policy-making or resource allocation decisions. This contradicted the longstanding spirit of group work to use agencies and their programs as training grounds for democratic participation.

At the same time, voluntarily social service agencies shifted their client base from low income to middle and upper income

groups, whose needs were more likely to be defined as "problems of adjustment" rather than problems of socio-economic deprivation. While demographic changes, such as the growth of suburbs, and the expansion of public welfare contributed substantially to this new emphasis, the desire of agencies to acquire and maintain a higher status and more politically acceptable clientele also played a major role. Their "disengagement from the poor" complemented the political-economic goals of the social work profession as it struggled (again) to define its place in the changing occupational hierarchy of the U.S. It also reflected the growth of a consumer-oriented, service-dominated economy, in which affluence, rather than poverty, became a focus of concern, and in which technical discussions supplanted ideological debates about the future directions of the society. The influence of McCarthyism on the latter can not be understated. Social workers in voluntary agencies became more concerned with sharpening fundraising techniques and board development than with methods of encouraging community participation and community development. As a consequence, they were largely unprepared for the wave of social activism which swept urban communities in the 1960s (Reisch, M. & Wenocur, S., 1982).

Another consequence of McCarthyism can be found in the growing emphasis of the acquisition of technical expertise as the primary goal of social work education and practice and the concomitant omission of discussions of the ideological bases of practice. Evidence for this shift can be found in textbooks written during and after the McCarthy period, which shaped a whole generation of practitioners. This apolitical legacy persisted well into the 1970s, despite the growing ideological turmoil of the intervening period. Ephross and Reisch (1982) noted that texts provide "a definition of practice skills based on conceptions of the political and social order without necessarily [explicating] the [author's] ideological foundation" (p. 277). By ignoring the impact of McCarthyism and its underlying political and ideological messages, social work educators contributed to the growing dissonance between the stated goals of social work practice and the conditions practitioners experience in their day-to-day work.

Much of the literature on professionalism within social work emerged during the 1950s. Largely utilizing a structural-

functional perspective, most of these articles rationalized the growth of professionalization within social work and defined its primary components as the acquisition of scientific-technical expertise and skills and an ethical code (often inwardly directed). "This image justifie[d] the proposition that professionals represent an intellectual status group or class which can guide the public interest because they somehow operate beyond the bounds of [class interests]" (Wenocur and Reisch, 1983, p. 692). Professionalism thus simultaneously denied the existence of class divisions within society while rewarding a particular occupational stratum for its particular knowledge and skills.

The drive for professionalization within social work diminished, rather than expanded client control of services, in direct contradiction to the democratic ideal which had guided the group work field for decades. It encouraged conformity, rather than diversity, in practice models, theoretical perspectives, and program designs. In addition, the growing emphasis on services to individuals, instead of groups, contributed to the reduction in clients' "ability to collectively define problems, needs, and roles, and . . . potentially to [influence] the demand for certain kinds of benefits or services" (Wenocur and Reisch, 1983, pp. 714-715).

Conclusions and Implications

McCarthyism affected the character of group work long after the anti-communist fervor of the period subsided. In his monograph, *A History of Social Work Education*, David Austin summarizes the condition of social group work from the mid-1950s to the 1980s as

increasingly identified with the therapeutic emphasis in social casework, rather than with the developmental task-oriented and advocacy orientation [of an earlier era] (1986, p. 32).

In schools of social work, group work came to be regarded as "part of an inclusive direct services, treatment or clinical social work practice methods" approach, instead of being considered a distinct and separate method of intervention as it had been in the early 1950s (Austin, 1986).

This trend was already being promoted and recognized by the mid-1950s. In order to "save" group work in a politically

and professionally hostile environment, group work leaders like Harleigh Trecker (1955) argued that the key for group work's survival lay in creating closer theoretical and practical linkages to social work as a whole, in clarifying the role of the group worker in various practice settings, in recruiting more students into group work, and in helping shape the public's perception of group work services (pp. 383–385). This would require the development of "a more realistic approach to the use of group work" in social change activities, such as legislative action, and a reexamination of the connections of group work to the settlement house movement and the public social services (pp. 408–409).

At the end of the decade, William Schwartz (1959), one of the leading theoreticians in the group work field, traced the crisis in group work to the political and cultural climate of the day in which "the group experience stands accused of creating both conformity [e.g. groupthink, the organization man] and rebellion [e.g. juvenile delinquency, radical political activity]" (p. 127). Groups, he argued, were feared as somehow dangerous and subversive and "the theory and practice of social group work have been trapped, to an extent, by the pessimism of the time" (ibid).

Schwartz argued that group work was in the midst of a transition to a new identity. This would be accomplished through the development of a new interpretation of the group work function and a merger of group work into the larger social work profession and generic social work methods. While Schwartz acknowledged "the group will always be the most potent instrument of social change," (p. 137) the type of change Schwartz envisioned foresaw a role for group workers as socializing or civilizing agents of professional organizations and institutions, rather than instruments for the expression and stimulation of democratic ideals and processes.

Throughout its history, the United States has periodically experienced times of anti-radicalism, xenophobia, fear, and political hysteria. Further, the theme of repression's continuity, "the idea that systems of 'order maintenance' rarely get dismantled after the crisis that provoked them has eased, has not penetrated the public historical imagination" (Preston, in Belfrage, 1989, p. xvi).

Our nation's political leaders have often used repressive tactics and policies to solve what they have viewed as crises of soci-

etal disintegration. This belief that society was falling apart justified periods of political repression in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, most notably the political and labor upheavals of 1919 and the 1930s, the McCarthy period, and the Vietnam War era (Goldstein, 1978).

As we develop strategies to fight against the current anti-social work climate, it is important to remember that political repression, by and large, is created and fostered by elites, not masses. The people usually respond passively and often approvingly, particularly when political leaders play on their prejudices and anxieties about the future. "Their approval and non-interference are enough to permit elites to promote and administer repression. If fascism came to America it would not require popular participation—merely popular non-opposition" (Goldstein, 1978, p. 574).

While there have always been groupworkers who took great risks to fight for social justice—Ira Krasner, Marion Hathway, Verne Weed and others—many group workers and other social workers have often retreated from progressive stances when threatened. An analysis leads one to conclude that "social work's progressive roots only seem to flourish in the sunlight. When darkness overtakes the land, we hunker down and neither curse that darkness nor light a candle" (Newdom, 1993).

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