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From Henry Street to Contracted Services: Financing the Settlement House

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This article tracks historically the direct connection and shifting relationship between the larger political economy, the extent and arrangement of financing, and agency programming in the settlement house from 1886 to the present, with particular attention to agency experience in New York City. During this time the settlements changed from being informal organizations oriented to service provision and community building, in which funding was a highly private matter, to formalized, multiservice agencies dependent on contracted public funds for categorical programs. This transformation resulted not as a linear progression of organizational development but rather as an historical process tied to shifting patterns of political economy and voluntary sector financing.

This article tracks historically the direct connection and shifting relationship between financing and nonprofit social service provision. While this critical linkage has been explored historically for other nonprofit institutions, such as schools and hospitals, it is relatively absent for social service agencies (Hammack, 1996; Hall, 1992). The prism of our exploration, the settlement house, is the quintessential voluntary service agency that has historically struggled to balance service and social action, function and cause. Critically, this exploration of the history of financing social settlements discovered a direct and dynamic relationship...
between political economy, agency funding, and settlement pro-
gramming. Within this meta-statement the study proposes a cycli-
cal theory and periodicity regarding settlement programming,
financing, and political economy. Moreover, this historical anal-
ysis explores the impact of contemporary contracted financing
on the capacity of neighborhood-based social agencies to deliver
community-based services and engage in the historically and
presently critical work of community building.

Historical Change and Political Economy
in the Financing of Settlement Houses

Settlements have been a favorite subject of social welfare his-
torians dating back to the 1960s, when Chambers (1963) and Davis
(1967) published monographs enthusiastic about the progressive
work of settlement houses and their leaders. Since then historians
and social work academicians interested in social welfare history
have written widely on the settlement house, each with a different
lens, asking different questions, looking at different settlements,
and often arriving at different conclusions (To sample the di-
vergent literature see Berry, 1986; Crocker, 1992; Karger, 1987;
Lasch-Quinn, 1993; Philpott, 1978; Sklar, 1995; Trolander, 1987).
Given the prominent place and role of nonprofit service agencies
throughout American history, this attention should be expected
(Hammack, 1998). What surprises in the settlement literature,
however, is a near complete ignoring of financing issues and fund-
ing patterns. Little mention is made of the process and extent of
settlement funding, and even less to the relation between funding
and settlement programming and politics. Part of the reason is
that settlements did not keep or leave very good financial records.
Funding was a private matter. Until government financing be-
came the norm, settlements were highly informal organizations
with scant financial and administrative record keeping.

One way to evaluate settlement history in general and financ-
ing patterns in particular is to use a widely adopted social reform
model of social welfare history. This model sees social investment
as tied to changes in larger contexts. In a nutshell, it proposes
that the dominant political economy and historical events of each
era help shape and profoundly influence social provision and
social change. In more liberal or public eras, the model asserts, activism on the Left increases, the social welfare state expands, as does the importance of social welfare and social investment for reform-oriented service programming such as social settlements. In more conservative or private eras, conservative policy and Right wing movements dominate, corporate prerogatives are asserted with greater openness and diminished challenge, social welfare systems become increasingly privatized and timid, which reduces both interest in and funding for organizations such as the settlement house.

This study of the financing of social settlements approximates and refines the social investment model. In general, settlement ideals, programs, and progressive practice find more support in social change eras; more quiescent private contexts occasion antagonism to activist practice and settlement house ideals. Social investment eras such as the Progressive Era and the Sixties resulted in support for settlement house core values, goals, and financing. Even during the Great Depression, despite funding instability, settlements revived in response to the heightened atmosphere of public life and social change. In more private eras, such as the 1920s, 1950s, and since 1975, financial support declined for settlement practices of community building and social action, narrowing to focus instead on recreational and categorical programming and more individualized interventions.

But the history of financing settlement houses demonstrates greater complexity than the cyclical model of recurrent expansion and contraction driven by the larger political economy. For example, in private eras reductions occur in some, not all, programs, and within historical epochs a dynamic, not static, relation persists between agency, funding, and programming. Additionally, using a model of political economy enters a critical debate about social change in urban life in general and social service organizations in particular. We find the structuralist/political economic perspective most salient to our work (eg Fabricant and Burghardt, 1992; Fisher and Kling, 1993; Sassen, 1992) but recognize alternative theses regarding the impact of local political process and culture (eg. Logan and Swansstrom, 1992; Putnam, 2000; Lasch-Quinn, 1993) as well as those emphasizing more postmodern interpretations of human agency and values (eg. Smith, 1992;
Featherstone and Lash, 1999). Of course the local political culture of New York City, the secularization of service work, the professionalization of social work, organization development issues, and the contributions countless people made on a daily basis also deeply affected the nature, programs, and funding of social settlements. By emphasizing a structuralist model of political economy this study seeks to expand, not narrow, this important debate in political and social theory by putting these developments in a larger contextual framework.

Moreover, while funding levels continually change, over time settlement financing and administration reveal strong continuities as well as the ebb and flow emphasis of our thesis. Over time settlement houses became increasingly centralized, publicly financed, bureaucratic, and reliant on formal structures. Over time their services were more likely to be defined by categorical programming initiated by those outside the settlement house, whether the local Community Chest or public sector contractor. Since 1980 these once privately funded nonprofits receive an increasingly high percentage of their funding—on average 85%—from corporate-style, public sector contracts which heavily influence settlement role and program (Kraus and Chaudry, 1995).

Method

This qualitative history and analysis of settlement financial structures is heavily dependent on the literature, primary and secondary, related to the larger social settlements. It focuses on New York City settlements such as Henry Street and Greenwich House and United Neighborhood Houses, the collective organization of New York settlements. But it also relies on the extensive literature related to Hull-House in Chicago, as well as the secondary accounts of social settlements in general. It pieces together a history of settlement house financing and administration based on the larger and more notable settlement houses. It tends not to include the much less accessible financial and administrative records of smaller and more obscure ones. Chambers (2000) offers that in the many settlement collections he has surveyed, budget materials are largely missing.
Private Financing and Informal Administration in the Progressive Era

From the outset, financing the settlement house was a private matter. It occurred in an obscured private process built on relationships established by settlement directors and board members with wealthy city elites. In the early years, financing and oversight structure were loose, spontaneous, and personal. Early settlement leaders believed that the very idea of an organized institution contradicted their goals of neighborly reciprocity and informality (Leiby, 1978). The combination of informal structures and informal financing based on personal relationships enabled settlements to maintain a significant degree of independence. This independence, in turn, helped operationalize an autonomous, innovative, and flexible community-oriented practice.

In the early years of the settlements money and the sources of funding were rarely discussed publicly. Even head workers did not seem to know the exact financial condition of their house; financial accounting was quite rudimentary with probably few or no financial audits or annual budgets prior to 1912 (Lohmann, 1991). As noted earlier, funding is rarely mentioned in the writings of settlement leaders or historians. Settlements grow and prosper, buildings and programs multiply, seemingly on their own. The extensive cultivation of elite patrons is largely off the record. Based on her relationship with Mrs. Loeb, the wife of one of the partners of the investment house of Kuhn, Loeb, and Company, financier Jacob Schiff gave Lillian Wald the buildings at 265 and 267 Henry Street to stabilize her work (Wald, 1934; Hall, 1971). Of course, as administrators of voluntary associations, they knew well the importance of money and fund-raising, even if informal accounting systems kept them unaware of their actual financial condition.

Despite the reform fervor of the era, fund-raising was never easy. Two generations of head workers later, Bertram Beck of Henry Street Settlement thought the support for settlement work, even social action, was what distinguished the pioneering settlement houses from their counterparts in the 1970s. “The early settlement leaders were able to win continuous financial support from the rich despite their advancement of unpopular social
causes" (Beck, 1976, p. 271). But settlements did not have the unlimited support of the economic elites of the day. Even at Hull-House, which experienced extraordinary growth prior to World War I and became not only the leading settlement and a center of national progressivism but the model for social service delivery, funding was precarious. As Jane Addams noted in discussing erecting a new building, "I do not wish to give a false impression, for we were often bitterly pressed for money and worried by the prospect of unpaid bills, and we gave up one golden scheme after another because we could not afford it; we cooked the means and kept the books and washed the windows without a thought of hardship if we thereby saved money for the consummation of some ardently desired undertaking" (Adams, 1910, p.89). For its first 70 years, Henry Street Settlement depended solely on private donations. The head worker and board members were actively involved in fund raising, seeking private contributions, bequests and foundation support (Lohmann, 1991). Henry Street always needed funds. Lillian Wald, its renowned first head worker and Helen Hall's predecessor, was a most talented fundraiser. To raise money in 1913, Henry Street developed a 20th anniversary endowment campaign. As one friend observed, "It costs five thousand dollars to sit next to her at dinner" (Wallach, 1978, p348). This first generation of settlement leaders, especially at the most heralded settlements, was well connected. Critically, part of this private process included a tacit agreement that private funding for public purposes would remain a private matter.

During the Progressive Era funding for settlements did expand quickly and dramatically. The budget of University Settlement in New York City expanded from $2,500 in 1889 to $29,687.47 in 1909. As settlements expanded and their budgets grew to cover added expenditures for personnel, buildings, and programs, they were forced to become relatively more formalized, and financing, at first rather informal and personal, became more well-defined. A study of New York City settlements concludes "Not only was the search for money a continuing struggle, but the justification for funds too often was based on the quantitative measurement of how many baths were provided, how many books taken from the settlement library, how many clubs were meeting at any given time, or how many children were enrolled in the kindergarten.
Financing the Settlement House

How many hours were spent in the accumulation of such data can never be estimated; how much dedication to settlement work found a frustrating end is impossible to determine” (Kraus, 1980, p. 33). The demands of bureaucratic organization, such as increased paper work and accountability for administrators and staff, while certainly still modest were beginning to be evident even in the early history of the settlement house.

Increasingly Conservative and Bureaucratic Administration, 1918–1929

With the so-called Red Scare of 1918, the settlements declined not only in the popular but also in the philanthropic imagination. In the troubled postwar years, fund-raising continued to be a perennial—or more accurately, annual—headache for head workers and their boards (Carson, 1990). Funding heavily shaped not only the nature of programming but whether a settlement would exist at all. In response to the Red Scare, more conservative settlements attracted business support. In Gary, Indiana after the First World War, as labor militancy seemed to threaten corporate hegemony, Crocker (1992) writes, U.S. Steel invested in settlements in order to build good will in the community and to use expanded services to pacify discontent. In more progressive settlements, such as Hull-House and Henry Street, support declined. In 1918 Henry Street was so concerned about the impact of the war on funding, it became one of the first voluntary organizations to hire a public relations expert to promote the organization (Carson, 1990).

Financial support also declined due to the politics of settlement leaders such as Jane Addams and Lillian Wald (Sullivan, 1993). Many donors no longer would fund social change, especially if it seemed controversial or “un-American.” From the beginning of the First World War through 1935, Romanofsky (1978) writes, “the financial situation of Hull-House suffered as donors withdrew their support because of Miss Addams’s controversial pacifism and opposition to the war. . . . Leading contributors of the early period were dying, and potential other supporters feared Hull-House’s reputed radicalism.” (p353). The same was true at Henry Street. Wald’s settlement aims had generally been supported by her wealthy patrons, but they withdrew financing
because of Wald’s pacifism during and after the war (Wallach, 1978; Wald, 1934). Wald scoffed at them. “Confidentially, my political attitude is making some of our generous friends uneasy and one of our largest givers—nearly $15,000 a year—has withdrawn because I am ‘socialistically inclined.’ Poor things; I am sorry for them—they are so scared. It is foolish since, after all, counting things in the large and wide, I am at least one insurance against unreasonable revolution in New York” (Chambers, 1963, p.25).

Once the Red Scare climate subsided and prosperity for certain sectors of the economy was renewed, aggregate funding improved for voluntary associations such as settlements. This is a significant deviation from the cyclical model of social investment expansion and contraction: initial retrenchment of programming and funding followed by expanded support for select, noncontroversial nonprofit social service work if economic growth occurs. Charitable giving is more circumscribed than before, with allocations for services such as educational and recreational activities but not for social advocacy or activism. Toward the end of the decade most settlement houses did experience expanded and stable funding. In the larger society, rapid wealth accumulation reinvigorated private giving (Huntley, 1935). It was within this context that in 1928 United Neighborhood Houses (UNH), the association of New York City settlement houses, urged its member settlements to “ask for large gifts and expect large returns” (Herrick, 1970, p. 144).

Critically, many settlements in the 1920s became increasingly dependent on Community Chests. Business involvement in settlements accelerated with the First World War, and became formalized afterwards in the 1920s with the establishment of Community Chests nationwide. Chests reduced the dependence of some houses on religious institutions by offering a potentially steady stream of stable, alternate funding. Chest support, however, also required standardized operations. It transformed previously informal organizations into ones that had to be more aware of effective and accountable administration. The early style of settlement voluntary work—autonomous, innovative, informal, passionate, and committed—gradually became more administrative, businesslike, bureaucratic, and constricted (Trolander, 1975; Walkowitz, 1999).
There was another price paid for Chest support. Community Chests were run by conservative business interests and social work agency executives strongly opposed to social action. Increasingly, for organizations interested in social reform and social action, the whole decade, as Grace Abbott remarked, was “a long hard struggle . . . uphill all the way” (Chambers, 1992, 452). Trolander (1975) argues this turn away from social reform resulted primarily from Community Chest concentration of power over administration and funding.


The early years of the Depression hit settlement financing hard. United Neighborhood Houses almost went out of business in 1931. The overall number of settlements declined significantly. In the 1930s a National Federation of Settlement (NFS) study reported that approximately 230 settlement houses remained in the United States, just over half the number of settlements operating in 1910 (Wenocur and Reisch, 1989). Many settlements experienced budget cuts of up to 70%, which resulted in widespread reductions in programs and salaries (Simkhovitch, 1938). Henry Street cut its budget significantly by reducing salaries and discontinuing entire programs in music, arts, and crafts (Herrick, 1970). Year after year as the Depression deepened settlements learned the limits of local relief, Community Chests, and private philanthropy.

In response to the drastic need for additional support and to the emergence of federal social welfare programs under the New Deal, many settlements in the 1930s relaxed their resistance to public funding. Many settlements increased their workforce tenfold with National Youth Administration (NYA) and Works Progress Administration (WPA) assistance. Helen Hall recounts, “One day I was suddenly informed that Henry Street had been assigned fifty white-collar workers at one fell swoop” (Hall, 1971, p. 30).

Another administrative development associated with the structures of Depression era public funding was that money could only be used for specific programs or needs, not for general
purposes as determined by settlement staff. For example, even with the infusion of NYA and WPA support, practically all the settlements in a New York City study (Kennedy, Farra, et al. 1935) were seriously handicapped by the inadequate allocations for clerical help. Federal money went to staff "volunteers," but little if any resources were expended on infrastructure needs. This aspect of public sector funding would continue to seriously burden the settlement house and other nonprofits.

Nevertheless, New York City settlements in this era did not capitulate to pressures from either funders or the social work profession to become "modern" welfare agencies, complete with more bureaucratic procedures and administrators, heavy with caseworkers, and burdened by "complex guidelines for accepting and dealing with clients" (Herrick, 1970, p. 154–55). While they adopted many techniques of professional social work, settlements retained an open, neighborhood approach which resisted the types of narrow program and project specialization that would later define their approach to service delivery. Public sector funding in the 1930s did not completely transform settlement house programming, neither did it resolve funding problems. Even with New Deal support, money remained scarce.

Economic hard times and consequent tight funding for settlement work during the Depression prompted the development in Chicago in 1935 and New York City in 1939 of the "deficit fund system". In both cities settlements were wary of Community Chest control, but reluctantly accepted the value of a privately raised centralized fund other than the Community Chest to help with settlement expenses. In New York, the independent board was called the Greater New York Fund. Despite the growing gap between expenses and revenue, important segments of settlement leadership remained wary of the tradeoffs that might be associated with accepting dollars from a Chest-style fund. Helen Harris, a member of the Executive Committee of the UNH, opposed the deficit system because centralized private boards in other cities had done little to fund "unmet" needs and had provided little support for long-term social welfare planning. Helen Hall's objections were more political. In New York City, she noted, there was no labor representation on the Community Chest's board. She and Stanley Issacs, the president of UNH, also feared the
Greater New York Fund would be dominated by “Wall Street businessmen [seeking] to impose their will on the community” (Hall cited in Herrick, 1970, 152). Wherever Chests financed settlements in other cities, Hall said, social action was under attack by these powerful interests that were essentially hostile to social reform. UNH voted in 1938 to join the deficit-funding system, partially because settlement leaders such as Mary Simkhovitch supported it but fundamentally because of what UNH treasurer John Bloodgood referred to as a “drying up” of voluntary individual contributions, the traditional basis of settlement financing (Herrick, 1970, p. 153).

One of the key challenges posed by Federal support was that such assistance depended on national, not local, needs and initiatives. Lillian Wald, the founder of Henry Street, concluded that while a central lesson of the Depression was “that government must take more responsibility for social welfare,” she also thought that private contributions were essential too. “It is impossible to wait upon government appropriations for all the emergencies that clamor at the door” (Wald, 1934, p.128). Moreover, Federal support could be withdrawn as quickly as it was allotted. With entry into World War II all national attention and energy focused on the conflict. Clearly the war united the citizenry in a struggle against totalitarianism and oppression abroad. Many of the problems of the Depression: poverty, unemployment, national purpose, and community building were resolved or transcended by the war effort. But settlement houses went into a tailspin during World War II, beginning the transition to a more private era in the postwar context. While some settlements had increased staff nearly tenfold during the New Deal, by 1940 the numbers diminished substantially and by 1943 completely evaporated (Bryan and Davis, 1990). The quick and permanent withdrawal of public employees resulted in severe problems for settlements which had become highly dependent on such staffing. Most settlements survived the withdrawal of public-paid workers, but not without great sacrifice to activities and staff. Additionally, new programming during World War II—services for pre-school aged children as well as those for soldiers and displaced people—imposed new burdens as funding and staffing remained in short supply (Soule, 1947). By 1943, for example, Hull-House seemed closer to demise
than ever before (Davis and McCree, 1969). Declining funds and the new pressures of the war were powerful cross-currents that reduced settlements to their "nadir" during and just after World War II (Trattner, 1999, p. 307).


Throughout the postwar years and until the 1960s, lack of funds constrained settlement programming. The trend of defunding and scratching out an existence during and directly after World War II continued through the mid-1950s. Once again, settlement funding in a private era followed the pattern of initial social disinvestment, especially the defunding of social action and social reform programs. (For analyses of the decade which differ with the above see Carter, 1983; Fisher, 1999.) But, then, with the return of economic growth, there developed increased funding for recreational, educational, and social services. Even more important, however, the 1950s serve as a critical watershed for the transformation of settlements into publicly financed bureaucratic social service agencies.

The lessons learned about the power and effectiveness of Federal intervention during the New Deal and World War II created a basis for continued funding of specific social services. In 1953–54 the federal government allocated $124.1 million to such social welfare services as school lunches, vocational rehabilitation, institutional services, and child welfare. Moreover, state and local governments disbursed $605 million, most of it for public institutions such as schools for the developmentally disabled, hospitals for the mentally ill, and training programs for juvenile delinquents (Smith and Lipsky, 1993). But rarely was any of the money channeled to nonprofits. Public funding for nonprofits in the 1950s was rare, except in a few claimant areas, most of which did not include settlements. One of them, however, did directly affect them: juvenile delinquency.

Juvenile delinquency was to the 1950s what poverty and race would later become to the 1960s, the defining social issue of the decade. In keeping with the conservative context of the decade, delinquency prevention emphasized traditional family values
and law and order. Of particular importance, public contracts for juvenile delinquency prevention began the modern trend of using federal government grants to private institutions to address specific public problems (Trattner, 1999). Settlements had been engaged in working with youth for decades. They were well positioned to renew their efforts when delinquency became "hot" as a social issue and funding available for prevention work. In the latter part of the 1950s, a grant proposal regarding juvenile delinquency had an excellent chance of being funded. For example, the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act was a source of substantial grants for experimental programs during the late 1950s (Trolander, 1987). These grants, however, only foreshadowed a larger and more complex system of public contracting of nonprofit services which would begin with Mobilization for Youth and the Great Society programs of the 1960s.

The "Great Society" Institutionalizes Contracting, 1960–1975

Specific changes associated with the Sixties quickly transformed the settlement house. Regarding practice and program the era reinfused settlements with a social reform and social action component—tarnished but resharpened spearheads for reform. In terms of administration and financing, government funding profoundly altered settlements structurally, a change which has persisted to the present. Private funding to private institutions for public purposes had been the "settlement way" since their inception. With the 1960s and the institution of broad scale federal funding to nonprofits in the form of individual disbursements for such programs as Medicare and Medicaid and aggregate funding for contracted projects like Head Start, the system became one of public funding to private institutions for public purposes. Funding for settlements was now not only qualitatively but also quantitatively different.

Qualitatively, the War on Poverty of the mid-1960s renewed settlements. It gave extensive Federal financial support to organizations working with the poor, addressing the "social" causes of poverty, and pursuing a decentralized strategy of change at the neighborhood level (Marris and Rein, 1967). Of course, the settlements were not passive recipients in this process. Henry Street,
for example, was an initiator of Mobilization for Youth (MFY), arguably the model experiment in community-based responses to poverty and powerlessness upon which much of the Great Society programming was based (Hall, 1971, Beck, 1976, 1977).

Quantitatively, MFY represents an early benchmark in the heightened relationship between federal grants and nonprofit social service agencies. By 1968, the federal government had invested over $30 million in services to residents of the lower East Side of New York City where Henry Street was located (Hall, 1971). From the mid-60s onward, the Great Society, limits aside, wrought profound changes and brought massive funding for neighborhood work and social change (Halpern, 1995). Federal expenditures for social welfare services tripled in only five years, increasing from $812 million in 1965 to $2.2 billion in 1970. In contrast, local and state expenditure expanded 50% in the same time period. Most important for settlements, a large percentage of the public funding for social welfare services was now being spent through nonprofit agencies. The Office of Economic Opportunity, developed in 1964 to administer the War on Poverty, dramatically expanded the amount of money available for community-based nonprofit programs, including settlements (Kravitz, 1969). Additionally, as popular pressure mounted for increased public support of social service programming, Congress amended the Social Security Act in 1967 so that states could develop purchase of service contracts (POSC) with private agencies. This program guaranteed states federal support up to three times (300%) the amount they could raise from private or other public sources. Funding under this Title-IV-A amendment jumped from $281 million in 1967 to $1.6 billion five years later. (Smith and Lipsky, 1993; Levitan, 1969). These new financing arrangements created expansive opportunity to both promote social change and develop community-based programs. It was as though Lyndon Johnson and the United States Congress were trying to do for the settlements and poor urban neighborhoods what Jane Adams, Lillian Wald, Helen Hall, and countless others had only dreamed of a half-century earlier. Not only were they making neighborhood-based poverty work a concern of American social policy, they were funding it (Halpern, 1995).
The experience of Hull-House during these years, while certainly not representative of all settlements, concretely illustrates the impact of public financing on settlement staffing and budget. From 1962 to 1969, the Hull-House staff expanded from about forty people to over three hundred. In 1969 its budget doubled, increasing from under $1 million to $2 million (Romanofsky, 1978). Its contracted services included such War on Poverty programs as VISTA, Meals-on-Wheels, Head Start, and Neighborhood Youth Corp.

Increased federal support, channeled primarily through individual reimbursements via Medicare and Medicaid and aggregate contracts for specific programs changed the composition as well as role of the settlement house. In the past, when settlements were dependent on private donations, board members were drawn from the city elite. Securing support was an expected responsibility of board appointees. With the Great Society programs, however, there was an increased emphasis on the poor representing themselves. Such tendency was maximized as a matter of policy through "maximum feasible participation of the poor" (Moynihan, 1969). Pressures for participation and equal voice mounted throughout the public and nonprofit world. A 1936 study of settlements in New York reported that 25 of 34 settlements had no one from the neighborhood on their boards. By 1968, the NFS estimated, 25% of settlements boards were comprised of neighborhood residents or their representatives. By 1970 the figure was 75%. Increasingly the board changed from being all white to predominantly people of color. By 1975, more than half the directors of settlement houses were nonwhite (Beck, 1977). Clearly, settlements were responding to pressures from the social movements of the 1960s for inclusion and democratic process. But public contracting also promoted diversification and democratization of settlement boards. They were no longer dependent on private funding. They were no longer dependent on the boards to raise money.

Public funding, however, was fraught with challenges and dilemmas for settlements, ones that were apparent early on. Settlement leaders such as Helen Hall, who retired from Henry Street in 1967, articulated clearly both virtues and drawbacks in federal
funding (Andrews, 1990). First, securing funding from the public sector was very difficult work, especially for smaller agencies. “Just filling out the forms and questionnaires required to get public money is an exercise in perspicacity and endurance, aside from the real job of interesting the beleaguered public servant in even your most creative plans” (Hall, 1971, p. 87). Second, contracts were always a compromise between what the settlement wanted to do, or what the settlement really needed money for, and what the government was willing to fund. “Sometimes the combination is a reinforcement and improvement on the original [settlement] plan, and sometimes a distortion” (Hall, 1971, p.87). Third, and related, government funding often steered settlements toward trading off their own and/or community needs in favor of federal priorities. Instead of identifying a community need and finding funds to develop a program to address it, there was an increasing tendency to launch programs simply because government money was available. Hall preferred funding for “basic on-going budgets,” rather than the restrictive funding for specific projects. “I have often wished that more foundations would decide to give not only to new projects but to put aside a good percentage of their funds for the support of the basic on-going budgets of the kind of agencies in which they are interested, using the rest for the experiments of limited duration” (Hall, 1971, p.88). Running programs demanded increased bureaucratization and formalization, as well as ever greater attentiveness to the whims of policy makers in Washington or Albany. Moreover, government funding fluctuated. Program support, here today, could be gone tomorrow depending upon the action of Congress, the President, or a state legislature. Critically, contracting also seemed to overextend programs, creating a need for additional monies not provided in the contracts. (See also Kettner and Martin, 1996; Smith and Lipsky, 1993) Despite its big budget in 1967, Hull-House had a $200,000 deficit, “and it was larger in each of the next two years” (Bryan and Davis, 1990, p. 279). While settlements benefitted from Great Society programs in particular and public funding in general, Trolander (1987) concluded that “the net effect of the War On Poverty may well have been to contribute to the demise of the traditional settlement house movement” (p.187).
Concurrent with the institutionalization of the new contracting relationship between nonprofits and the public sector, support for social action waned. By 1967 conservatives in Congress were undercutting and defunding the social action component of the War on Poverty (Piven and Cloward, 1971). Deeper reductions during President Nixon's administration, 1969–1973, created greater financial strain for settlements. While social action programming continued to be defunded, the Nixon era cuts turned out to be only a temporary if difficult downturn for contracted funding to nonprofit service providers. For example, federal spending on OEO and ACTION programs increased from $51.7 million in 1965 to $2.3 billion in 1980. Likewise spending at the Federal level for community mental health centers expanded from $143 million in 1969 to $1.4 billion in 1979. With the passage of Titles IV and XX of the 1974 revision to the Social Security Act, which allows the federal government to purchase service from private agencies, public funding for community-based nonprofit work increased yet again.

The sweeping change in the 1960s of the fiscal underpinnings of settlement programming is illustrated by the Henry Street experience. For its first seventy years Henry Street was heavily dependent on private funding. That changed dramatically in the 1960s. By 1975 federal government funding accounted for approximately two-thirds of its $4.5 million annual budget. It had a staff of five hundred, most of whom were involved in government contract projects (Wallach, 1978). What developed and was permanently established in the 1960s was a new funding relationship with Federal, state, and local governments that transformed the settlement house into a different organization after 1975. Contracting in an era of privatization and economic globalization had begun.

Privatization and Contracting Since 1975

A study undertaken by the United Neighborhood Houses of New York (UNH) for the Ford Foundation in 1991 calculated that 80% of the funding for the 38 member settlements in New York City came from public contracts. Kraus and Chaudry (1995)
estimate 85%. As noted, the settlement houses benefitted from the public dollars. With public support they were able to help address the needs of poor children, their families, and their inner-city communities by providing a broad array of neighborhood-based social activities and human services. But they were burdened by the public contracts as well. They were overwhelmed, the executive director of United Neighborhood Houses stated, by “the administrative time and cost now spent in issuing and responding to multiple requests for proposals and in preparing and processing thousands of forms for auditing, monitoring, and reporting on programs” (Marks, 1993, p. 24). Equally significant, public funds were becoming more and more restrictive, allowing use for only “single-problem categories” such as illiteracy, substance abuse, or child care. Funding was “too inflexible to permit appropriate responses” to worsening and ever changing needs of the community (Marks, 1993, p. 24–25). According to Rolland Smith (1995), executive director of the Greater Cleveland Neighborhood Centers Association, the combination of neoconservative social agendas, a more constrictive and volatile system of contracting, and declining private money despite increasing upper class wealth forced settlement houses “to use up fund balances, defer maintenance on buildings, pay salaries well below parity, scramble for funding, and often operate with a crisis mentality” (p2132).

While some may consider the settlement house an artifact, the current 37 houses in New York City deliver an impressive and wide-ranging array of services to nearly 200,000 people annually (Kraus and Chaudry, 1995). These services, as with the nonprofit sector in general, are heavily influenced by government funding. The settlement house once had the distinction of being an innovative, autonomous, flexible agency embedded in community life. But the bureaucratization and formalization that accompanies contemporary contracting hastens other forms of organizational development. As Kraus and Chaudry note, “In too many instances, settlements have grown to resemble their funders—with specialized staff, organized by categorical programs, who often answer more to the rules and regulations of their funding agencies than to changing neighborhood conditions.” (p. 34). Critically, the continued persistence of the settlement house in the 1990s, even
its potential revival, occurred as both part of a transformation of its programs and structures and the recreation of the welfare state. In the new privatized welfare state, settlement houses, like most nonprofits, persist at the same time they are besieged by dual pressures from an intensified contracting system and from heightened and unmet chronic needs of their communities (Smith, 1995; Sclar, 2000).

In this regard, Emily Marks, Executive Director of United Neighborhood Houses, comments that “In order to secure government and foundation support over the last 40 years, however, settlements have had to adjust to an increasingly fragmented and categorical funding environment. Aimed at ameliorating deficits, the structure of both public and private funding has limited opportunities to develop community-building approaches.” (Marks, 1998, i) In the past, settlements sought from the outset to build a sense of neighborhood identity and cohesiveness. Their view of society as an organic whole required the elements—in and outside of the neighborhood—to work together (Melvin, 1987). They strove for “community embeddedness” (Hirota and Ferroussier-Davis, 1998). At present, geographic community and even cultural community are assigned less importance within a fiscal environment that emphasizes varied categorical programs and the wide range of multiple service contracts. In this way, contracting undermines the ability of nonprofits such as settlements to build local solidarity and enhance community, as well as engage in social action or social reform initiatives (Hirota and Ferroussier-Davis, 1998).

By the mid-1990s the heightened atmosphere of privatization initiated by the “Contract with America” sought tax and social service cuts and the general dismantling of social welfare programming. Under the older contracting system, nonprofits and settlement houses traded off professional autonomy and organizational independence for a degree of financial stability in an ever more fiscally unstable political-economic context (Dailey, 1974). Under the new “Contract,” implemented in New York by Governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani but initiated earlier by the administration of Mayor Koch, pressure intensified on the nonprofit social service sector (Smith, 1998; Sites, 1997). Increasingly they were forced to sacrifice not only professional
autonomy, but, with the fiscal cutbacks and intensified economic pressures, expected to endure less financial stability and greater bureaucratic demand for accountability.

Conclusion

Clearly much more work needs to be done regarding the financial history of nonprofit social service agencies in general and settlements in particular. This initial overview establishes historic trends which underscore critical elements. First, it emphasizes that there is a direct relationship between the larger political economy and the funding, or defunding, of community organizing and social reform efforts. Second, the relationship between funding, political economy, and social service programming is more complex than an expansion/contraction dualistic model reveals. Settlement houses both influenced funding and the larger political economy just as they were affected by them. Moreover, funding may expand in periods characterized generally by social disinvestment, but such funds are directed to more conservative programming. Third, financing plays a major role in influencing the nature of settlement programming, especially the balance between service delivery and social action. Fourth, over the past century the voluntary agency has become increasingly dependent upon contracted public funds. Fifth, contracted public funding to nonprofits is not a static system. During our most recent conservative era public funds are being dramatically restructured to configure the nature of social services and voluntary agencies in ways that are ever more like the private sector. The changes are profound, heavily influencing not only the very nature of settlement programming but their potential to engage in the traditional settlement projects of community building and social reform. In this regard, Putnam (2000) underscores the importance of latent community building organizations like the settlement house as a political counter pull to the contemporary decline of civil life and social cohesiveness. But like many others he under-appreciates the impact of new financing and administrative arrangements on the structural base and organizational culture of community service institutions such as settlements. This study reveals how throughout its history the settlement house has been transformed
Financing the Settlement House by critical changes in its funding base and the larger political economy. Our contemporary era is certainly no exception.

Note

1. American social welfare and political history in the past century has been described as a series of cycles between eras which are more public regarding and more private regarding (Schlesinger, Jr. 1986). Piven and Cloward (1971; 1999) discuss the shifts in terms of periods of consensus and dissensus politics. Most recently, Putnam (2000) sees it in terms of up and downs in “civic engagement.” (p.25) Historians, social scientists, social workers and others agree in general on the periodization of this model. See, for example, Reisch (1998) and Ehrenreich (1985). Periods of public investment and social activism include the Progressive Era (1900–1918), The New Deal and World War II Era (1933–1946), and The Sixties (1963–1973). Private contexts are The Gilded Age (1877–1896), The Twenties (1920–1929), The Fifties (1948–1959), and our contemporary world (1975–present). The years in between are times of transition. The model provides a single lens to put in context the more than 100 year history of the social settlements. Clearly all models have limits. They reduce historical complexity and conflate historical specificity. They risk becoming mechanical and running counter to lived experience. Regarding the social investment model, we recognize that historical change usually comes slowly and incrementally, rather than in sudden shifts. The dates offered are obviously not absolute, but designed to emphasize a general change in national political atmosphere and a shift in the context for social investment. Equally important, continuities in American history such as a broad consensus on private property and individualism, the persistence of class and racial domination, and the hegemony of capitalist development are certainly as significant as the changes this model emphasizes (Hofstadter, 1948; Dowd, 1974; Crocker, 1992; Walkowitz, 1999). These and other caveats acknowledged, subsequent stages of this discussion provide a fuller and more graphic depiction of the shifts in support for social investment and their influence on settlement programming.

References


Financing the Settlement House


"I Raised My Kids on the Bus": Transit Shift Workers' Coping Strategies for Parenting

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The study investigated coping strategies for parenting of transit shift workers, an urban, blue-collar, primarily ethnic minority population. It involved a qualitative, grounded theory approach, using individual interviews with 30 San Francisco bus drivers.

The principal aspect of the job impacting transit workers' relationships with their children was the lack of time they had together. Drivers had to be creative to find ways to care for their children. They could not rely exclusively on formal child care because hours at childcare centers did not match their job schedules. Coping strategies for care included taking children on the bus, working shifts complementary to those of spouses, using siblings as surrogate parents, substituting material gifts for time, and separating work from family.

Future research cannot group shift work as one composite. Shift-working doctors and nurses experience different working conditions from those of bus drivers that may lead to variations in parental caring. Policy suggestions include child care services and shorter shifts.

Introduction: Shift Work, Transit Work and Family Relationships

How do male and female city bus drivers who work 10 to 12 hours a day engage with the process of raising children? This paper describes a case study of shift-working bus drivers—or transit operators, as they prefer to be called—in dual-income families in the city of San Francisco. It draws on existing literature in the areas of work and family, shift work, transit work, their respective relationships to family, and the new concept of "cultures of care,"
defined as the people, institutions, and ideas that provide care (Hochschild, 1999).

Shift work is a type of work in which employees work hours other than the standard hours of 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. or other than the standard workweek, Mondays through Fridays in the United States. Most research on shift work involves its impact on the physical and mental health of the individual shift worker.

Shift work has existed as far back as ancient Roman times, when deliveries were limited to night hours in order to decrease traffic (Monk and Folkard, 1992, p. 2). What has changed since the advent of electric lighting and the Industrial Revolution is the number and percentage of shift workers. The estimate for the percentage of shift work within the total workforce for the United States was 22% in 1986 (Mayshar and Halevy, 1997). More contemporary estimates are close to 45% (Presser, 1995). Thus, shift work is widespread and increasing in the United States.

Early research on shift work and families examined male shift workers (Kanter, 1977). Costa's more recent literature review (1996) refers to evidence that shift work can cause hardships in sustaining family relationships and lead to detrimental consequences for marriages and children. Harriet Presser (2000), one of the best known researchers in the area of shift work and families, just published a study based on data for married couples from the National Survey of Families and Households. She found that working night shifts increased the odds of divorce by a factor of 6 for men who had children and were married less than five years, compared to men who worked regular days. For women who worked night shifts and shared the characteristics just mentioned, the relative risk of divorce was 3.

Transit work refers to any job whose primary responsibility is transportation. As with shift work, most studies on transit work have examined its impact on employee health. Studies of San Francisco drivers found higher levels of hypertension associated with increased time on the job (Ragland, Greiner, Holman, and Fisher, 1997).

Transit operator (bus driver) shifts are designed with the scheduling needs of the passengers in mind. The structure of transit scheduling is to fit the bimodal distribution of commuter peak times. Little or no consideration goes towards meeting the
individual needs of the drivers or their families. By definition, flexible work hours are not possible for transit operators. Presence at the workplace is an absolute requirement. Until now, no research has examined the effects of transit shift work on the families of bus drivers.

The purpose of the current study was to explore the nature of the impact of shift work and in particular, transit work, on family relationships.

Historical Background

Work and Family

The setting for "work" and "family" has evolved during the previous half century. The dual earner, working-parents pattern has largely replaced the male-breadwinner, female-housewife model of the 1950's and 1960's (Coontz, 1997). In 1963, 60% of U.S. children lived in single-earners, two partner families; by 1997, 67% lived in families were both parents had paid employment outside the home, usually on a full-time basis (Waite and Nielson, 2001).

Compelled by the entrance en masse of women into the labor force, the increasing number of single-parent families and the active struggles on the part of the women's and labor movements, work and family benefits have begun to appear along with more traditional fringe benefits as part of comprehensive employee benefits packages (Galinsky, Bond, and Friedman, 1995). Certain employers, attempting to reduce turnover and absenteeism, possible effects of work-family conflict, have included programs with time off, flexible work arrangements, family-oriented information and referral services, and child- and eldercare as work-family perquisites.

Shift Work and Families

A review of the literature on the effects of shift work on social and family life (Colligan and Rosa, 1990) reveals results that are not surprising. The authors compared studies of workers on day shifts (8 a.m.–5 p.m.), afternoon/evening shifts (4 p.m.–midnight), night shifts (midnight–8 a.m.), and rotating shifts. As
expected, day shift workers and their spouses showed higher levels of mental health, had the highest level of satisfaction with their job schedules, marriages, and family integration, and participated more in community activities than workers on other shifts. However, day shift workers had less time for housework than their afternoon and night shift counterparts. Afternoon shift workers had the lowest satisfaction levels regarding time to spend with spouses, children, other family members, and friends. Night shift workers were worse off than their day and afternoon coworkers in terms of physical health and amount of sleep. However, they reported higher satisfaction levels with spouses than afternoon workers (with the notable exception of sexual relationships, where they were worse off), children, and social life (Colligan and Rosa, 1990). The main benefit of rotating shifts is that they distribute the negative physical health outcomes of shift work across all workers, limiting the health risks to each one. The disadvantages include problems sleeping, eating meals, and planning social events.

Until recently, most research on shift work and families concentrated on shift-working men, although Presser has examined shift workers of both genders. Because women have been entering the labor force in large numbers, there is a demand for services such as medical clinics, supermarkets, and department stores after standard work hours. This has resulted in a sizable increase in the service sector. Presser (1998) explains that these changes constitute the driving force behind the increase in shift work and predicts continued growth in the shift work sector.

Other work by Presser has illuminated the connection between parental child care and shift work. She found that fathers are much more likely to do child care if mothers are working shifts rather than standard work schedules (Presser, 1988). Anita Garey (1995), looking at the social construction of motherhood, found that nurses did night shift work in order to simulate "stay-at-home moms" by being available to their children during the day. Research on shift work and family has indicated that families of shift workers suffer from higher divorce rates (White and Keith, 1990), lower marital satisfaction (Costa, 1996), lower satisfaction levels in relationships with children (Rahman and Pal, 1994), and
worse sex lives (Colligan and Rosa, 1990; Simon, 1990; White and Keith, 1990) than their nonshift-working counterparts.

Cultures of Care

The term "cultures of care" refers to people, institutions, practices, projects and ideas that provide or promote care (Hochschild, 1999). Fisher and Tronto define care as an activity

that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible (Fisher and Tronto, 1990, p. 40).

They break care down into four components: caring about, taking care of, caregiving, and care receiving. They define “caring about” as noticing that someone requires care; “taking care of” means acting in response to caring about; “caregiving” is the direct process of providing the physical care; and “care receiving” is the response of the subject of the care.

Tronto (1993) proposes an “ethic of care,” a way of looking at care as a political concept and a framework for making moral, political decisions. The distinction between private and public life, first documented by Aristotle, but perpetuated by contemporary philosophers, continues to separate care issues from policy making. Tronto (1996) argues against this arbitrary separation and for a concept of care as public, significant, and a prerequisite for fair and democratic policy.

Arlie Hochschild (1999) discusses what she finds to be the contemporary “quiet crisis in care.” Parents of both genders and all socioeconomic classes are working at paid jobs outside the home. Who, then, is left to care for children, disabled and elder relatives, and neighbors, who in previous generations received care from stay-at-home mothers? Hochschild laments the low value our culture places on care even as its availability shrinks. After reviewing existing work and family literature, she posits that an important piece is missing: explorations of “care.” Hochschild invites us to question our understanding of care and its role. What defines care and how does our culture encourage or discourage it? Her Center for Working Families at Berkeley supports research in these areas. This paper is one example of this genre. It reflects
an attempt to understand and characterize the care that parents with jobs as bus drivers give their children.

Study Description

Purpose

This study had several purposes. Given the existing and projected increase in the percentage of the labor force doing shift work, I wanted to investigate the effects of employees' shift work on their family relationships. Because most work and family research examines white professionals, a second objective was to look at an urban, blue-collar, primarily ethnic minority workforce, an understudied segment of employees in the work and family context. A third purpose involved the selection of bus drivers as a study population among shift workers. Research on transit workers is vital from the perspectives of advocates for expanded public transportation: environmentalists, disability rights activists, and social workers. However, in recommending more public transit, policymakers must be aware of the work and family issues facing transit workers.

Drawing on the "cultures of care" idea and corresponding literature on care (Fisher and Tronto, 1990; Hochschild, 1999; Ruddick, 1998; Tronto, 1996), my fourth goal was to investigate the coping strategies for parental caring within this population of workers.

Methodology

I recruited participants for the study from a pool of over 1800 transit operators who work for San Francisco Municipal Railway (Muni), the public transportation system responsible for providing bus, trolley, and cable car service to the city of San Francisco.

The principal data collection method was an open-ended, semistructured, one-on-one interview with a fixed set of questions. However, depending on the responses, some new questions were asked, others were left out, and some were modified. What the operator being interviewed seemed to respond to led to delving deeper into subjects apparently most meaningful for the individual and omitting questions that did not seem relevant.

Interviewing has to engage in "directed conversation that
brings out inner views of subjects’ lives as they describe their experiences” (Charmaz, 1991, p. 385). The process of interviewing was fluid and interactive, with participants as well as the interviewer shaping the interviews. Thirty interviews took place. Recruitment was via flyers advertising the study posted at work sites and by describing the project at union and management meetings that I attended.

My intention was to use a grounded theory approach. However, in retrospect, it appears that in addition, I also used a deductive methodology in that I was extending and verifying Hochschild’s “cultures of care” framework along with her notion of “time binds,” discussed below.

I coded the data using a grounded theory design, the strategy developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) involving discovery of theory from data obtained via qualitative methods of research. Instead of aiming for verification of a preconceived theory, the theory emerges from the data. Using this process, I reviewed interview transcripts and generated categories for understanding work-family issues facing bus drivers. This method is part of the comparative approach combining both coding and analysis that Glaser and Strauss recommend. It involves coding each occurrence into many groups of analysis, integrating these categories, delimiting the theory, and writing the theory.

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) do a good job of synthesizing literature on analyzing qualitative data. The three principal analytic steps of qualitative research are coding, creating categories, and developing themes. After coding the data, the connection among codes created a category. So, for example, codes indicating dressing differently at work and at home and trying to protect family members from the job stress drivers bring home, formed the category of “Separation of Work and Family.” Finally, themes grew out of combining categories. In the section on “Coping Strategies,” “Expressions of Care” became a theme emerging from categories of “Contact While at Work,” “Job Timing,” and “Job Pride.”

Demographics

The focus of this paper is on the 17 interviewees (out of the sample of 30) who were married, living in dual-income house-
holds, and had at least one child under the age of 18, either at the time of the interview or previously, but since becoming a bus driver. These families were all middle-class in that most had some college education, several had four-year college degrees, their median salary came close to $50,000 a year, and all owned their homes. The ethnic breakdown was 9 African Americans, 1 Latina, 2 Asians, and 5 whites, thus composing a largely minority group, representative of the total Muni workforce. The age range spanned from early 20s to mid-60s, with half in the 36–49 years category. The sample demographic distribution matched the overall bus driver workforce in marital status, ethnicity, and age. The exception to this match of the sample and the overall group was gender. Currently, Muni employs about 85% male and 15% female drivers. The study participants, included 6 women (35%) and 11 men (65%), an over-sampling of women. This was probably due to the voluntary recruitment method combined with a greater interest in families on the part of women compared to men.

Evidence of Time Binds

Bus drivers talked of their constant experiences with “time binds,” the term Hochschild (1997) coined to refer to the hardships in meeting family responsibilities working parents face due to time constraints employers impose on them. The median number of hours drivers work per day is 12, with a maximum of 10 hours driving time. Most of the sample (11) work “split” shifts, such that they work 2 shifts of up to 6 hours each, separated by a break of about 2 hours. The others (6) work straight shifts, mostly at night. Some (7) do rotating shifts (day or night), only finding out their schedule 24 hours before it begins. A typical day shift is 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. Most drivers work five days a week. Several people gave descriptions of their typical workday:

Time to work, eat, sleep, pick up child, watch TV.
You come home, make supper, and that’s about it. Time to go to bed.

As a result, their ”real” lives do not happen during their workdays, as illustrated by the following comments from a young, white mother of a teenage daughter:

I live for weekends and holidays.
My days are so long. I focus on my days off.
Several participants mentioned items for which they just did not have enough time. "No time to eat," "No time for social life," "No time for sex," and "No time for sleep" were a few of the highlights. Some of the more poignant remarks had to do with the lack of time for their children. A 50-year-old, white, male driver said:

My daughter for a while didn’t know what my connection to the house was. When you get up before they do and come home after they’re in bed, they don’t see you. It’s just not conducive to a healthy family life.

An Asian father said:

My biggest concern was that I just felt like I wasn’t as close to my kids as I should have been. And I think that had a lot to do with the hours I was working.

An African American mother summed up the lot of bus drivers in relation to their families:

You really have no family life. We are here so much that there are people whose children are born, go to school, and get married and they’ve never attended any of the family events. They’ve never been to their high school graduations because they couldn’t get time off. The job is not set up to allow for family life.

The stressful nature of the job clearly affected the quality of the time participants spent with children. An African American mother commented:

When I’d come home from work, I didn’t feel like being bothered. You come home and you’re totally drained. At first [when I got the job] my kids, they were excited. But then they avoided me. Because I would snap at them, holler.

A white mother of a teenager said:

My daughter always wants to do things with me, and I’m too exhausted.

Coping Strategies

How did bus drivers cope with their lack of free time combined with responsibilities for and wishes to spend time with and care for their children? When they averaged 12 work hours
a day, how did they deal with care? Did they delegate child care responsibilities to others? If so, whom did they choose and what were some of the consequences? If not, did they change their definitions of “care,” either by convincing themselves that children need less care, as Hochschild’s (1997) “needs reduction” tactic suggests, or by substituting material gifts for time? The child involvement strategies fell mostly into categories of physical maintenance and expressions of care. What I am calling “child involvement strategies” corresponds to Ruddick’s (1998, p. 8) “practices of mothering” or parenting.

In my research, my care categories do not correspond exactly to those of Fisher and Tronto (1990). Although their distinction between “taking care of” and “caregiving” is certainly valid, I include both arranging for others to perform caregiving and direct physical care in one category that I label “physical maintenance.” I look at how drivers “take care of” their children whether or not they also provide the direct care. However, Fisher and Tronto’s categories are germane to my study in their distinction between “caring about” and “taking care of.” All the parents I interviewed “cared about” their children’s welfare, but their jobs imposed serious limitations on their ability to “take care of” their children.

Physical Maintenance

Physical maintenance refers to who takes physical care of children and how. For this sample, these strategies included taking children on the bus, working shifts complementary to those of spouses, leaving children with extended family, using siblings as surrogate parents, placing children in formal child care, and leaving children home alone.

Taking Children on the Bus As the title of this paper suggests, some drivers resorted to taking their children to work, although bringing one’s children on the bus is explicitly against city transit policy. Clearly, this policy is not enforced because both drivers who violated it and those who referred to coworkers as having done so felt free to talk about this practice. Because of the limited child care available during early morning shifts, some drivers kept their children on the bus before school began. Due to limitations on after-school programs, others took their children on the bus after school.
Bus drivers are not the only parents who bring children to work. Professionals occasionally bring children to the office, with varying consequences, depending on reactions of supervisors and coworkers, who sometimes are drafted into child care service. Bus drivers who take their children to work probably cannot impose on passengers to perform child care as easily as can parents who rely on coworkers or subordinates in office jobs. Comparisons across occupations suggest that bus drivers enjoy more flexibility in caring for their children at work sites than parents in some other jobs but less than those in others. For example, a bus driver simply could not bring a baby on the bus without a caregiver, rendering it moot to take the child on the bus. It is, however, possible to bring an infant to an office if the baby does not disturb other workers. Although it is problematic if working parents are compelled to bring children to work, it is worth considering if policy should facilitate rather than prohibit this practice.

Spouses Working Shifts or Complementary Schedules  Several participants had spouses who also did shift work Some arranged to have complementary shifts so that at least one parent was always with the children. Others tried to have the same shifts so that the family could all be together every evening for dinner.

Even drivers whose spouses worked standard hours were able to enjoy some benefits vis-à-vis caring for children if their schedules were complementary. Several fathers whose wives worked days talked of attending parent-teacher meetings, taking children to doctors' appointments, and cooking meals for them, activities scheduled during the daytime. Complementary shifts have the advantage that children can be with a parent more of the time, but the disadvantage that the couple and family as a whole cannot spend much time together.

Extended Family, Friends, and Neighbors  For drivers with employed spouses, outside child care was a necessity. Drivers relied on grandparents, aunts, other relatives, friends or neighbors for a certain amount of child care. Summer holidays were problematic for drivers, as they are for many working parents. Many sent children to retired grandparents living in other cities during summer vacations. Although more common among African American families, reminiscent of Stack's (1996) research on ties between
black extended families in the South and North, white drivers reported this practice too.

_Siblings as Surrogate Parents_ A number of drivers reported leaving an older sibling in charge of younger children, with varied consequences. One African American mother of five relied on a complicated plan involving school for four children part of the day, her 16-year-old daughter doing some child care, her 12-year-old son helping with two younger siblings, a neighbor, and a paid sitter.

A white mother of five, with a husband currently retired from a military, nontransit, shift job, considered her 11-year-old daughter's experience as substitute parent a learning exercise and good training for independence and self-sufficiency. This mother described how her daughter's role of parent to younger siblings did not require any special prompting:

She always felt responsible for her little brothers and sisters. She got a kick out of being the momma. Even when she's outside playing and I'd be at home, she'd still be the momma. So it worked out for me.

This example illustrates both the delegating of child care responsibility to a sibling, and possibly Hochschild's (1997) "needs reduction" theory in the mother's underlying assumption that the 11-year-old needs limited care herself and is ready to provide care to others.

One father spoke of a permanent resentment on the part of two younger sisters toward the oldest due to her having had control over her siblings while both parents worked. Years later, as adults, the sisters still reverted to a relationship based on the unequal power they had as children.

The oldest . . . is the one that got stuck with that surrogate parent role. . . . She was in charge and she was the parent without real authority. . . . So they seem to fight a lot - even now. . . . It's very easy for them to break back in that relationship. . . . That probably wouldn't exist as bad as it was if it wasn't for the way the job happened.

This example illustrates the potential long-lasting effects of altered authority roles within a family as an adjustment to demands of shift work.
Formal Child Care Arrangements  Most drivers were not able to rely entirely on family and friends for child care, and thus, had to place their children in formal day care or after-school programs. Quite a few expressed concern for the safety of their children while they were in formal child care, and many felt guilty about leaving children with nonrelatives. One father spoke for a number of drivers when he said:

You’re always worried when somebody else is in charge of your child. . . . If it’s your wife, . . . you just feel good, you relax, you accept whatever comes your way. Whereas, God forbid, if anything ever happened when somebody else is taking care of your kid, you have to live with that.

A father of three boys, whose wife worked days and whose children spent three hours a day in child care with a neighbor, felt bad about his children having non-parental care. Although he trusted the neighbor, and did not fear for the safety of his children he still commented:

Well, the main reason I like to work nights is because I like to be with my kids in the daytime instead of [the] babysitter. . . . If you compare the care, my care is different from the babysitter.

Home Alone: Self-Care  Parents from two-parent families did occasionally leave young children (under 12) alone, but not regularly. By contrast, single mothers were more likely to do so, experiencing limited options. One single mother said, “My babies raised themselves” of her two children aged 7 and 5 who stayed home alone while she worked. She felt both guilty and duped by her employer. She explained that, initially, as a new bus driver, she had prioritized work over family. By the time she came to believe she had been too “gung-ho” and naïve about the importance of her job, it was already too late. Her children were grown and no longer needed her as they had previously.

Although child care is usually associated with youngsters, several parents voiced concerns about leaving older children alone too. After-school programs often have age limits (11 or 12), so these programs are not options for drivers with older children. One mother reported that her 11-year-old was afraid of being in the house alone after school. People expressed fears that their
children would join gangs, drink alcohol, or be crime victims if left alone.

**Expressions of Caring**

Caring for children can take a variety of forms for any population of working parents. Ruddick (1998) discusses expressions of feelings as part of the work of care. Here I look at what forms these expressions took. Among bus drivers, the most evident expressions of care involved job timing, contact while at work, material gifts, job pride, and separation of work from family.

**Job Timing**  One mother postponed taking her bus driver job because she felt that her children were too young for her to be away from them 14 hours a day when the job first became available to her. The population of bus drivers is considerably older than the median age of parents of young children. Only 18% of the sample were 35 years or younger. Half were between 36 and 49 years old. Thirty-two percent were 50 or older, matching the age range of the Muni workforce. There is, thus, a suggestion of an inherent incompatibility between the job and a family that includes young children.

**Contact While at Work**  Contact with family members while at the workplace was especially difficult for drivers. People who work in professional or service jobs take for granted their ability to initiate or respond to a phone call from friends or family members while in their offices. Drivers are more like factory workers with respect to outside contact while on the job. Several mothers said they carried pagers or cell phones. Others talked of running to pay phones at the end of their lines and squeezing a phone call into their already tight schedules as their main way of contacting families.

One father whose wife also worked as a driver said:

Well, . . . both my wife and I would call every morning, . . . If you got to the line late and couldn’t get to the phone, it was like, “I wonder if they got up; I wonder if there’s any problems. . . .” And then you’d call and they wouldn’t answer . . . and you didn’t know if it was because. . . . they left already or somebody’d killed them.

These parents experienced an inability to provide care they imagined might be necessary.
One African American mother who did not have time to help her child with his homework in person dealt with that dilemma as follows:

We used to do homework over the phone. When I’d get to the end of the line, I’d call him from a pay phone and have him read it to me. He knew what time I’d be calling. He had my schedule there, and he learned to read my schedule.

Material Substitutes for Time  Everyone interviewed cited salary and health benefits as primary reasons for staying at their jobs. One mother said her salary had enabled her to send her son to a private school. Several fathers reported assuaging children’s wishes to spend more time with them by explaining that overtime work paid for going out to dinner or movies. Several drivers reported being able to take yearly luxury vacations. This family time did not, however, compensate for the lack of time the rest of the year. One father said:

I do this so we can go on vacation. I do this so we can have a week quality time.

Sometimes it seemed that drivers were using material goods as substitutes for time spent with children. Hochschild (1997) found similar experiences in her interviews with “Amerco” working parents. Shopping became a way of expressing care, but care at a price. One mother talked of her joy at giving her children expensive gifts at holiday times. Although grateful for that aspect of the job, she considered it a trade-off for the lack of time she could spend with the children and related consequences such as their anger and her stress level. The anger and stress bring to mind Ruddick’s (1998) discussion of emotions of care. Another mother explained how her time away from her children affected even her ability to care effectively through shopping:

This is how bad it was. I was shopping one day for my kids. Little did I realize that they had grown out of the 10s and 8s. They were in the 14s and 12s. Because basically I thought that they were still these little people. I couldn’t see that they had grown up because of a lack of time I was spending with them.

These parents did not have the option of working less and earning less. They were working out of economic necessity, not primarily
a consumerist orientation. However, materialistic values played a role in shaping their lives.

Job Pride Several mothers said that their children were proud of them for being bus drivers. Although this may be an example of an unintended form of caring, it served to cement relationships between mothers and children as well as increase self-esteem in both. Interestingly, no father mentioned the equivalent. Gender stereotypes probably played a part in this difference. Driving a bus may still conjure up the image of a strong man. A woman driver may enjoy the respect of her children more than a man just because she is breaking conventional norms.

Separation of Work from Family Several participants discussed their ability and wish to separate work from family. Keeping the two apart represented yet another form of caring. In particular, drivers mentioned not bringing stress home to their children. For example, one driver said:

I tried to control myself, not to show to my children that I'm stressed out.

Others paraphrased some version of “I don’t bring stress home.” During other parts of the interview, however, their words would betray their lack of success at separating the two worlds.

Although most shared the goal of protecting children from any negative consequences of their job stress, many admitted that this was a difficult, if not impossible, task. They spoke of exhaustion leaving them unavailable to their children. One driver realized that if he’d had trouble with a child passenger, he would take it out on his daughter upon returning home. One interviewee was aware of a technique that he used to facilitate the separation between work and family. Instead of wearing his uniform to and from work as is customary, he always changed into and out of it at the job site rather than at home. This seemed to provide him with the psychological distance from his job frame of mind that he needed.

Nippert-Eng discusses this phenomenon in her book on “boundary work,” defined as:

The process through which we organize potentially realm-specific matters, people, objects, and aspects of self into “home” and “work,”
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maintaining and changing these conceptualizations as needed or desired (Nippert-Eng, 1996, p. 7).

She writes that everyone draws boundaries between home and work along a continuum from one extreme of total segmentation to that of complete integration. People negotiate these relationships between home and work via a number of tools, including the personal practices that reinforce a degree of segmentation or integration (Nippert-Eng, 1996). This form of boundary work was apparent in many of the drivers' efforts to separate their jobs from their children.

Conclusions, Policy Recommendations, and Future Research

Bus drivers experienced a constant struggle around child care issues. They fell into the category of "parents at a distance," a phrase coined by Kathy Boudin in her discussion of parents in prison and expanded by Ruddick (1998, p. 15) to include parents who "work long hours." They left their children with spouses, siblings, and relatives when possible and used formal child care when it was needed and available, clearly delegating child care responsibility to others. When facing no alternatives, they sometimes left their children at home alone or took them on the bus with them. They expressed love for their children by worrying about them when they could not be with them. They compensated, in part, for lack of family time via material goods. They attempted to shield them from the adverse consequences of their jobs by a largely futile endeavor to separate their worlds of work and family. There may have been some overlap, thus, in the parental coping strategies for care of the bus drivers and those of other populations.

However, the bus drivers were different both from the non-shift workers and from other shift workers who are white-collar professionals, more typically the focus of work-family literature. The bus drivers had little, if any, control over the number of work hours per week and the time of day or night worked and therefore also exerted little influence over their free hours. By contrast, most contemporary work-family literature suggests that non-shift-working professionals work extra for purposes of career advancement, obsession with work, such as the high tech employees
Kunda (1996) studied, and possibly avoidance of families, such as the “Amerco” workers about whom Hochschild (1997) wrote. Even the nurses whom Garey (1995) interviewed chose night shift work to support their construction of motherhood. Bus drivers’ choices were limited by the dictates of their job. Their lack of access to employer-provided phones made it hard to communicate with children while at work. The only flexibility was that drivers who wished to work additional hours (beyond the standard 50–60 hours a week) did so.

The pressure of a public service job in which workers are constantly “on” appeared to contribute significantly to the stress that drivers felt and took home with them. The experience of the drivers is reminiscent of the “emotion work” described by Hochschild (1983) in her study of flight attendants, also workers in public service jobs. The examples referring to drivers taking their hostility out on their children demonstrate how the nature of the combination of high-pressure and public-service jobs can be hard on the families of workers holding such jobs.

Dissimilarities between the drivers and populations more commonly studied in the work-family literature have implications for policy as well as research. One policy recommendation that drivers endorsed was on-site child care. Given the shift work nature of the job, only 24-hour child care would accommodate all drivers with children. However, even a standard, but generous, 11-hour (7 a.m.–6 p.m.) facility would help many drivers and their families somewhat. Potential remaining difficulties even if on-site child care were available, involve transportation of children to and from school, child care, and home. An obvious solution for this particular employer is to dedicate some buses for purposes of transporting employees’ children.

The principal macro policy recommendation is to reduce hours while maintaining the current middle-class wage. It is generally a good idea to use caution when recommending policy based on a study with as small a sample size as occurred in the present study. So I will not add to the policy discussion any further other than to suggest this as an item to consider along with other possible techniques for facilitating parenting for bus drivers. On a micro level, it might be useful to organize support groups for bus drivers in which they could share ideas about parenting in
the context of their jobs. However, this is an individualist rather than a collective approach and does not offer a genuine solution to an inhumane policy that requires 12-hour workdays.

Regarding research, all shift work cannot simply be grouped as one composite. Shift-working doctors and nurses may not formulate the same parental caring strategies as bus drivers in part because they have different degrees of control in setting their schedules, divergent motivations for working overtime, and distinct salaries.

Future research should continue to examine the ways in which blue-collar and white-collar shift workers differ in their parental coping strategies due to the divergent working conditions of various occupations. Needed also are comparisons between shift workers and nonshift workers regarding the nature of their caring strategies. In addition, research should explore coping methods of shift workers for forms of family care other than parenting, including relationships with spouses and members of extended families.

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References


Social work literature has mainly focused upon females and gay males. A search was undertaken of general references to heterosexual males in published social-work authored articles and appearing in book reviews and publishers' ads in two prominent social work journals during the last decade. The conclusion reached was that heterosexual males are seldom discussed and when they are discussed they are portrayed in a very biased manner. It is believed that social workers do not receive necessary preparation for understanding and working with heterosexual males, especially from minority and immigrant groups, who are facing emotional, physical, interpersonal, and family problems. A stereotypic view of heterosexual males is both unfair and untrue, and precludes necessary attention in the classroom and in practice to their normative needs and special problems.

"Social work has been a woman’s profession. The vast majority of social workers have been and are women" (Weick, 2000, p. 395). Indeed, this is true. However, social work clients are not only females. Despite this, social work literature is female-oriented and provides a negative view of heterosexual males. Such a conclusion has been reached by an antecedent exploratory effort that assessed the titles of articles, book reviews, and publishers’ ads appearing since 1990 in the National Association of Social Work (NASW) journal, Social Work, and the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) publication, Journal of Social Work Education. When a title referred to male, female, or gender, the content of the book or journal article was assessed.

It was learned that when males are discussed they were, in the main, discussed as gays or if heterosexuals, discussed in negative
ways (such as abusers or absent fathers). Thus, it is believed that social work literature is biased and results in social work students and practitioners often being unaware of the various potential problems facing heterosexual males over their life cycle, such as interpersonal conflicts of adolescent boys, periods of transition to adulthood, fatherhood, marriage or divorce, aging, illness, immigration, widowhood, employment, unemployment, and retirement, among many others. Social work practitioners may be unprepared to provide sensitive and effective interventions to assist such males facing both normative and unique problems. Included are culturally diverse groups of males, such as immigrants and refugees. The males of concern are not the criminals, abusers, or deviants one can read about in the newspaper. They, rather, are males who face normative developmental, familial, interpersonal and intergenerational, economic, spiritual, and emotional challenges; those who can benefit from social work involvement.

This article emanates not out of an anti-feminist, pro-masculine orientation; rather, it results from social work values mandating the equitable and non-discriminatory concern for any individual or group in need. Nor does this article challenge contentions made by critics of "androcentrist" knowledge. "The social sciences were developed for the most part by a homogeneous group of white, middle-class, Western men who pursued their search for knowledge by building on shared assumptions and observations" (Figueira-McDonough, 1998, p. 5). However, we ought not dismiss or overlook the needs of heterosexual males in contemporary society as a result of past power inequities. That would replace one past injustice with another in the present. For example, the Preface of a text on practice knowledge for females (Figueira-McDonough, Netting, & Nichols-Casebolt, 1998) states: "This is a book that grew out of a shared uneasiness about the invisibility of women at the core of the curriculum [and] the 'after thought' given to women's issues in our classes . . ." (p. xiii). One could make a similar statement with regard to heterosexual males in society. It is believed that lack of attention to heterosexual males minimizes their importance for social work students and practitioners.

The following provides a suggestive, not exhaustive, overview of findings from the survey of social work material on males
and females published or reviewed in two influential and widely read social work journals. Addressed are examples of the predominant attention to female issues, the bias portrayal of males, normative problems of all males, special problems faced by males from minority and immigrant groups, and applied implications for the profession.

Social Work’s Attention to Females

During the 1990s up to present, social work literature has been female-oriented, and articles and books have focused upon the needs, problems, and empowerment of female clients and patients. This attention on females is based, in part, upon a legitimate professional concern for powerless and victimized populations. However, the attention on female-related issues may also result from the large proportion of social workers who are female and the significant number of feminists (both female and male) in the profession.


While the NASW Press did not publish these books, they were reviewed or advertised in its journal. Over the past decade, the


Although seldom focusing on gender-related issues, the *Journal of Social Work Education* had published the article “A Continuum of Male Controls and Violence Against Women: A Teaching Model” (Stout, 1991). Another article was entitled “Coverage of Women’s Issues in Social Work Journals: Are We Building an Adequate Knowledge Base?,” in which Nichols-Casebolt, Krysik, and Hamilton (1994) reported on a study of social work journals published between 1982 and 1991. The authors concluded that although the proportion of articles devoted to women’s issues had increased, the number was still low and did not cover the range of content on women. Books on women’s issues that are described in the Books Received section of the journal include *Resources for Social and Economic Development: Women Participating in Global Changes: An International Collection* (Fernandez, Heycox, Hughes, & Wilkinson, 1998) and *Women's Science: Learning and Succeeding from the Margins* (Eisenhart & Finkel, 1998).

The word “gender” is a general term that refers to sexual categories. Yet, within social work literature, the term has been applied mainly to females. The book *The Role of Gender in Practice Knowledge: Claiming Half the Human Experience* (Figueira-McDonough, Netting, & Nichols-Casebolt, 1998) focused on
females. Many articles on gender that appeared in Social Work had a decidedly female orientation. In a journal article, "Gender Differences in Attitudes toward Alcohol, Tobacco, and other Drugs" (Kauffman, Silver, & Poulin, 1997), the conclusion reached was that programs only for women should be compared to those that serve both genders. This article included 56 cited references, 30 specifically pertaining to females (by title) and only one to males.

Articles in the Journal of Social Work Education that focused upon gender in curricula also had a female focus, such as "Women's Studies or Gender Studies: A Feminist Discussion" (Hyde & Bricker-Jenkins, 1995) and in "Gender-Sensitive Social Work Practice: A Model for Education," Norman and Wheeler (1996) made the case that psychological models of assessment and intervention are based upon male development models, and offered an alternate feminist model. In "Gender-Sensitive Curricula in Social Work Education: A National Study" (Knight, 1991), the point made was that while graduate social work programs include attention to domestic violence and sexism (against women), the topics of lesbianism, reproductive rights, and sexism in social work were not adequately addressed. The author concluded by stating "the presence of a strongly feminist faculty was associated with the degree to which an institution covered women's issues" (p. 145). De Lange (1995) wrote a fairly balanced article on cross-cultural issues as related to gender and communications in the journal; yet, there was an emphasis on women, as seen in the concluding sentence: "Using a cross-cultural prospective can help discourage stereotyping and finger pointing, and free the communication style of women from devaluation by both sexes" (p. 81).

Articles in social work journals on occasion have been criticized for their "androcentric" orientation. For example, Spano's book review (Social Work, 1995) of Levy's Social Work Ethics on the Line (1992) concluded with the following assessment: "A major shortcoming is that the book proceeds from a traditional, male-oriented conceptualization of ethics and ethical decision-making. . . . The majority of social workers and clients are women, and [many social workers] have questioned some of the basic assumptions underlying traditional ethical decision making in relation to gender bias" (p. 574). In the NASW News (September,
A letter to the editor took to task a male author who had pointed out the "injustice" in males always being portrayed as perpetrators of domestic violence and had suggested that males, too, could be victims. In addition to challenging the research findings on male victimization, the letter writer goes on to state that no one has suggested that males have it easy!

Terms and phrases have been coined giving a female orientation to general social work topics, such as ecofeminism, feminine reconstructionism, feminist research, ethical feminism, feminist social work, and feminist pedagogy. Finally, both NASW and the Council on Social Work Education have special committees on female issues, and there presently exists at least one social work journal devoted to women's issues, Affilia, with another, Journal of Feminist Social Work, to be appearing soon.

It can, thus, be interpreted by social work students and practitioners that males have caused the need for females to reaffirm their personal and professional identity, and it might well appear that the profession is female-oriented and serving mainly females. Impressionistically, it seems as if social work education has included attention to the needs of female clients and patients in curricular content and course offerings. While professional attention to the particular needs of females (in social work courses and social work literature) is certainly essential, the lack of attention to heterosexual male clients and patients, or (if at all discussed) the biased portrayal of them, may result in an erroneous belief that their needs are less significant and social work involvement with them is less important.

The Portrayal of Heterosexual Males

Compared to the hundreds of title references to females in social work literature, over the past decade there has been a fraction (about 25) that focused upon males in the title, and about half of these focused upon gay men. From the review of topics associated with heterosexual males that were published in Social Work over the past decade, the majority dealt with males as abusers, HIV victims, prisoners, absent fathers, disengaged fathers, youths on probation, and the homeless. Few focused
upon multicultural backgrounds of heterosexual males, with the exception of individual articles on multicultural counseling with teenage fathers, non-resident Black fathers, Puerto Rican caregiving sons, and advocacy needs for African American men. Often discussions of males, even as criminals or deviants, failed to differentiate them by cultural backgrounds. Yet, as is true for females, male cohorts are more dissimilar than alike.

Of course, there are males who are gang members, who neglect their families and children, who abuse and victimize, who are AIDS victims, and who abuse alcohol or drugs. Yet, limiting the focus of males in social work literature to such populations reflects a stereotypical (and, in most cases, negative) picture of males for social work students and practitioners. Most males are not delinquent, neglectful, abusers, AIDS victims, or gay. Social work literature often fails to address the more normative needs of heterosexual males undergoing stress and challenges faced in their lives. Even in articles that compare male and female client populations, the characteristics of the male samples are less differentiated than female samples. The need to differentiate clients and patients by race, ethnicity, native or foreign born, social class, and age, among other considerations, is necessary for the understanding of problems and for the meeting the needs of males as well as females.

Psychologists, and their professional organizations, seem to be leading the way in attention to the problems of males. The Handbook of Counseling and Psychotherapy with Men, edited by Scher, Stevens, Good, and Eichenfield (1987), A New Psychotherapy for Traditional Men by Brooks (1998), and Husband Focused Marital Therapy: An Approach to Dealing with Marital Distress (Rugel, 1997) are among the few texts on professional intervention with men. The American Psychological Association established The Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinity that seeks to challenge restrictive gender roles leading to negative consequences, harmful activities, unhealthy interactions, and oppression of others.

Among the limited social work material is an article on males by Lichtenberg (1995) in The Encyclopedia of Social Work who suggested that contemporary males are fearful of intimacy,
dependency, and vulnerability. The result can be psychosocial dysfunctioning including mental illness, alcoholism, and criminality. In the same publication, Chestang (1995) discussed the fact that “[Social] changes among men are not being accomplished without significant conflicts and challenges” (p. 1702). While some might respond with anger or denial, he states “others are beginning to seek professional help in coming to terms with their own fears and needs, turning to therapists and mentor/coaches, including professionally trained social workers, for assistance in finding more fulfilling and effective lives” (p. 1702). Not addressed is whether there are professionals with appropriate skills, knowledge, and positive attitudes for effective work with males.

In Social Work, there have been some articles that focus, in a positive way, on males. Among others have been “A Closer Look at Self-Image in Male Foster Care Adolescents” (Lyman & Bird, 1996), “The Effects of Nonresident Fathers Involvement on Single Black Mothers and Their Young Children” (Jackson, 1999), and “Lessons Learned About Working with Men: A Prison Memoir” (Sternbach, 2000) that extrapolated information on psychotherapy within prisons to such interventions with community populations. An article by O’Donnell (1999) focused upon the contributions to be made by African American fathers in kinship foster care placements.

The journal has also publicized books that address the needs of males: Reaching Up for Manhood: Transferring the Lives of Boys in America (Canada, 1999), Manhood in America: A Cultural History (Kimmel, 1995), and Diagnosis and Treatment of the Young Male Victim of Sexual Abuse (Breer, 1992). In an especially informative article in the Journal of Social Work Education, “Intimate Partner Violence: An HBSE Perspective,” Begun (1999) refrained from pointing a finger at males, and acknowledged that the dynamics of partner violence transcended stereotypes of the gender of perpetrator and victim. Two books that focus on social work practice with African American men were published in 1999: Social Work Practice with African American Men: The Invisible Presence by Rasheed and Rasheed (1999) and Working with African American Males: A Guide to Practice, edited by Davis (1999). These texts provide a positive, balanced, and applied approach to the problems of these males.
Challenges Facing Males

In addition to common human needs, males have particular social and health problems that necessitate special concern. While such attention has generally escaped social work literature, those from a wider sector of society have been aware of the special problems of males. Focusing upon school age adolescents, the NBC T.V. morning program, *Today*, on May 27, 1997, discussed the fact that professionals preoccupied with the self-concepts of adolescent girls have neglected attention to the needs of adolescent boys. The lead into the story referred to a “female culture” which is detrimental to males (and the term “boy bashing” was used to describe those who write about such “cultures”). A similar theme appeared in a February 22, 1999 article in *U.S. News & World Report*, entitled “Gender Wars Redux” (Leo, 1999), which suggested that, despite the popularity of the notion that “schools shortchange girls,” the educational status of boys, not girls, is seen as the problem. “Boys as a group, particularly minority boys, are falling behind, getting lower grades, suffering more emotional difficulties, getting punished far more frequently, dropping out more often, and reading and writing at levels that are appalling by girls’ standards” (Leo, p. 24). There are some who believe that males are emotionally abused and unfairly accused of problems not of their doing. For example, Thomas (1993), in the book *Not Guilty: The Case in Defense of Men*, suggested that men have become scapegoats for all that is wrong in society.

There are special health concerns and problems facing males in society. Prostate and testicular cancers, as well as non-gender specific types, have reached epidemic proportions for males. One in five men are expected to develop prostate cancer and, at age 75, males are dying at twice the rate as women. The cancer death rate for African American men is twice that for Caucasian men (*The Men’s Health Network*, 2000). Robert Samuels, prostate cancer survivor and head of the National Prostate Cancer Coalition, stated that the mission of his group is not to detract from efforts for combating breast cancer or AIDS; yet, “Our issues, our lives, are at least equal. Not better, not worse, but equal” (quoted in *Tampa Tribune*, Jan. 2, 1997, p. 1).

In a study (*Aging Today*, 1991–92) of 300 doctors and 500 men over age 50, it was found that half of the men did not follow-up
on the warning signs of prostate or colorectal cancer as a result of their embarrassment, fear, and denial. More than half of the men did not ask their doctors about sexual dysfunction or depression, citing embarrassment as the main reason for their failure to discuss problems with a physician. It is suspected that males from culturally diverse backgrounds might be especially reluctant to seek professional advice on their health-related concerns. The New York Times (February 17, 1999) ran a special section on Men’s Health which advised males “Don’t Take Your Medicine Like a Man” (Lipsyte, 1999), but do what women do: Inquire about one’s health problems. Another article was entitled “Why Men Don’t Last: Self-Destruction as a Way of Life” (Angier, 1999) which suggested that men's life styles jeopardize their survival.

One group of males often not thought about are military veterans who are victims of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), including former POWs from World War II and Korean and Vietnam veterans. In study results presented at an American Psychological Association conference (Aging Today, 1991–92), it was reported that vets with PTSD are a larger group than generally believed. Events associated with the aging process (e.g., retirement, bereavement) can lead to delayed PTSD. Such problems have not received necessary attention by professionals.

Males have been found to be more likely than females to be victimized and murdered, to complete suicide attempts, to become substance abusers (alcohol, tobacco, and drugs), to be homeless, to be victims of work-related injuries and illness, to suffer heart attacks, to have fatal car accidents, and to have shorter life expectancies (Farrell, 1993). There appears to be a lack of concern about the emotional needs of such groups of men as divorced dads denied access to their children, fathers of children born out of wedlock, fathers of children with disabilities, and widowers, among others. As a result of workplace preferences often given to women and minority group members (of both sexes) in the name of “political correctness,” Cose (1995) states, “[H]eterosexual White men . . . need sympathy” (p. 3). Such non-Hispanic groups of males are increasingly becoming members of a new minority group.

Although males are popularly depicted as abusers (of children and females), research has suggested that males are also likely
to be the victims of abuse. Steinmetz (1977–78) titled her article "The Battered Husband Syndrome" which gave rise to much discussion that continues today. Inattention to the possibility that there are heterosexual male victims of domestic violence sustains their portrayal as aggressors and denies them professional assistance and community resources. Koff (1997) discussed older men in long-term care facilities as being emotionally abused when the majority of residents and staff are women, and activities are female-oriented.

Literature on males as family caregivers has been increasing. While traditionally it has been females (such as wives or daughters) who have cared for dependent members of the family (i.e., children, specially-challenged relatives, dependent elderly parents), increasingly males are taking on such responsibilities (Kramer, 1997; Kramer & Lambert, 1999). There is ample evidence that male caregivers (i.e., husbands, sons) may experience similar levels of burden and depression as found for females; yet, these male caregivers are less likely to seek assistance or admit their adversities (Kaye & Applegate, 1997; Yee & Schultz, 1999). Professional understanding and concern, along with programmatic outreach, do not always exist.

While social work literature suggests that males have power and control in the family and in society, there are reasons to believe that males in contemporary society are beleaguered in their efforts to understand their roles in a changing society increasingly requiring gender equity in attitude and behavior. "[T]hey feel vulnerable, off balance, and in need of assistance to help them redefine their place in a newly confusing world. If this problem has a name, it is 'bewilderment'" (Cose, 1995, p. 2). Although females have been measured to have higher rates of depression, it is possible that the rates for males are grossly under-reported due to their being ashamed to admit their problems and to due to their under-utilization of community-based social and health services. Further, depressed males may turn to suicide and substance abuse; thus, resulting in lower rates reported for depression.

Problems Faced by Minority Group Males

There are special problems facing minority group males, both native and foreign born. Males from minority group backgrounds,
no less than such females, may face the frustrations from subtle and overt discrimination that impede their ability to provide for themselves and their families. The nature of one's upbringing (including family and culture) has profound implications on the quality and length of one's life. Consider the plight of many young African American or Hispanic males who are over-represented in prisons, detention centers, in probation and parole systems, and who are more likely to face violent death (Cose, 1995). Minority group males may be high risk for a number of adversities, such as prostate cancer, diabetes, violence, homelessness, and incarceration (Davis, 1999).

The introductory chapter of the book, *Social Work Practice with African American Males*, by Rasheed and Rasheed (1999), presented a summary of social statistics that beg for professional concern and social action. These realities are not a result of one's race or ethnicity, but rather are due to poverty, discrimination, and societal inequities in educational, social, and health care systems. Social work needs to focus upon both causes and consequences of such issues that "victimize" males (as they do females) from different minority group backgrounds, if not all from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. Indeed, Allen-Meares and Burman (1995) sounded an appeal for widespread social work action on behalf of "endangered" African American men.

Immigrant males face unique problems. Gil and Vega (1996) have written about the acculturation stress among Cuban and Nicaraguan adolescent males and their families. The consequences of stress include a lack of family cohesion and low adolescent self-concepts. The problems of Caribbean male immigrants in the Miami Area have been discussed (Albertini, Kosberg, & Frederick, 1999) as resulting from a difficulty, or reluctance, to change one's gender-role attitudes and behavior from those found in traditional Caribbean cultures to those that stress gender equity found in the U.S. Additionally, often such males encounter racial prejudice, poor employment opportunities, and can become dependent upon the females in their family. Consequences have been found to result in marital and relationship problems (e.g., abuse, divorce), addictive behavior, criminality, and mental illness (Farrell, 1993).
Meeting the Needs of Males

Influenced by culture of upbringing, traditional male values often exemplify stoicism, independence, self-reliance, and strength. Males should not admit to having problems, should not show fear or sadness, and should not seek out assistance from others. Accordingly, there are significant challenges facing professionals who wish to assist males with their psychological, social, and interpersonal problems. Some males are reluctant to open their emotions in front of females, while others are resistant to verbalizing their concerns with other males. Many books have been written about cultural sensitivity or competence in social work practice (e.g., Cox & Ephross, 1998; Dana, Behn, & Honwa, 1992). Yet, seldom discussed are the needs of men from culturally diverse backgrounds with regard to the helping process. There are special considerations in the helping process that include attention to males' help-seeking behavior, utilization of services, and the effectiveness of various forms of intervention.

Research findings and practice experience lead to the conclusion that males are less involved with health and social service systems. They are less likely to admit having problems, seek professional assistance, actively participate in interactive therapies, and remain in treatment programs (Baptiste, Hardy, & Lewis, 1996). Additionally, for members of minority groups, there can be a perception of social prejudice and suspicion of a service system believed to be representative of an unsympathetic and discriminatory society. For example, "Black clients may be uncommunicative, not because they cannot deal with their feelings, but because the context involves a representative of a traditional 'White' institution that they never had reason to trust" (McGoldrick & Giordano, 1996, p. 21).

Professionals working with persons from culturally diverse groups have known that a professional's age and racial, religious, or ethnic background can influence the utilization, continuation, and effectiveness of interventions (Matsuoka & Sorenson, 1991). So, too, can the gender of the professional. To be sure, the professional's competence is more important than gender; yet, gender is a consideration. For example, Baptiste, Hardy, and Lewis (1996) have suggested that inasmuch as Caribbean societies are
patriarchal, males coming from Caribbean countries are often uncomfortable with female professionals, regardless of their skills and experience. On the other hand, Brice-Baker (1996) suggests that "since the domain of females is considered to be the emotional well-being of the family, a female therapist could be accepted and have validity" (p. 94). Accordingly, disclosure by a male client or patient to a male professional could result in a "loss of face." The differences in findings suggest the need for research to better understand male reactions to the gender of professionals. But until such inquiry takes place, professionals would do well to assess the importance of gender and cultural background in the determination of whether they will be well received in the helping process.

It is possible that males are relatively unfamiliar with community services, especially more in-depth therapeutic interventions. Confusion and apprehension about professional interventions adds another stumbling block to the admission of a problem and desire to seek help. Peer groups have become increasingly popular in the U.S. for those with certain personal and/or social problems, or for those who care for them, but males have generally been unresponsive to such interventions (Barusch & Peak, 1997). Research has found that peer group-type interventions have generally reached and served a biased segment of the population: Those who are better-educated and affluent English-speaking whites. Yet, even among males with such backgrounds there has been found a reluctance to seek assistance (Davies, Priddy, & Tinklenberg, 1986; Barusch & Peak, 1997).

In a study undertaken in a group treatment program for substance abusers that included males and females from diverse racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, it was found that males were inactive in the group and had high drop out rates (Kosberg & Dobson, 1993). Based upon limitations in speaking and understanding English, a lack of desire or inability to articulate feelings, and shyness around females, some males were especially reluctant to join or participate in the program that was predominated by females. Additionally, research is needed to explore if the characteristics of a group leader (including gender) can influence the rate of male participation in a program.
Implications for the Profession

To increase attention to the needs of any one underserved group, there should be an acknowledgement of the existence of the group's problems. For social work, educating students to the needs of heterosexual males, in general, and those from multicultural backgrounds, in particular, seems congruent with the profession's Code of Ethics and the goal of preparing social workers for a shrinking world and continuing immigration (Asamoah, Healy, & Mayadas, 1997).

Social work students need to be made aware of the common and unique needs of both native- and foreign-born heterosexual males. The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) mandates attention to cultural diversity in each social work program's curriculum. The inclusion of gender-sensitive material is also mandated; yet, such material is mainly directed at female professionals, clients, and patients. The cloaking of female issues under a "gender-sensitive" caption seems a bit limiting, and male issues necessitate much greater attention in the classroom. Whether the lack of attention to heterosexual male issues results from a limited number of educational material on the topic or vice versa is not as important as the need to correct this lack of attention. Indeed, CSWE has a Commission on the Role and Status of Women and a Commission on Sexual Orientation and Gender Expressions (formerly called the Commission on Gay Men and Lesbian Women) and NASW has a National Committee on Women's Issues. Organizational advocacy for the heterosexual male is missing.

This article advocates for increased attention to the needs of heterosexual males in social work education and training. Such a concern emanates not out of a "male power" perspective, but from the concern about the overlooked needs of a particular group. In addition to advocating for an awareness of the problems of heterosexual males, this article suggests that there are many considerations for social work practitioners, educators, researchers, and students, to better understand, reach, and serve such populations. Greater attention to the needs of all males in society, including those from minority groups, can be seen as an investment in the reduction of societal problems. The preponderance of male suicides, and their overall shorter lifespan, results in
prodigious consequences for their children, spouses or partners, and economic consequences for society. The extent of their alcoholism, drug use, depression, and other emotional problems also impede their interpersonal functioning and can result in crimes of omission and commission against others. Professionals should realize that preventive, as well as interventive, efforts will not only assist males, but their children, spouses, parents, and significant others as well.

Social work’s commitment to gender equity, social justice, and the prevention of problems necessitates attention to the needs of heterosexual males, in addition to the needs of gays and females (whether lesbian or heterosexual). Such a commitment requires social work research, practice, and education to focus upon males; no more, but certainly no less, than females.

References


Heterosexual Males


Heterosexual Males

New York: NASW Press.


Domestic Violence Law Reforms: 
Reactions from the Trenches

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In recent years, feminists have worked hard to pressure society and the 
criminal justice system into taking domestic violence seriously. These 
efforts have resulted in more government funding and increased services 
to victims. In addition, there have also been legal and policy reforms which 
have affected the way cases are handled in the criminal justice system. This 
article reports on research on the reactions to those reforms by those most 
directly affected by them, the victims themselves and those who provide 
services to them.

Introduction

In recent decades, one of the central goals of feminism has been to pressure society and the criminal justice system into taking domestic violence seriously (Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Schechter, 1982). Feminists were concerned about statistics which indicated how widespread the problem was and the secrecy in which it was held. They hoped that using the court would provide protection to women and reduce the incidence of domestic violence. These efforts have been successful on several levels. Criminal justice personnel no longer treat domestic violence as a family matter, out of the reach of the legal system. The police no longer take the perpetrator for a walk to discuss “keeping the little woman in line” and then return him home without further action. Instead, they make efforts to arrest and prosecute offenders. There have been legislative reforms which attempt to increase the arrest
and conviction rate in domestic violence cases. The government has allocated a significant amount of money for research and the provision of services within the criminal justice system, as well as to provide services for the victims of domestic violence in the non-profit sector (Crowell and Burgess, 1996).

At the same time, feminist legal scholars have exposed the legal system as one which is patriarchal on several levels (e.g. Smart, 1992; Mackinnon, 1987; Rhode, 1990). Smart argues that the law is sexist in that it generally treats men better than women. There is widespread support for this disparity which exists in both the civil and criminal areas (Sugarman and Kay, 1990; Schafran, 1989). On another level, it is patriarchal in that “ideals of objectivity and neutrality which are celebrated in law are actually masculine values which have come to be taken as universal values” (Smart, 1992:32). Feminists argue that the legal system in general does not represent women’s interests or their ways of thinking and functioning. It is also insensitive to the social realities of women’s lives. Scholars of legal language support this view when they point out that the language itself is gendered, emphasizing “rule-oriented” language (more “male”) rather than “relational” language (more “female”) (e.g. Cameron, 1998; Conley and O’Barr, 1998). Thus the power and the benefit of the law is more accessible to those who frame their claims in certain legally acceptable ways.

Not surprisingly, then, the effect of the increased seriousness with which domestic violence is treated by the criminal justice system has placed more women within the reach of the patriarchal legal system described by feminist legal scholars. Thus, the “success” of feminists in having the criminal justice system take domestic violence seriously comes at a price. There have been several legal reforms which specifically address the ways in which domestic violence is to be handled by the police and the courts, limiting the autonomy of victims themselves. Since the changes come within the framework of the patriarchal legal system, it means that punishment and prosecution are the goal for all domestic violence cases. This “one size fits all” approach leaves little room for a victim to make her own decisions about the best way to solve her problem. She is not asked for her assessment of her situation or encouraged to take control of her life; to the contrary, her wishes are often superseded by the new policies.
This article examines the reactions to the legal and prosecutorial changes of both victims and those who provide social services to them. Its purpose is to assess whether those on the “front lines” of domestic violence share the enthusiasm of legislators and court personnel for the changes in law and practice.

The Empirical Base

The basis for this work comes from a research project undertaken by the authors funded by the National Institute of Justice through the Ohio Office of Criminal Justice Services. The purpose of the research was to obtain a picture of the type of services provided and received, the reasons women seek services for domestic violence problems, and the desired outcomes of those services. It also focused on ways to evaluate the outcomes of services provided by the various agencies in the sample. The relevant part of that research for this article involves focus groups we conducted of clients and service providers in a total of fifteen social service agencies providing services for domestic violence victims around the state of Ohio. These agencies were selected because they had received funding through the Ohio Office of Criminal Justice Services from federal money through the Violence Against Women Act, 1994. They provided a wide range of services, including hot lines, victim advocacy, shelter, counseling, and referrals to job and housing opportunities.

Each of the focus groups lasted 1–1.5 hours and the discussions were audio-taped for later transcription and analysis. The number of participants in each group ranged from two to 16. No demographic data were collected on the participants to protect the confidentiality of the clients and staff, and the research team did not want to connect people to any specific agency or city. While several open-ended questions were posed to the focus groups about services, the team member running the group encouraged free discussion on issues perceived as important by participants. One of the most frequently mentioned topics in these discussions was the legal system and the encounters clients and service providers had with the law.

The transcripts from the focus groups were reviewed by the research team to establish reliability, and were subsequently coded and analyzed using NUD*IST software. This computer
program allows researchers to code and categorize the data in a systematic and logical way which is often difficult with hand coding. The themes in the qualitative data emerged based on an initial analysis of the staff interviews and the client interviews. These themes were coded using the NU*DIST tree framework which allows the researcher to categorize the data based on thematic areas.

The Reforms

The service providers and their clients are working within a system in which the approach to domestic violence has been affected by recent legislation and changes in the approach of the criminal justice system. The two major areas of reform, both in Ohio where the research was conducted, and around the country have to do with mandatory arrest policies, "no drop" policies, and victimless prosecutions.

Beginning about twenty years ago, there was a marked change in the way the police handled complaints of domestic violence. Traditionally, police officers, if they were trained at all, were trained to defuse the situation when called to a domestic disturbance. Beginning in the early eighties, the police started arresting those responsible for domestic disputes. Several factors were responsible for this change: a number of lawsuits against public authorities for the negative consequences of failure to take domestic violence incidents seriously, a study in Minneapolis indicating that arrest had a deterrent effect on future domestic violence, and legislation mandating arrest in cases of battering (Eigenberg, Scarborough, and Kappeler, 2001). These mandatory arrest policies, which are now fairly widespread around the country, are intended to counter the traditional police unwillingness to treat domestic violence as a crime in which they arrest the perpetrator. The new laws vary somewhat, but generally require the police to arrest the batterer when responding to a domestic violence complaint. Ohio recently passed a modified version of mandatory arrest law known as preferred arrest" (ORC 2935). Under that law, police are now supposed to arrest the "primary aggressor" at the scene of a complaint, or justify why they did not make an arrest.
The other major area of reform has to do with the handling by prosecutors of complaints after they have been made. In many communities, as part of a concerted effort to take domestic violence cases more seriously, prosecutors have adopted policies which "deny the victim of domestic violence the option of freely withdrawing a complaint once formal charges have been filed. In turn, the policy limits the prosecutor's discretion to drop a case because the victim is unwilling to cooperate" (Corsilles, 1994: 856). Thus a victim is (depending on one's point of view) encouraged to continue the prosecution, discouraged from refusing to cooperate, or even bullied or threatened into "cooperation". The purpose of these policies is to increase the number of domestic violence complaints which go to trial (or are plea bargained under a threat of trial). If such efforts fail, the prosecutor nevertheless may continue to proceed without the victim, using a combination of legal techniques and the fruits of more aggressive methods of evidence collection by the police.

Both of these areas of reform have generated a mixed reaction in the literature. It is now much less clear than originally believed that mandatory arrest policies have a deterrent effect on recidivism (see Eigenberg, Scarborough, and Kappeler, 2001 for a discussion of the research). Regardless of the mixed research results, the laws are enthusiastically supported by those in the criminal justice system, especially prosecutors (Sengupta, 2001). Some researchers, however, argue that treatment might be a better alternative than arrest. Others argue that the laws serve to disempower women as well as punish them for their efforts to seek help (Sengupta, 2001; Yegidis and Renzy, 1994; Corsilles, 1994). They believe that no-drop policies are sexist in implying that women cannot make adult decisions about their well-being and that they drop charges for frivolous reasons. They also point out that the policies reinforce the view that the patriarchal criminal justice system "knows better" than victims do what is appropriate for them (Robbins, 1999). On a more practical level, others argue that efforts to prosecute with a reluctant victim or without the victim's testimony as the complaining witness are often doomed to failure, because of evidentiary requirements and constitutional protections for the defendant (Corsilles, 1994).
The Findings

Our findings indicate a mixed response by those in our sample to the new reforms. They also indicate differences in the way clients and service providers react to the new reforms, with the former generally being less enthusiastic than the latter. While some of the service providers express ambivalence, many are very supportive of the reforms. In accord with this support, a number of service providers echo the criminal justice system's focus on the individual rather than the social sources of domestic violence. Some of them also have adopted the language of prosecution which is widespread within the criminal justice system. Virtually none of them are legally trained, nor even well-versed in the nature and goals of the legal system, yet much of their language mirrors that which takes place in the court room as do the attitudes they express.

Framing: The Perceptions of Domestic Violence as a Crime

One of the justifications for the reforms discussed above is that they help to change the framing of domestic violence from private family behavior to public criminal behavior (Corsilles, 1994; Robbins, 1999). The history of domestic violence law has been well-documented (Dobash and Dobash, 1992; Schechter, 1982) and it is now widely known that wife beating used to be legal as long as one used a stick no wider than a man's thumb. All along, our legal system has been very reluctant to intervene in what has been considered private family behavior. It is against this backdrop that reformers have been pressing for a reframing of legal perceptions of domestic violence.

Reformers argue that changes are needed because the participants in the criminal justice system have also fed directly into victims' beliefs that domestic violence is not a crime. "[P]rosecutors dissuade battered women indirectly by downplaying the seriousness of the crimes. Some prosecutors, for instance, routinely undercharge domestic abuse cases . . . delay charging or following up on the victim . . . Some prosecutors have gone so far as to impose mandatory waiting or 'cooling off' periods . . . This conduct sends a message to the victim that the system does not view the batterer's conduct as a crime . . ." (Corsilles, 1994: 869–870).
The respondents in our research have their part to play in this reframing. One of the roles some service providers perceive for themselves is to help clients frame the events which happened to them as criminal behavior so that it fits within the criminal justice system. We learned from the focus groups that many victims do not see the behavior in question as criminal. The difficulty of accepting the idea that someone one knows could be a criminal is echoed by victims of other interpersonal assaults, like, for example, acquaintance rape (Bohmer and Parrot, 1993).

A recognition of the behavior as criminal is an important part of obtaining the client’s cooperation in the prosecution of the batterer within the criminal justice system. As one service provider said: “Sometimes they just don’t understand why it is that just because he pushed me or smacked me or pulled the phone out of the wall why that’s a crime. They don’t even understand that it is a crime.” And another, “a lot of ladies that show up here are not the ones pushing the charges, a neighbor called 911... you have to show them that they are in the middle of the charges... they don’t think it’s a crime.” Here the service provider is persuading the victim to accept the criminal justice system’s framing of the batterer’s behavior, rather than offering a victim the autonomy of choosing her own framing of events.

Even those service providers who stress the autonomy of the victim nevertheless work to persuade their clients that domestic violence is criminal behavior. For example, one said: “you know we might not be able to convince her that this isn’t healthy, it’s none of our business, but frankly... what he’s doing is a crime, whether she wants to stay with him, that’s her personal choice, she’s a grown woman but what he’s doing the bottom line is criminal.”

In addition to framing the events themselves as criminal, service providers are inclined to accept the criminal justice system’s perspective by arguing that prosecution and punishment are the preferred modes of handling the situation. “My ultimate goal is prosecution, nip it in the bud right there.” And “well I think as far as prosecution goes, they need to kind of get their life and get control. I mean they want to see,... some kind of action taken on their behalf, some kind of legal action.” Here the term “get their life and get control” in fact means accepting the framing of
the criminal justice system and participating in it. Another staff member said: "I think a woman... giving him an ultimatum and then expecting him to change, I don't see that happening much. I think she's almost got to make a statement some way, criminally or civilly." This staff person clearly has accepted the superior advantage of using the legal system over alternative methods of handling the situation, despite the absence of clear empirical evidence that using the legal system in fact is more likely to stop the abuse.

For some victims, it is not just that they do not see the behavior as criminal, resulting in prosecution and punishment. Specifically they do not consider that it should result in their batterers going to jail. This is exacerbated by the emotional relationship between batterer and victim. One provider expressed the concern of clients: "... (that he would) go to jail because they advised the court system that their rights have been violated... that they are sending the father of their children... the person they still care for to jail." The fact that victims continue to feel positively toward their batterers is a source of frustration both to the players in the criminal justice system (police, prosecutors, and judges) and to some service providers. Mandatory arrest and no-drop policies ignore these feelings because they believe that prosecution and punishment is always the appropriate method of handling domestic violence.

Unintended Consequences of the Reforms: Who to Arrest?

Ohio's preferred arrest policies have raised the stakes in the calculus of how to approach the criminal justice system. One of the side-effects of the preferred arrest policy is that more women are themselves arrested under these policies than they were before such policies were instituted. One Ohio study indicates that, while arrest rates in general have risen 142% in the year since the implementation of preferred arrest policies, the increase in arrests of women has been 428% (Alliance for Cooperative Justice, 1998). While there is not yet any research about the nature of this increase, those who work with victims argue that women are likely to be arrested when they respond to the aggression of the batterer, even when they are not the primary aggressor (Sengupta, 2001). One member of a focus group was arrested for throwing
a yogurt container at her batterer. Service providers have also told us that under these policies, when women are prosecuted for domestic violence, they are treated more harshly than are men. Again, there is not yet direct research to support this view, but it is in line with related evidence in which, for example, women found guilty of killing their partners receive significantly harsher sentences than do men who kill theirs (Crites, 1987). As yet, there is no empirical evidence as to why more women are being arrested, despite the fact that the policy requires only the arrest of the primary aggressor.

There is a lively debate in the literature about the relative responsibility of men and women in domestic violence (George, 1994; Dobash et al. 1992; Gelles and Strauss, 1988; see Mignon, 1998: 143–146, for a discussion of the literature). Whatever the "truth" of this debate, it is clear that problems can arise when police, responding to a domestic disturbance, are required to arrest someone under mandatory arrest policies, or, in the case of preferred arrest, required to justify why they arrested no one. Some women's groups argue that the police have not been trained properly to determine who is to blame (Sengupta, 2001). One other possibility is that women are the primary aggressor more often than previously thought. Anecdotal evidence suggests that police officers often simply arrest both parties to a domestic dispute in cases where the evidence is at all ambiguous, thereby satisfying the letter, if not the spirit, of mandatory arrest laws.

Ohio's preferred arrest policies raise special problems of their own. Some of the service providers in our study speak of difficulties the police have in deciding who is the primary aggressor when they arrive at the scene and find both partners involved in the fight. Some police apparently deal with this problem as happens under mandatory arrest states, by simply arresting both parties. As one service provider reported "A lot of my cases are not one-sided. A lot of cases I have two people beating up on each other ..." In cases such as these, police can justify arresting both parties. Difficulties arise in those cases (which may be more typical) in which the man starts the violence and the woman "fights back", "defends herself", or "responds" (the choice of language here is, of course, political).

Some service providers see the new policy as a punishment
for women. This perception makes it more difficult for a service provider to continue to act as spokesperson for the criminal justice system. "It's retaliatory... all they have to do is call the police... and she's hauled off." Another one said "my victim was arraigned yesterday. She filed a domestic violence report against the father of her child and when the police went to arrest him, he said that she had poked him in the eye, so they turned around and arrested her in front of her children." And another "well, I had one that it was domestic violence and in retaliation the man said she had pulled a gun on him. This woman is this big and never owned a gun in her whole life and was scared to death of this man, cried every time you'd mention his name, and yet she's going to court on this, had to spend thousands of dollars to get an attorney to defend herself on this totally ridiculous charge and I've been seeing it happen over and over again." The clients echo this concern. One of them said "Sergeant X was wonderful, but then a rookie police officer showed up... and I was charged with disorderly conduct... So it cost me a lawyer. I have disorderly conduct on my record because my husband pushed me off a porch, and I called [911] for help... I didn't touch my husband. I did nothing."

Male Power in the System

It is not surprising that men are better able to use the system in domestic violence, just as they are in other contexts. Evidence shows that men are generally better able to frame claims in ways that will be accepted in the legal system (Conley and O'Barr, 1998: 132). It is also likely that the police, who only recently were agreeing with batterers that a woman "needs to be slapped around a bit to keep her in line," would be willing to believe the man's allegations over the woman's. Research has shown that men are perceived as more reliable in various contexts (Hall and Sandler, 1982). In the case of domestic violence, different perceptions about who started the fight are also played out along gender lines. For example, in Strauss and Gelles' 1985 National Study, husbands responded that they hit first in 44% of the cases while wives perceived that their husbands hit first in 53% of the cases (Strauss and Gelles, 1990).

The negative consequences of this gender imbalance is not
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lost on service providers. As one said, referring to her domestic violence clients, “sometimes we see the same legal system that is supposed to help them out is also abusing them, because in retaliation the suspect is filing bogus police reports against the victim.” In domestic violence, as in other areas of the law, men seem to be more adept at using the system to their strategic advantage.

In one city, women batterers are required to go to a group for treatment, which is run by one of the agencies in our sample. They have had great difficulty in deciding on an appropriate content for the groups, since they did not believe that the women were aggressors.

Benefits and Detriments of Mandatory Arrest Policies

Reformers cite a number of benefits of mandatory arrest policies. In addition to those which do not directly affect victims, such as the reduction of the risk of liability and the response to political pressure, they cite several advantages. They argue that it does help reduce domestic violence, though empirical evidence on the effect of these arrest policies on future violence is mixed (Sherman and Berk, 1984; Sherman et al. 1992; Binder and Meeker, 1996). Thus it is not clear that this policy does reduce recidivism in general. Reformers believe that despite the mixed research results, mandatory arrest policies are worth a try as other methods have failed and there seems to be no evidence that mandatory arrest makes the situation worse (Wanless, 1996; Eigenberg, Scarborough, and Kappeler, 2001). The wide support by lawmakers and criminal justice personnel for mandatory arrest laws is illustrated by the recent debate about the renewal of the law in New York (Sengupta, 2001). In addition they argue that arrest rates (as distinct from other measures of “success”) are increased, which they view as a positive benefit, though even here the research record is unclear, as few studies have compared arrests in domestic cases with other similarly serious assault cases (Eigenberg, Scarborough, and Kappeler, 2001).

For some of the individual clients and the service providers in our study, preferred arrest policies had distinctly negative implications. One service provider explained, . . . “the man will go back and he will tell her, if I’m going to jail, I’m going for a
reason. So now I’m really gonna show you.” Or, as one client put it: “You know, I wanted him not to go to jail ‘cause I knew that if he come out of jail, he’d be worse than when he went in, you know, and I knew that but he got off so he got nothing. So it backfired on me.”

For many women, it is the fear rather than the reality of the battering, and the belief that they are in the best position to know what will trigger violence in their partners, that makes them react negatively to preferred arrest policies. For the criminal justice system as a whole, any change for the benefit of society risks a few casualties. For victims and service providers such a casualty would represent an individual failure of major proportions. Thus they live in mortal fear of the batterer who comes back and kills his partner. Anything (including mandatory arrest policies) that limits the victim’s belief that she is in control or limits her ability to assess the risk is viewed negatively.

Victims also have more practical, but no less serious objections to the reforms. Most of these are financial in nature, or a combination of fear and financial dependance. “I think a lot of time though too it’s a lot of threats going on, and there’s a lot of financial reasons” said one service provider. A victim put it as simply as this: “Well I need him to pay the bills more than I need him to pay for the violence.” The financial needs of the family may be combined with fear of threats by the batterer. “I think a lot of times. . . . there’s a lot of threats going on, that there’s a lot of financial reasons to dismiss. . . . he’s the primary financial caretaker for the kids or whatever.” So they see preferred arrest as a way the criminal justice system takes away their financial provider without really giving them any monetary security in return. Even though he is very unlikely to receive a prison sentence for his behavior, the disruption caused by arrest and (in some cases) a trial may cause him to lose the job and the paycheck on which she is dependent.

Some of those who write in support of mandatory arrest recognize that there are financial implications to the criminalization of domestic violence, but justify the changes as a way of “sending a strong message that domestic abuse will not be tolerated” (Wanless, 1996:554). They also respond to victims’ financial concerns by pointing to funding which the victim can use to find support.
This, however, is not the case among the respondents in our research. Both victims and service providers repeatedly spoke of the absence of financial assistance for victims to help them start afresh.

Effects of No-Drop Policies and Victimless Prosecution

“No-drop” policies and victimless prosecutions are another reform designed to increase the rate of prosecution in domestic violence cases. Under these policies, criminal justice authorities pressure women in various ways not to drop the charges against their partners and when this fails, continue with the prosecution without the victim’s testimony. The police are encouraged to collect sufficient evidence so as to make the testimony of the complainant unnecessary in a subsequent trial (Corsilles, 1994). Legally, this is justifiable in that the state is actually the entity which institutes the prosecution and the victim is merely the complaining witness. Various arguments are made about the benefit of this approach, ranging from general criminal principles under which it is the state’s responsibility to protect the public and victims of crime, to arguments that victims are less likely to be the subject of retaliation by the batterer if matters are seen to be out of their hands (Wattendorf, 1996). None of them are currently supported by data.

There is little evidence at present which addresses the question of how successful such prosecutions are or whether they would survive constitutional challenge. Prosecutors recognize that going forward without a victim is very difficult; perhaps for this reason, such cases are rare. They are so rare, in fact, that two police officers in Columbus received a “Peacemaker” award from a local service provider for helping to convict “an abuser without testimony of a terrified victim” (Carmen, 1999).

For our purposes, however, no-drop policies are important as they once again shift the decision-making out of the hands of the complainant, and increase the power of the officials in the criminal justice system. In addition, prosecutors have used evidence, such as photographs of the victim taken just after the violence has occurred, to pressure her into continuing to cooperate in pressing charges. Victims report having been shown photographs of them just after the battering and asked: “Do you want to look like that
again?" Service providers also spoke of police officers who went to victims' homes on several occasions to make sure they would come to court. Such frequent visits were seen as intimidation by several victims in our groups.

Some service providers in our groups justify the conflicts when no-drop policies proceed against the victim's wishes by accepting the framing of the criminal justice system. "So even though they want to dismiss, but sometimes... they feel better when it's the state, and if we tell them, well, we'll do what we can to help you, but that's not your decision, it's not really violating the self-determination because... it's the law, and... they are only a prosecuting witness. So that's sort of how I balance that... because it's really not their decision, it was against the law, and they're just a witness, they're not pressing charges."

Conclusion

Our focus groups have shown that the reaction of those directly affected by the reforms in domestic violence policy has been decidedly mixed. Clients, particularly, do not for the most part see the criminal justice system as a solution to their problems. They are more concerned about their future financial and personal well-being. For them, the criminal justice system can be an impediment to that future rather than a source of help. Service providers are more mixed in their reactions. Some of them have bought into the discourse of prosecution and punishment which is the linchpin of the system, while others see the system as being at least in part a barrier to the goals of their clients.

The major difference between the perceptions of those in our study and the policymakers and criminal justice actors is one of perspective. Our respondents are concerned at the individual level and tell stories of those who are negatively affected by the reforms. They, as well as some feminist scholars, are also concerned about the impact of the reforms on the autonomy of victims at the very time when they consider it most central to them. By contrast, policymakers and those writing about the reforms as well as those criminal justice actors with whom our sample come into contact are concerned about general changes in how domestic violence victims are treated by the system. For them, negative impact for a few individuals may be perceived as a necessary by product of a greater good; in this case, more frequent
and more successful prosecution of batterers and a reduction of the rate of domestic violence. Whether the reforms have reached these goals, or will in the future, is beyond the scope of this article, and requires future research. So far, however, it does not appear to have happened. Thus victims are faced with inroads on their autonomy with little sense that it is worth the price either on an individual or a social level.

So where does this leave us? Are we willing to allow individual women the autonomy to decide whether the violence perpetrated against them should be defined and prosecuted as a crime? Should women be able to choose to trade violence for economic security? This hardly seems an appropriate solution. Our research indicates that the lack of enthusiasm for the reforms discussed in this article and the control they exercise over decisionmaking has much to do with victims' sense that those reforms do not work for them. Many victims and service providers expressed their skepticism that the criminal justice system was really taking domestic violence cases seriously, despite all the new reforms. For example, they pointed to the likelihood that a defendant would receive a very "light" sentence, and cynically suggested that a perpetrator should be arrested at the beginning of a long weekend so that at least he would be in jail for three days. We also heard from both victims and service providers that what many women needed most, financial assistance, especially during the period immediately after they left their batterers, was simply not available. If more interim financial assistance were available, women would have less need to trade violence for economic support.

While our research makes no claim to offer solutions to this problem, we do believe that reformers would do well to consult those who are at the other end of the reforms to find out not only what their reactions are, but also the reasons for them. If it can be demonstrated to victims that the reforms are truly beneficial to them, they are much more likely to choose to be a part of the effort to respond seriously to domestic violence.

Acknowledgments

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References


Differential Test Performance in the American Educational System: The Impact of Race and Gender

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Contrary to Herrnstein and Murray (1994) who claim that racial groups have different cognitive endowments and that these best explain differential test score achievements, our regression analyses document that there is less improvement in test scores per year of education for African-Americans and women. That is, the observed group test score differences do not appear to be due to racial cognitive differences but rather to other factors associated with group-linked experiences in the educational system. We found that 666 of the subjects in the Herrnstein-Murray database had actual IQ scores derived from school records. Using these as independent controls...
for IQ, we document that each of the test components that were the basis of the Herrnstein-Murray "IQ" scores was significantly associated with education level (p < .001). Consequently, their IQ score appears to be an education—related measure rather than an IQ test, and thus challenges the validity of their analysis.

Introduction

Over the last 30 years, the use of social science data to support and evaluate social policy initiatives has become routine (Massy and Denton 1993; Wilson 1987; 1996). Proponents and opponents of welfare reform (Bane and Ellwood 1994; Katz 1997; Mead 1993), for example, have employed data to support alternative policies on welfare use and job training. It is in the area of education, however, that the interplay of research and social policy has generated the most debate. Here, social science data has been used to validate reform efforts in the teaching of mathematics and reading skills, and in support of (or opposition to) affirmative action (Arons 1997; Coleman 1989; Fischer et al. 1996; Herrnstein and Murray 1994; Kane 1998).

It is, perhaps, the issue of affirmative action that has generated the most controversy. One side asserts that affirmative action is a waste of resources because environmental interventions cannot overcome the markedly inferior cognitive endowments of certain ethnic and racial groups (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994), while the other side asserts that non-hereditary factors better explain the differential educational performance of ethnic/racial groups (Jencks and Phillips, 1998a).

Our aim here is to examine empirically the performance gap among groups and to document that one specific non-heredity factor (i.e., differential association of test score improvement with education level) offers an alternative explanation of the difference.

Genetic differences have been advanced to account for the differential educational performance of African-American and White students (Jensen 1969; 1985; Herrnstein and Murray 1994). In particular, Herrnstein and Murray (1994) have analyzed Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) and have concluded that "intel-
"Intelligence" is distributed unequally among various ethnic groups. The lower academic achievement of African-American students, according to their analyses, is owing to heredity. Indeed, they argue that there will be diminishing returns for African-Americans from the impact of additional years of education on earnings or intelligence. Therefore, social policy efforts to improve African-American students' academic achievement through more years of education or affirmative action are a waste of limited educational resources.

The social policy implications of the Herrnstein and Murray (1994) argument also apply to differences in educational performance across gender or social class. According to their analyses, women who score in the bottom 5 percent on the AFQT are inferior intellectually and are at risk for remaining unmarried, having children out of wedlock, and living in poverty. The main policy recommendation for reducing the poor economic prospects of "dull" women is that they marry and stay married (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994). As with their stance toward minorities, Herrnstein and Murray see little benefit in either spending more money on education, or on altering policies that might reduce the educational and job mobility barriers that women face.

A number of scholars have reviewed the The Bell Curve and have questioned whether its "IQ score," and the underlying cognitive endowment it purports to measure, actually has the explanatory power reported by Herrnstein and Murray (1994). (See: Devlin et al. 1995a and 1995b; Goldberger and Manski 1995; Gould 1994; Hauser 1995; Heckman 1995; Kohn 1996; Mutaner et al. 1996). Furthermore, Korenman and Winship (1995) and Fischer et al. (1996) have concluded that, family background may be at least as important as the Herrnstein-Murray IQ score in determining social and economic success of a youth in adulthood. Currie and Thomas (1995) have found that, maternal education and income are important determinants of a child's intelligence test scores.

Turning from family background variables to school and community variables, Coleman et al. (1966) have examined the educational environment of urban versus suburban schools and have concluded that school resources per se appeared to have little effect on children's performance outcomes. Indeed, subsequent studies have shown that, contrary to popular opinion, and,
despite wide disparities among some inner city school districts and some suburban school districts, on average, there seems to be little difference between urban and suburban schools in either per pupil spending or the quality of facilities (Jencks and Phillips 1998a). Indeed, what seems to be placing White men ahead of African-American men with respect to high school graduation rates, college admission rates, and scores on standardized tests is the fact that urban households typically have higher rates of family poverty and lower levels of educational preparedness of children. As Jencks and Phillips (1998a; 1998b) have suggested, the disparities that still exist between and among groups is a function of how well schools do (or do not) prepare students from such circumstances for jobs in modern, technologically advanced economies.

Specifically, teachers in urban schools were—and are—more likely to have lower expectations of African-American students. These expectations may result in a “Pygmalion effect,” (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968) such that African-American students come to believe in their academic inferiority and work down to lower expectations and standards. (Ferguson 1998a). In addition, inner city schools were—and are—more likely to have a greater percentage of students with emotional and behavioral problems than suburban schools. These types of students require greater expenditures, thus leaving fewer resources to meet the educational needs of mainstream or above average students (Jencks and Phillips 1998b). Finally, teachers at predominantly African-American schools tend to score lower on standardized tests than teachers at mainly White schools (Ferguson 1998b). For these reasons, some argue that African-American students have had a different, and inferior, educational experience compared to Whites. In other words, American K through 12 public education has not taught academic skills to African-American students as effectively as it has taught them to White students (Phillips, Crouse, and Ralph 1998).

The specific questions that we seek to answer here are: (1) Do students with similar cognitive abilities improve on the AFQT as their years of education increase? (2) Do these improvements go up at the same rate for both African-American and White students? (3) Do they go up at the same rate for male and female
students? (4) If not, to what extent is there differential test score improvement between African-American and White students and male relative to female students?

To answer these questions, our analysis adds the six components of the AFQT not considered in Herrnstein's and Murray’s work; namely, General Science, Numerical Operations, Coding Speed, Auto and Shop, Mechanical Comprehension, and Electronics. We assume that, these AFQT components assess the acquisition of skills needed to succeed in technologically advanced economies; that is, they measure commercially valuable intellectual skills—for example, the understanding of electronics and mechanics. Specifically, we examine the comparative performances of African-Americans, Whites, men, and women. In particular, we consider a specification of a (regression) analysis that permits a test of whether there is differential test score improvement in per year of education for women and minorities. Further, we control for IQ using a small subset of subjects from the database. Our reasoning is that, if AFQT scores differ among groups after controlling for both innate ability (IQ score) and other relevant factors, then differential test performance is a result of environmental factors. Therefore, explanations for any widening test performance gap should be sought among non-heredity factors associated with the educational experience.

Sample

The National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NSLY) is a nationally representative sample of 12,686 young men and women who were between the ages of 14 and 21 on January 1, 1979, when the study began. Interviewers from the National Opinion Research Council conduct face-to-face interviews with respondents annually. In the 1980-wave of the data collection, nearly 94 percent (N=11,914) of the sample answered questions from the AFQT.

The NLSY used the family as its unit of sampling. The sample consisted of all members of a family between the ages of 14 and 21 who gave consent. As a result, there were a number of siblings and partners in the sample and the residual terms of siblings’ intelligence scores may be expected to be high. Herrnstein and Murray (1994, p. 12) reported that the correlation of IQ scores for
monozygotic twins reared apart was 0.78. From basic principles of statistical genetics (Falconer and Mackay, 1996), the residual sibling genetic correlation consistent with this report is 0.39.

Therefore, in the analyses reported in Table 1, we used the oldest sibling with complete information on the variables considered in order to remove the violation of the independence assumption that results from the correlation of test score residuals of siblings within a family. This reduced the number of subjects in the multiple regression analyses to 3,712.

**Measures**

The AFQT is a multiple-choice test created by the Department of Defense basically to determine two things: (1) whether (or not) to accept a civilian as a recruit, and (2) how best to assign enlisted personnel to military occupations. The questions in the test are scored in ten component parts (that is, Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery, abbreviated to ASVAB). These components (General Science, Arithmetic Reasoning, Word Knowledge, Paragraph Comprehension, Numerical Operations, Coding Speed, Auto and Shop, Mathematics, Mechanical Comprehension, and Electronics) are excellent measures of skill sets necessary for success in employment and economic mobility.

The validity of the AFQT as a standardized measure of academic skills and as a predictor of economic success has been well established by three decades of research efforts. Jencks and Philips (1998a, 1998b), in their review of research relating AFQT scores to earnings, have argued that reducing African-American-White differences in scores is one of the surest ways to improve upward mobility for African-Americans and for reducing many of the consequences associated with living in poverty. Cutright (1974), for example, has studied 1964 earnings of men in their thirties who had taken the AFQT between 1949 and 1953 and found that, among men with AFQT scores above the national average, African-American men earned 35 percent less than White men. In the 1990's, however, Jencks and Phillips (1998b) found that, as AFQT scores went up, the African-American-White earnings gap narrowed. African-Americans who were above average in 1980 on the AFQT earned 96 percent of the White average by the mid-1990s.
Moreover, Korenman and Winship (1995), Fischer et al. (1996), and others have shown that AFQT scores associate closely with years of schooling, types of classes taken (e.g., mathematics), motivation to learn, quality of school's academic environment, performance on standardized tests, and relationships with teachers. They also have shown that these associations occur regardless of the students' innate cognitive abilities (Fischer et al. 1996; Grassmmer, Flanagan, and Williamson 1998). These authors, along with Phillips et al. (1998), have documented that social structural and interpersonal factors such as family background, peers, and community context also affect AFQT scores.

**Dependent Variables**

We have employed the standardized AFQT score following computation rules used by the military. In addition, we also have analyzed the effect of the independent variables on the ten standardized components of the AFQT. We have analyzed the variables using the SAS statistical package. Following Herrnstein and Murray (1994), we have employed the "standard score" measures of the AFQT and ASVAB components (i.e., the mean of the scores was zero, and their standard deviation was one). Higher scores represent higher levels of skill acquisition or competence. However, we did not replicate Herrnstein's and Murray's (1994) scoring of the AFQT but chose to follow the scoring procedure actually reported in the NLSY data. More importantly, we did not follow Herrnstein and Murray (1994, p. 569) in using weighted regressions because the NLSY User's Handbook (Center for Human Resource Research 1994, p. 463) recommended against the use of weights in regression analysis. The exact statement from the NLSY guide is:

A common question is whether one should use the provided weights to perform weighted least squares when doing regression analysis. Such a course of action may not lead to correct estimates. If particular groups follow significantly different regression specifications, the preferred method of analysis is to estimate a separate regression for each group or to use dummy (or indicator) variables to specify group membership.

Accordingly, we used indicator variables for the relevant groups.
Independent Variables

We included five background variables: gender, race, age in 1980, the household income of respondent’s parents in 1980, and the respondent’s education level in 1980. The indicator variable FEMALE was coded (1) for female respondents and (0) for males. Race was coded into two indicator variables, with BLACK coded (1), if the subject self-reported as African-American, and HISP as (1) if the subject self-reported as Hispanic. Whites were the excluded group. Respondent’s age (AGE80) was coded to the nearest year. Income variable used units of $10,000 (INC80), and education was coded to the last year of education completed in 1980 (ED_LVL80).

The NLSY data set over-sampled subjects who were poor, African-American, Hispanic, or in the military (Center for Human Resource Research 1994). That is, there were greater numbers of these groups than would have occurred with purely random probability sampling of subjects. Following the recommendation quoted above, we coded the indicator variable SUPP such that (1) reflects that the subject’s family was included as part of the supplemental sample of poor subjects and the value (0) otherwise. Similarly, we coded the indicator variable MIL (1) if the subject’s family was included as part of the military sample.

The NLSY also obtained IQ scores from the high school transcripts of a sub-sample of subjects. There were a number of forms of IQ test in use, and a number of subjects had IQ test results reported for two or more forms. To reduce the variability due to the form of the IQ test used, we used the result for the form that was the more commonly reported in the subsample, when a subject had results reported from two or more forms. Thus, there were 666 subjects that had independent IQ scores, and, therefore, we were able to use IQ as an independent variable.

Results

Our analyses of the AFQT and ASVAB results showed the following.

- There was a strong association between AFQT scores and scores on each ASVAB component with level of education. (Table 1, Table 2).
• There appeared to be a differential effect of additional years of education in the direction of lowered test scores for African-Americans, women, and Hispanics and higher test scores for Whites and men. (Table 1).

• Both patterns tended to persist even when IQ score was controlled. (Table 2). That is, the highly significant partial regression coefficients of education (see Table 2 for Arithmetic Reasoning, Word Knowledge, Paragraph Comprehension, and Mathematics) were not empirically consistent with the assumptions of the Herrnstein-Murray analysis.

Put another way, we found that the same patterns that Herrnstein and Murray reported for the "intellectual" components of the AFQT (Arithmetic Reasoning, Word Knowledge, Paragraph Comprehension, and Mathematics) held for the other components when we used a model specification like theirs. However, when we considered specifications that tested whether there was a differential association between education level and AFQT test performance, we found that a model other than theirs provided a better explanation. Moreover, there was a highly significant contribution of education, even after controlling for IQ score.

We first ran regression analyses of the AFQT and its ASVAB components and obtained results very similar to those reported in Herrnstein and Murray. For example, this regression analysis of standard score form of the AFQT as reported, ZAFQTR, explained 44.4 percent of the variation in the standardized reported AFQT, a result significant at the 0.0001 level of significance.

The fitted equation was based on 3,712 respondents.

\[
\text{ZAFQTR} = -1.462 + 0.339(\text{ED_LVL80}) - 0.796(\text{BLACK}) - 0.470(\text{HISP})
\]

\[
+ 0.124(\text{AGE80}) + 0.0923(\text{INC80}) + 0.417(\text{MIL})
\]

\[
- 0.0664(\text{SUPP}) - 0.146(\text{SEX}).
\]

The value in parenthesis underneath each variable is the F-test of the null hypothesis that the variable's partial regression coefficient is zero against the two-sided alternative that it is not zero. (An F-statistic for a partial regression coefficient with a value of 3.84 or greater is significant at the two-sided 0.05 level; a value
of 6.64 or greater is significant at the two-sided 0.01 level; and a value of 10.8 or greater is significant at the two-sided 0.001 level. We also ran parallel analyses using each ASVAB component as a dependent variable but do not report the complete results here).

The interpretation of this result is that respondents who were African-American scored 0.796 standard deviations below Whites, and Hispanic respondents scored 0.470 standard deviations lower than Whites. The F values of 551.80 for African-Americans and 144.96 are much higher than the value of 10.8 required for significance at the 0.001 level. Women scored 0.146 standard deviations lower than men, a highly significant difference with an F value of 33.87. (Herrnstein and Murray did not include sex in their specification). We found that the pattern of lower scores for African-Americans, Hispanics, and women held for the AFQT and most ASVAB components, consistent with Herrnstein and Murray (1994). We sought to identify additional factors that might clarify the reasons for the lower scores.

Differential Education Associations

We checked for underspecification of the first set of models by running a stepwise regression with a larger set of variables that consisted of all of the variables as well as all second and third order products of these variables. Since the interactions of income and education, age and education, sex and education, African-American and education, and Hispanic and education were significant for most of the ASVAB components, we considered a model with these variables added. The results are presented in Table 1. The first line contains the AFQT results. The next four lines contain the results for the components selected by Herrnstein and Murray as “intellectual”. The bottom six lines contain the results for the remaining ASVAB components.

The partial regression coefficient of the education level that the subject reported in 1980 was again the most significant coefficient for the AFQT and each ASVAB component. Family income also had significant positive associations with the AFQT and each ASVAB component. The interaction of education level and income had a significant negative association with the AFQT and each ASVAB component. The interactions of African-American
Table 1

Multiple Regression Results with Interactions for AFQT and ASVAB Components Controlling for Education, Age, Income, Sample Selection, Sex, and Ethnicity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>ED_LVL80</th>
<th>AGE80</th>
<th>INC80</th>
<th>MIL</th>
<th>SUPP</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>HISP</th>
<th>INC_ED</th>
<th>SEX_ED</th>
<th>BLACK_ED</th>
<th>HISP_ED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZAFQTR</td>
<td>0.456</td>
<td>0.423***</td>
<td>-0.115***</td>
<td>0.416***</td>
<td>0.393***</td>
<td>-0.066*</td>
<td>0.498***</td>
<td>-0.039</td>
<td>0.138</td>
<td>-0.027***</td>
<td>-0.056***</td>
<td>-0.065***</td>
<td>-0.053***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total AFQT</td>
<td>(257.97)</td>
<td>(700.55)</td>
<td>(86.24)</td>
<td>(65.98)</td>
<td>(38.64)</td>
<td>(4.75)</td>
<td>(12.62)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(0.45)</td>
<td>(40.69)</td>
<td>(21.82)</td>
<td>(17.79)</td>
<td>(8.91)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB2</td>
<td>0.396</td>
<td>0.091***</td>
<td>-0.024***</td>
<td>0.090***</td>
<td>0.093***</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>-0.006***</td>
<td>-0.009***</td>
<td>-0.019***</td>
<td>-0.016***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>(202.35)</td>
<td>(456.00)</td>
<td>(54.00)</td>
<td>(43.87)</td>
<td>(30.56)</td>
<td>(2.86)</td>
<td>(0.60)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(0.97)</td>
<td>(28.63)</td>
<td>(7.60)</td>
<td>(20.76)</td>
<td>(10.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasoning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB3</td>
<td>0.421</td>
<td>0.094***</td>
<td>-0.026***</td>
<td>0.132***</td>
<td>0.137***</td>
<td>-0.018*</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>-0.254***</td>
<td>-0.127*</td>
<td>-0.009***</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word Knowledge</td>
<td>(224.29)</td>
<td>(494.18)</td>
<td>(60.85)</td>
<td>(93.48)</td>
<td>(66.21)</td>
<td>(4.94)</td>
<td>(1.28)</td>
<td>(28.38)</td>
<td>(5.45)</td>
<td>(64.94)</td>
<td>(2.20)</td>
<td>(1.46)</td>
<td>(0.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB4</td>
<td>0.342</td>
<td>0.098***</td>
<td>-0.032***</td>
<td>0.126***</td>
<td>0.129***</td>
<td>-0.017*</td>
<td>0.166***</td>
<td>-0.192***</td>
<td>-0.141**</td>
<td>-0.009***</td>
<td>-0.012***</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph Comp.</td>
<td>(160.06)</td>
<td>(451.33)</td>
<td>(79.37)</td>
<td>(73.04)</td>
<td>(50.21)</td>
<td>(3.84)</td>
<td>(16.85)</td>
<td>(13.69)</td>
<td>(5.70)</td>
<td>(50.36)</td>
<td>(12.19)</td>
<td>(0.25)</td>
<td>(0.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB8</td>
<td>0.343</td>
<td>0.105***</td>
<td>-0.033***</td>
<td>0.107***</td>
<td>0.068***</td>
<td>-0.014</td>
<td>0.142***</td>
<td>0.104**</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>-0.007***</td>
<td>-0.015***</td>
<td>-0.023***</td>
<td>-0.013***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math</td>
<td>(161.25)</td>
<td>(551.30)</td>
<td>(89.68)</td>
<td>(55.59)</td>
<td>(14.52)</td>
<td>(2.60)</td>
<td>(12.94)</td>
<td>(4.25)</td>
<td>(0.71)</td>
<td>(34.13)</td>
<td>(20.29)</td>
<td>(27.89)</td>
<td>(6.64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB1</td>
<td>0.402</td>
<td>0.092***</td>
<td>-0.024***</td>
<td>0.102***</td>
<td>0.098***</td>
<td>-0.016</td>
<td>0.065</td>
<td>-0.156**</td>
<td>-0.126*</td>
<td>-0.007***</td>
<td>-0.014***</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Science</td>
<td>(207.04)</td>
<td>(438.81)</td>
<td>(50.93)</td>
<td>(52.69)</td>
<td>(31.87)</td>
<td>(3.64)</td>
<td>(2.87)</td>
<td>(10.03)</td>
<td>(5.00)</td>
<td>(35.88)</td>
<td>(19.08)</td>
<td>(0.98)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB5</td>
<td>0.281</td>
<td>0.089***</td>
<td>-0.032***</td>
<td>0.101***</td>
<td>0.150***</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
<td>0.202***</td>
<td>-0.142**</td>
<td>-0.100</td>
<td>-0.007***</td>
<td>-0.013***</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerical</td>
<td>(120.54)</td>
<td>(374.87)</td>
<td>(78.41)</td>
<td>(47.29)</td>
<td>(68.10)</td>
<td>(0.07)</td>
<td>(25.03)</td>
<td>(7.59)</td>
<td>(2.86)</td>
<td>(32.59)</td>
<td>(15.12)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB6</td>
<td>0.298</td>
<td>0.082***</td>
<td>-0.021***</td>
<td>0.082***</td>
<td>0.132***</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>0.217***</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>-0.006***</td>
<td>-0.011***</td>
<td>-0.011*</td>
<td>-0.004*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coding Speed</td>
<td>(130.99)</td>
<td>(314.55)</td>
<td>(35.36)</td>
<td>(30.63)</td>
<td>(52.57)</td>
<td>(1.98)</td>
<td>(28.87)</td>
<td>(0.25)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(21.21)</td>
<td>(10.24)</td>
<td>(6.16)</td>
<td>(0.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB7</td>
<td>0.487</td>
<td>0.052***</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>0.063***</td>
<td>0.089***</td>
<td>-0.012</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>-0.195***</td>
<td>-0.115**</td>
<td>-0.006***</td>
<td>-0.017***</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auto and Shop</td>
<td>(292.88)</td>
<td>(192.84)</td>
<td>(3.03)</td>
<td>(27.33)</td>
<td>(35.82)</td>
<td>(2.77)</td>
<td>(1.23)</td>
<td>(21.35)</td>
<td>(5.66)</td>
<td>(20.18)</td>
<td>(35.04)</td>
<td>(0.15)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB9</td>
<td>0.414</td>
<td>0.070***</td>
<td>-0.013***</td>
<td>0.081***</td>
<td>0.077***</td>
<td>-0.017*</td>
<td>0.010</td>
<td>-0.056</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>-0.006***</td>
<td>-0.016***</td>
<td>-0.014***</td>
<td>0.010*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical Comp.</td>
<td>(218.13)</td>
<td>(285.66)</td>
<td>(16.40)</td>
<td>(36.79)</td>
<td>(22.26)</td>
<td>(4.70)</td>
<td>(0.08)</td>
<td>(1.44)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(27.44)</td>
<td>(26.08)</td>
<td>(12.85)</td>
<td>(4.42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB10</td>
<td>0.430</td>
<td>0.074***</td>
<td>-0.011***</td>
<td>0.079***</td>
<td>0.105***</td>
<td>-0.016*</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>-0.037</td>
<td>-0.116*</td>
<td>0.005***</td>
<td>-0.018***</td>
<td>-0.015***</td>
<td>-0.003*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>(232.99)</td>
<td>(305.89)</td>
<td>(11.62)</td>
<td>(33.91)</td>
<td>(38.76)</td>
<td>(3.95)</td>
<td>(0.56)</td>
<td>(0.59)</td>
<td>(4.49)</td>
<td>(23.68)</td>
<td>(31.01)</td>
<td>(13.07)</td>
<td>(0.34)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=3712  Oldest sibling only, if more than one taking survey.  (F-test value in parentheses.)
*p<.05**  p<.01***  p<.001, F-test.
and education level (BLACK.ED) and sex and education level
(SEX.ED) were also significantly negative in the Total AFQT score. A plot best shows the implications of these associations.

Figure 1 contains a plot of the fitted value of the standardized
AFQT score for African-American subjects, both male and female,
compared to White subjects, both male and female for each level
of education when family income was set to $15,000, age in 1980
was set to 20, and SUPP and MIL indicator variables were set to
0. Controlling for sex, African-American subjects at all levels of
education did not score as high as comparable White subjects, as
shown by the fact that the African-American line for a given sex is
always below the line for Whites of the same sex. Controlling for
race, female subjects with about nine or more years of education
did not score as highly on the AFQT as equally well educated
male subjects, as shown by the intersection of the male line of an
ethnicity with the female line at around nine years of education.
Specifically, the years of education that produce equal fits for
women and men is calculated by dividing the SEX regression
coefficient (0.498) by the negative of the SEX.ED regression coef-
icient (0.056) to obtain an education level of 8.9 years.

An examination of the results in Table 1 shows that the pattern
followed by African-American males in the ZAFQTR held for
five of the ASVAB components. There were significant results
for African-Americans for each test in the sense that one or both
of the partial regression coefficients for BLACK and BLACK.ED
were significant at the 0.05 level of smaller. For example, the
least significant finding was that the Coding Speed regression
coefficient for BLACK.ED had an F statistic value of 6.16, signif-
icant at the 0.05 level. For African-Americans, there were highly
significant negative differential associations with education (see
column 12 titled BLACK.ED) for Arithmetic Reasoning (F=20.76),
Mathematics (F=27.89), Coding Speed (F=6.16), Mechanical Com-
prehension (F=12.85), and Electronics (F=13.07). In summary, for
all education levels and all tests, the fitted test score value for an
African-American male was less than the fitted test score for a
comparable White male.

The negative differential associations with Hispanics were
much less significant (see column 13 titled HISP.ED) but roughly
parallel the findings for African-Americans. There were signifi-
Figure 1
Comparison Between ZAFQTR Score and Years of Education (White vs Black)

![Graph showing comparison between ZAFQTR Score and Years of Education for White and Black individuals](image)

There were highly significant negative differential associations with education for women (see column 11 titled SEX.ED) for all ASVAB components except for Word Knowledge. As in the total AFQT results shown in Figure 1, while the coefficients of SEX.ED documented less improvement in test scores per year of additional education for White women compared to White men, the fitted test score for White women would be higher than the fitted test score for a White male at lower levels of education. Consequently, we calculated the education level at which a White woman would have the same fitted test score as a comparable White male. White women had higher fitted test scores than comparable White men on Paragraph Comprehension for education level up to 14 years, on Numerical Operations for education level up to 16 years, and on Coding Speed for education level up to 20 years. That is, White women up to the level of an associate degree had higher tests scores on these three components.
On the remaining components, however, White women did not do as well as comparable White men with higher levels of education. For example, a White woman had lower fitted tests scores than a comparable White male for Arithmetic Reasoning for an education level of 3 years or more, on Mathematics for an education level of 10 years or more, on General Science for an education level of 5 years or more, on Auto and Shop for an education level of 2 years of more, on Mechanical Comprehension for an education level of 1 year or more, and on Electronics for an education level of 2 years or more.

Controlling for IQ Score

We also ran regression analyses using the AFQT and ASVAB components as dependent variables and added the subject’s IQ score and the interactions of education with sex and minority status for the 666 subjects for whom we had independent IQ scores. We report the results in Table 2. As before, the first line contains results for the total AFQT. The next four lines contain the results for the components used in the Herrnstein-Murray analysis. The partial regression coefficients in the fourth column (titled ED_LVL80, education level controlling for the other independent variables; that is, including IQ) should have been zero if the Herrnstein-Murray assumptions were empirically valid. As discussed below, these coefficients were highly significant. The next six lines contain the results for the other ASVAB components. Because of the small number of cases, we do not use the indicator variables MIL and SUPP. We also do not use the Income-education interaction variable. We use the indicator variable MINORITY, which is (1) if the subject is BLACK or HISPANIC and the product of MINORITY and Education.

For brevity, we list the ZAFQTR results. The fraction of the variance explained in the ZAFQTR score was 0.71, and the fitted regression model for the ZAFQTR was

\[-1.973 + 0.623(Z\_MC\_IQ) + 0.148(ED\_LVL\_80) + 0.024(AGE80) + 0.034(INC80) + 0.247(SEX) + 0.131(MINORITY) - 0.035(MIN\_ED\_LVL\_80) - 0.036(SEX\_ED\_LVL\_80)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&= (650.27) (35.47) (1.24) (5.16) (1.04) (0.21) (2.14) (3.22)
\end{align*}
\]
### Table 2

**Multiple Regression Results on AFQT and ASVAB Components Controlling for IQ, Sex, Education, Income, Age, and Ethnicity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>Z_MC_IQ</th>
<th>ED_LVL80</th>
<th>AGE80</th>
<th>INC80</th>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>MINORITY</th>
<th>MIN_ED</th>
<th>SEX_ED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZAFQTR</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.623***</td>
<td>0.148***</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.034*</td>
<td>0.247</td>
<td>0.131</td>
<td>-0.035+</td>
<td>-0.036+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total AFQT</td>
<td></td>
<td>(650.27)</td>
<td>(35.47)</td>
<td>(1.24)</td>
<td>(5.16)</td>
<td>(1.04)</td>
<td>(0.21)</td>
<td>(2.14)</td>
<td>(3.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB2</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>0.149***</td>
<td>0.025***</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.043</td>
<td>-0.110</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>-0.008</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic Reasoning</td>
<td></td>
<td>(408.72)</td>
<td>(11.55)</td>
<td>(1.09)</td>
<td>(0.90)</td>
<td>(1.09)</td>
<td>(0.02)</td>
<td>(1.29)</td>
<td>(0.22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB3</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.120***</td>
<td>0.026***</td>
<td>0.011+</td>
<td>0.082+</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>-0.212**</td>
<td>0.009+</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word Knowledge</td>
<td></td>
<td>(299.03)</td>
<td>(13.44)</td>
<td>(2.93)</td>
<td>(3.18)</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>(6.92)</td>
<td>(1.94)</td>
<td>(0.14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB4</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.112***</td>
<td>0.034***</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.013**</td>
<td>0.202**</td>
<td>-0.078</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>-0.143*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph Comp.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(200.89)</td>
<td>(18.39)</td>
<td>(0.76)</td>
<td>(7.04)</td>
<td>(6.66)</td>
<td>(0.72)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(4.93)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB8</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.154***</td>
<td>0.034***</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>0.118*</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>-0.009</td>
<td>-0.009+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Math</td>
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<td>(397.15)</td>
<td>(18.90)</td>
<td>(0.00)</td>
<td>(6.27)</td>
<td>(0.77)</td>
<td>(0.54)</td>
<td>(1.50)</td>
<td>(1.90)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB1</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.126***</td>
<td>0.026***</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.071+</td>
<td>-0.026</td>
<td>-0.197*</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>-0.008+</td>
</tr>
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<td>General Science</td>
<td></td>
<td>(272.94)</td>
<td>(11.46)</td>
<td>(0.94)</td>
<td>(2.31)</td>
<td>(0.12)</td>
<td>(4.94)</td>
<td>(1.32)</td>
<td>(1.85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB5</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.097***</td>
<td>0.027**</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.081+</td>
<td>0.166*</td>
<td>-0.067</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>-0.009+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerical Operations</td>
<td></td>
<td>(130.98)</td>
<td>(9.62)</td>
<td>(0.09)</td>
<td>(2.45)</td>
<td>(3.94)</td>
<td>(0.46)</td>
<td>(0.08)</td>
<td>(1.87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB6</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.079***</td>
<td>0.037***</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.078+</td>
<td>0.255**</td>
<td>-0.010</td>
<td>-0.006</td>
<td>-0.015*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coding Speed</td>
<td></td>
<td>(90.60)</td>
<td>(19.16)</td>
<td>(0.19)</td>
<td>(2.35)</td>
<td>(9.54)</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>(0.52)</td>
<td>(4.74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB7</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.061***</td>
<td>0.014+</td>
<td>0.012+</td>
<td>0.067+</td>
<td>-0.104</td>
<td>-0.316***</td>
<td>0.014+</td>
<td>-0.013*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auto and Shop</td>
<td></td>
<td>(62.92)</td>
<td>(3.21)</td>
<td>(2.69)</td>
<td>(2.06)</td>
<td>(1.88)</td>
<td>(12.64)</td>
<td>(3.68)</td>
<td>(4.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB9</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.099***</td>
<td>0.026**</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.064</td>
<td>-0.069</td>
<td>-0.059</td>
<td>-0.005</td>
<td>-0.011+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mech. Comp.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(142.47)</td>
<td>(9.28)</td>
<td>(0.76)</td>
<td>(1.63)</td>
<td>(0.71)</td>
<td>(0.38)</td>
<td>(0.36)</td>
<td>(2.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZASVAB10</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.097***</td>
<td>0.024**</td>
<td>0.010+</td>
<td>0.015</td>
<td>-0.040</td>
<td>-0.150+</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>-0.014*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td></td>
<td>(141.37)</td>
<td>(8.09)</td>
<td>(2.02)</td>
<td>(0.10)</td>
<td>(0.24)</td>
<td>(2.50)</td>
<td>(0.03)</td>
<td>(4.28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=666 Oldest sibling only, if more than one taking survey.
+p<.10 one-sided test, *p<.05 two-sided, ** p<.01 two-sided, *** p<.001, two-sided test.
As expected, the partial regression coefficient of the subject’s reported IQ score had the greatest F statistics in each regression. Contrary to expectation, the subject’s education level also had a significant partial regression coefficient in each regression, except for Auto and Shop. The significant association of educational level with the ASVAB components used in the Herrnstein and Murray analysis is inconsistent with the claim that these measures are “IQ scores.” Additionally, the significant associations of income with both Paragraph Comprehension (F=7.04) and Mathematics (F=6.27) after controlling for IQ are also not consistent with the Herrnstein-Murray assumptions.

If the differential education models that we fit in the previous section were valid, then the magnitude of the partial regression coefficients of the interactions should remain roughly the same after the subject’s reported IQ score is included. The indications of differential test score improvement in the Total AFQT against women (p<0.05, one-sided test) remained even though reported IQ was entered and the number of cases used in the analysis was greatly reduced. Women had fitted AFQT scores less than comparable men when the education level was 7 years or more (compared to 9 years above). Women also had lower fitted test scores than comparable men (significant with 0.05 two-sided test) in the Paragraph Comprehension component for education level greater than 1 year, Auto and Shop for all education levels, and Electronics for all education levels.

There was still a trend (p<0.10, one sided test) for minority subjects to have less test score improvement per year of education in the Total AFQT, even with IQ controlled. Minority subjects with education level 4 years or more did more poorly than comparable White males. After controlling for IQ, minority test scores were lower than White test scores in the Word Knowledge component for education level less than 24 years, in the General Science component for all education levels, and in the Auto and Shop component at all education levels.

Conclusions and Discussion

This study focuses on the relationship between years of education, race, gender, and the acquisition of marketable skills. Using
data from a nationally representative sample of adolescents and young adults, the analyses concentrated on two questions. First, do African-Americans and women score lower on a standardized test of verbal, mathematical, and technical skills? The answer is yes they do. Second, do the African-American-White and male-female gaps in test scores remain about the same for different levels of educational attainment? The answer is no; there is a general pattern that women have less test score improvement with an additional year of education. This pattern of association holds even with IQ controlled. A similar pattern holds for African-Americans. More specifically, there appears to be less improvement in test scores for each year of increased education level in women and minority men than for males who reported themselves as other than African-American or Hispanic. These disparities are most apparent in quantitative and technical areas. The NLSY data show that, on a societal-wide basis, there was unequal test score improvement per year of education prior to 1980 that accounts for much of the difference between minority and White performance on the AFQT.

Our findings support and expand upon results reported by other researchers (e.g., Fischer et al. 1996; Korenman and Winship 1995; Phillips, Crouse, and Ralph 1998). All investigations document the higher scores of men relative to women and Whites compared to African-Americans on standardized tests of academic achievement. Our analysis expands these findings by specifying a regression model that explicitly tests whether (or not) the AFQT score gap widens with increasing years of education and documents that the pattern remains after IQ is controlled.

The significance of the partial regression coefficient of the interaction of education level and being African-American or Hispanic is, *ipso facto*, a significant issue to be considered in a complete understanding of the differences in subjects’ performances on the AFQT and its components. The findings in *The Bell Curve* of decreased economic potential for subjects whose AFQT scores were lower are documentation of the costs of differential test score improvement. It is not surprising that Korenman and Winship (1995) have confirmed this portion of findings in *The Bell Curve*; namely, that, subjects who do not test well with respect to
having the qualifications needed in a technological society are at a disadvantage economically.

Two limitations should be noted with regard to the present study. While the results show that improvements in test scores per year of education for women and minorities are less than for males and Whites with each additional year of schooling, we cannot determine the source of the disparity. Past research suggests that, disadvantaged background, poverty, parenting style, neighborhood (Korenman and Winship 1995; Phillips et al. 1998), low achieving peers (Jencks and Phillips 1998b), and a poor school environment, including teacher expectations, poor funding, and larger classes (Ferguson 1998a; 1998b) affect the acquisition of marketable skills. Future research needs to identify exactly which factors best explain the widening gap that emerges in test scores with increasing years of education. The second limitation is with the sample of 666 for which there are independent IQ scores. One cannot exclude the existence of an unknown selection bias whose effects are unpredictable.

Nevertheless, in terms of policy implications, our results show that there is a differential improvement in test scores with each additional year of education that works against women (specifically in the AFQT, Mathematics, General Science, Auto and Shop, Mechanical Comprehension, and Electronic components) and against African-Americans (specifically in the AFQT, Arithmetic Reasoning, Mathematics, Coding Speed, Mechanical Comprehension, and Electronic components). Further, this differential lack of improvement appears to explain the reduced scores for African-Americans reported by Herrnstein and Murray.

Consequently, we argue that there exists much greater opportunity for positive intervention to reduce the observed test score differences between Whites and others than Herrnstein and Murray (1994) lead their readers to believe possible. Our results suggest that these efforts should focus on the various dimensions of the educational process.

References

Jencks, Christopher, and Phillips, Meredith. (1998a). "American's Next Achieve-


Designing Policies that Address the Relationship Between Woman Abuse and Economic Resources

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Given the disproportionate and increasing number of impoverished women, and poor women's increased vulnerability to woman abuse, it is crucial we examine economic policies in regards to their equity and adequacy for abused women. Current policies and programs designed to address the economic resources/needs of abused women are analyzed. Limitations in current policies are addressed, and a recommendation is made for the formation and implementation of a policy that would serve to empower women economically. Both the prospect and achievement of economic independence for women may not only reduce woman abuse, but will also increase women's options for economic security.

In western culture the abuse of women by their partners can be traced back at least as far as Romulus, the founder of Rome, who around 753 B.C.E. formalized the first known law of marriage (McCue, 1995; Wallace, 1996). While social policies have changed over the years in regards to woman abuse, many of the myths and biases about women and abuse persist. Consequently, contemporary policies and programs targeting woman abuse are inadequate. As noted by Gutierrez (1987), “feminist and sociological theories encouraged social workers to place responsibility for battering on society... [but] for the most part social workers were not encouraged to work toward larger social changes as much as toward local reforms or changing their daily practice” (p. 45). Not surprisingly then, in a national study examining services and programs designed to assist abused women, Davis, Hagen, and Early (1994) found that the majority of services offered
across the country focus on two types of interventions, providing counseling/supportive services and temporary protection.

Given the shame and fear women often experience in revealing their abuse, woman abuse continues to be underreported (McCue, 1995). However, estimates are that each year 4 million women will experience battering in an intimate relationship, and over their lifetimes, 25% of all women will experience such abuse (Postmus, 2000). Indeed, woman abuse is a leading cause of female injury and death (Mills, 1996). When women attempt to leave an abusive relationship, they often risk losing their children in custody battles (Bryan, 1999). They also risk economic hardship such as losing their homes and possessions (McCue, 1995). Findings from the Senate Judiciary Committee in 1990 indicate that a woman who leaves her abusive partner faces a 50 percent chance that her standard of living will drop below the poverty line (McCue, 1995).

Not only are women more vulnerable than men to impoverishment (Abramovitz, 1996; Kemp, 1994; Zopf, 1989), but poor women are also more likely to experience violence by an intimate partner than are women from higher economic levels, with women on welfare experiencing the most severe violence (Kurz, 1998). While "domestic violence is a factor in approximately 6 percent of all U.S. households, 20 to 30 percent of women receiving welfare are current victims of domestic violence—a considerable over-representation" (Raphael, 2000, p. 5).

Although the connection between woman abuse and economic security for women has been made, few detailed policy recommendations have been forthcoming. Even when authors emphasize women's economic needs, the tendency is to focus on only one or two economic components and seldom on long-term economic security (Christy-McMullin, 2000). Therefore, after highlighting the interrelated nature of woman abuse and economic security through a critical examination of the relevant literature, limitations inherent in contemporary services and policies will be discussed and a recommendation made for policy formulation which promises to address the various economic needs faced by abused women.
Six Components Of Economic Security For Abused Women

Research suggests that increasing economic independence for women will not only decrease violence within an intimate relationship, but also provide women with the needed economic resources to leave an abusive relationship if they so desire. Feminists address these concerns when they redefine woman abuse as "a problem not of the individual but of a patriarchal society in which men [have] held disproportionate power over valuable resources" (Pfouts, & Renz, 1981, p. 452). Other authors have also considered the relationship between power/access to economic resources and woman abuse (Farmer & Tiefenthaler, 1997; Page-Adams, 1995). They hypothesize that increasing women's financial resources will decrease their experiences of abuse by their partners, theorizing that the partners will have more to lose if they resort to violence. While there are various economic needs for women in general, and abused women specifically, the focus here is on six overlapping components of economic security: public assistance, education, employment, income, assets, and divorce and child custody settlements.

Public assistance. From its early beginnings at the turn of the twentieth century through present day, public assistance has been meager, stigmatizing, and controlling of women's behaviors (Abramovitz, 1996; Kemp, 1994). Today, poverty continues to be "a woman's problem," as well as being concentrated among racial minorities (Kemp, 1994). Feminists are concerned that policymakers have made public assistance payments so meager and stigmatizing that women will not view public assistance as a viable option, and therefore will choose to stay with a male breadwinner. The value inherent in this less eligibility standard is that women should not be able to choose receiving public assistance over the poorest (Kemp, 1994) or most dangerous marriage (Abramovitz, 1996). Feminists assert that this less eligibility standard exists because if women "can attain economic independence outside of the domain of men, it is perceived by conservatives as a serious threat to the social order" (Kemp, 1994, p. 303). However, poor women pay a high cost for meager public assistance payments in that there is some evidence that increased public assistance
levels are negatively associated with homicide rates (DeFronzo & Hannon, 1998).

**Education.** Historically, recipients of public assistance programs like Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) were allowed to obtain additional education or training and still be eligible to receive benefits. However, the rules regarding schooling were substantially altered with the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (PRWORA). Within this legislation, only 20 percent of each state's TANF recipients can be exempted from the work requirements in order to participate in up to one year of vocational training, or in the case of teen parents, to complete their secondary education (Department of Health and Human Services, 1996). Additionally, by not making adequate provisions for education and training, there is no recognition that post-secondary education may be useful or necessary in helping recipients leave Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF). However, a woman's educational level would seem indicative not only of her employability, but also her ability to earn a wage that would allow her to be economically self-sufficient. This rationale may help to explain why numerous advocates for abused women call for the creation of educational and training programs for women who have experienced abuse (e.g., Bonifaz, 1991; Kurz, 1998).

**Employment.** While many authors theorize that providing education and training programs will improve women's economic security via better paying jobs (Bonifaz, 1991; Ellis & DeKeserdy, 1997; Kurz, 1998; Postmus, 2000), it is important to acknowledge that this relationship is not a linear one. Even though more women are active in the work force than in the past, this has not resulted in all employed women enjoying economic independence (Gutierrez, 1987). Indeed, Cheng (1995) reports that those recipients who left AFDC were not much better off financially than those who stayed, with the average family earnings increasing only slightly (from 49% to 79% of the poverty line). The problem with the myth that employment is "better" than public assistance is that frequently, available jobs not only are low paying and do not serve to raise a woman and her family above the poverty line, but these same jobs typically do not offer health care insurance (Hagen,
1994; Karger & Stoesz, 1998), full-time employment, other benefits (such as paid time off) and/or the chance for advancement (Karger & Stoesz, 1998).

**Income.** One fundamental flaw in welfare reform policies (workfare) is the assumption that women's wages are adequate to support families (Miller, 1994). While employment is often heralded as the solution to decreasing the welfare roles, in reality, about 40 percent of those families who exit welfare remain below the poverty line (Miller, 1994). One explanation for this is that women continue to earn less than men who have the same educational level. In 1995, women working full-time earned between 70–78 percent of what their male counterpart earned, depending on their level of education (U.S. Department of Labor, 1997).

Farmer and Tiefenthaler (1997) discuss research findings that suggest violence decreases as the woman's income increases, except in families where the woman is in the highest income level and is also the primary earner. Conversely, violence apparently increases as the man's income increases. Based on these findings, Farmer and Tiefenthaler posit that it is important to consider women's income separately, predicting that an increase in women's incomes will provide them with alternatives to violent relationships, and thereby decrease woman abuse.

**Assets.** While many authors have considered income as an important component of economic security for abused women, the role that assets (such as ownership of a small business, a home or property) play in preventing woman abuse has typically not been examined. In fact, many public assistance policies restrict recipients from having or accumulating assets (Johnson & Sherraden, 1992; Sherraden, 1991). However, based on the findings of her study regarding the effects of assets (homeownership) on marital conflict and violence, Page-Adams (1995), asserts that “not all resources work equally well in reducing the likelihood of such violence” (p. 95). Moreover, findings from qualitative studies indicate housing (Davis & Srinivasan, 1995; Gowdy & Pearlmutter, 1993) and the ability to put money in a savings account (Gowdy & Pearlmutter, 1993) as important components in regards to women's perceptions of economic security.

Levinson's (1989) cross cultural study of 90 small-scale and
peasant societies provides some insight into understanding the potential that asset accumulation has in regard to woman abuse. Levinson concludes, "wife beating is likely to be frequent in a society were men control the wealth, have the final say in household decision making, and are able to prevent their wives from escaping marriage through divorce" (p. 73). Studies from the United States, such as Peterson (1980) and Page-Adams (1995), suggest that women who own their homes are less likely to experience woman abuse than are women who rent.

**Divorce, financial settlements and child custody.** While marital property in most states is subject to equitable distribution, in practice wives typically receive fewer marital assets than do their husbands (Bryan, 1999; Daw, 1995). This may be especially true for women with children because there is a great likelihood these women will feel coerced or threatened in regards to custody and/or financial agreements (Bryan, 1999; Daw, 1995; Fineman, 1988; Imbrogno & Imbrogno, 2000). Under these circumstances, women may relinquish their claim to financial payments (such as child support and alimony) and property settlements in attempt to keep custody of the children (Bryan, 1999; Fineman, 1988).

Even when a woman receives half of the assets, only an illusion of equality exists, because with the child rearing responsibilities, she will need and is entitled to more than half the marital assets (Bryan, 1999; Daw, 1995). A 50/50 split does not take into account that women will typically be the primary providers for the children (Daw, 1995). These care-taking responsibilities will continue to limit women's options in the labor force and consequently affect their financial outcomes in the marketplace (Daw, 1995). While superficially a 50/50 split may appear to be equal treatment, "to treat men and women the same in all cases may be to ignore social differences, further entrenching disadvantage rather than leading to equality" (Daw, 1995, p. 18).

A final barrier to receiving fair divorce settlements is the best interest of the child standard, which has historically governed custody decisions (Bryan, 1999, Fineman, 1988). While there are a number of factors courts consider in granting custody, one is that the child should have her/his principal residence with the parent who can better provide financially for her/him (Bryan,
1999), and another is for the court to consider which parent is "friendly" rather than hostile toward the other parent (Bryan, 1999; Fineman, 1988). Consequently, a woman's allegations of domestic abuse may result in her being viewed as being hostile or pathological, and consequently she will lose custody of the children (Fineman, 1988).

Policy Limitations

Clearly, it is challenging for researchers to consider numerous economic issues at once, making it difficult to create policies that encompass all six components of economic security. In fact, most scholars begin with a broad statement of the importance of economic security for women and then choose one or two economic areas on which to focus. However, taking into account how these six economic components interface with each other provides a more realistic portrayal of the complex nature of economic security needs faced by many women whom experience abuse. Not only do most policies, as well as policymakers, fail to understand and incorporate into their proposals the interrelatedness of various economic components, policies are seldom created that acknowledge and support women as economically independent individuals.

With the exception of the legal articles reviewed, most authors who do suggest policy implications or changes typically focus on short-term solutions (helping women through the crisis) rather than obtaining long-term economic security. Tragically, such a narrow focus is prohibitive of effective programs and interventions being implemented. Furthermore, it can be predicted that women will find it hard to succeed within the limits of these incomplete and inadequate policies and programs, and ironically, they will be the ones who are blamed and labeled as failures. Seldom is the connection made that economic policies need to consider the importance of and facilitate the accumulation of assets for women, especially poor women, to help buffer them from economic crises.

In part, the difficulty in detailing policy implications and recommendations may be due to the fact that research results thus far do not clearly support the hypothesis that increasing economic
security will increase women’s safety. Given these seemingly conflict- ing and counter-intuitive findings, the struggle with attempting to redress these issues via policy is understandable. However, it is critical to avoid using these mixed findings as a reason to maintain the status quo regarding economic policies for women. As we attempt to understand the seemingly mixed results of previous studies, and then formulate policies in response to these findings, it is crucial that we keep in mind that part of the problem lies in the conceptual fragmentation that has occurred regarding the economic needs of abused women.

Policy-Practice Recommendations

Rather than continuing a one-dimensional approach to redressing economic needs of abused women, a more integrative approach is necessary when making recommendations for substantial policy changes. Central to this integrative approach is the need to broaden the focus from the currently heavily income-based policies (Page-Adams, 1995) to include asset-based policies that target women specifically. Creating policies that empower women to be economically independent individuals, rather than relying on either a male breadwinner or government for economic support, is an equally important goal. Furthermore, creating economic policies that focus on women in general may have both preventive and interventive roles regarding woman abuse.

The following proposed policy has a two-pronged approach to helping decrease abuse of women by an intimate partner. First, this policy will assist women in general with achieving economic security, and in turn may help decrease the frequency of woman abuse. However, it is likely that this preventive strategy will not be sufficient in stopping all woman abuse. An additional benefit of implementing this economic policy is that it will increase the options for women who find themselves in abusive relationships.

Woman Abuse Prevention and Intervention Act of 2002—WAPIA

In an attempt to create a new policy that will begin to address the economic needs of abused women in a more comprehensive manner, I propose the formation of the Woman Abuse Prevention
and Intervention Act of 2002 (WAPIA). As implied by the name of this piece of legislation, an inherent goal is to target women with the purpose of increasing our economic equity with men, and thereby decrease the incidence of woman abuse. The five elements of WAPIA encompass all six components of the economic security of women.

Reclassification of education and training as work activities. Education is closely linked to employment, income, assets, and the ability not only to move off of public assistance but also to move out of poverty. Therefore, WAPIA must elicit a necessary change in public assistance policies, especially Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), so that education and training are reclassified as work activities. In the long run, this will create opportunities for women and assist them with becoming economically independent, and decrease their need to fall back on public assistance. Additionally, allowing women to get their financial needs met through the marketplace, rather than resorting to public assistance, removes the demeaning and stigmatizing experiences associated with public assistance programs (Raphael, 2000).

Provide funding for peripheral supports. However, simply reclassifying education and training may not be sufficient to help abused women become economically independent; they also need to be able to access these services in order to take advantage of them (Kurz, 1998). Provisions must be made within WAPIA to allocate adequate funding to pay for the classes, childcare, and health care for women and their children during the time they are completing their education/training, and into the woman’s employment phase, if needed. This latter clause is important, given that employment, in and of itself, may not provide enough of an economic base for women and their children to survive.

Retention and accumulation of assets. Housing is a particular need for abused women because they need to be able to secure for themselves and their children a permanent alternative to living with their abusers (Brandwein & Filiano, 2000), whether the woman is interested in owning her own home or not. Currently, the federal government does not adequately fund housing subsidies for
poor and low-income earners (Karger & Stoesz, 1998), though the federal government has been very willing to provide middle and upper-income earners with housing subsidies in the form of tax breaks. In fact, subsidies for middle and upper-income earners are directed toward homeownership; whereas the provision of subsidies for low-income earners has been solely for rental assistance. For example, in 1996, the federal government spent $100 billion on mortgage deductions, which target primarily middle and upper-income earners, whereas only $19 billion was spent on HUD subsidies for the poor in the same year (Karger & Stoesz, 1998). Clearly, funding exists to subsidize housing for middle and upper-income earners. In the interest of extending social and economic justice, it is time to provide parallel structures, with assistance from WAPIA, to low-income earners, who primarily are women.

Given that public assistance does not move people out of poverty (Assets for Independence Act, 1998), changes need to be made in public assistance policies that allow recipients to both retain and accumulate assets. In conjunction with increased educational and training opportunities, promoting asset retention and accumulation promises to create more opportunities for women to achieve long-term economic security. Policies need to be adopted that will specifically target abused women in order to provide the accessibility and support necessary for these women to successfully participate in asset building programs (Christy-McMullin, 2000). WAPIA will provide public money, as well as leverage private funds to finance asset-building programs that are developed specifically for abused women. Administrators of these programs may be able to access partial funding from the federal Assets for Independence Act of 1998 (AFIA), or from such state policies as Missouri’s Family Development Accounts (FDA) (Christy-McMullin, under review). Approved purchases of the matched money in these special savings accounts, IDAs, may include post-secondary education and training, homeownership and small business development (Assets for Independence Act, 1998).

*Expand the Earned Income Tax Credit.* Another element of WAPIA is to expand the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). The first step will be for the federal government to increase the income level
guidelines regarding eligibility and increase refund amounts. Additionally, those states that do not have EITC legislation will be strongly encouraged by the federal government to enact such policies. Since the EITC is currently underutilized, WAPIA will also increase efforts to educate both the general public and employers about the availability of this tax credit. One method will be to provide incentives and/or sanctions to encourage participation by employers. Expanding the EITC is important because when businesses are not required to pay their employees a living wage, taxpayers end up subsidizing the marketplace (Karger & Stoesz, 1998) by funding public assistance programs that inadequately paid workers are forced to turn to in order to survive.

Equitable divorce settlements. Divorce and custody settlements put many women at economic risk. As noted by Bryan (1999), "Women, trapped in the poverty or economic deprivation that frequently follows divorce, have difficulty obtaining the job experience and education that would help them contribute as much as they could to themselves, their children, and society" (pp. 1166–1167). An economic reality regarding divorce for men and women is that while "an ex-husband's standard of living generally increased about forty-two percent after divorce . . . the ex-wife's standard of living generally declined about seventy-three percent" (Bryan, 1999, p. 1205).

While not necessarily an economic reality for all divorcing women, the ability to retain the assets they had with their spouses, via equitable (not equal) property distributions, as well as to receive equitable alimony and child support payments, would assist many women in avoiding poverty and economic deprivation upon divorce. To this end, WAPIA will replace the current policy of determining custody arrangements according to the "best interest of the child" with the "primary parent" rule (Fineman, 1988). The "primary parent" rule will grant custody to the parent whom, prior to the divorce proceedings, took on the primary responsibility of care taking for the children. Freed from the threats and worry that their children could be taken away from them, women will be more empowered to ask for an equitable share of the income and assets, thereby increasing their chances of maintaining their economic security (Fineman, 1988).

In order to address the inequity of a 50/50 split, WAPIA will
implement a “future needs” component to reward women for their economically undervalued role as wife and mother. This has the potential to increase the property/asset settlement for women, based on whether 1) the child(ren) will be living with the woman, and/or 2) being married decreased the woman’s earning capacity (Daw, 1995). As noted by Daw (1995), “given the low level of spousal maintenance (and often child maintenance) the property settlement is the most important guarantee of future economic security for families, and particularly for women” (p. 20). While assets are important, and women typically have difficulty in collecting alimony and child support payments (Bonifaz, 1991; Kurz, 1998), this should not prevent courts from also awarding equitable maintenance and child custody settlements. This may be especially true if the divorcing couple has no or few assets accumulated.

Feasibility Of WAPIA

Potentially, the issue that may face the most political resistance in regard to the passing of the Woman Abuse Prevention and Intervention Act of 2002 is any perceived threats that WAPIA may pose to traditional ideas of gendered roles and “family values.” Removing the need for women to be economically dependent on a male breadwinner may meet with opposition during a conservative era (Hagen & Davis, 1992). In order to increase the political support of WAPIA, it is important to emphasize that the economic independence of women is not necessarily a rejection of “family values.” Indeed, Sherraden (1991) hypothesizes that accumulating assets will increase family stability because families who have less economic worries are less likely to experience such things as rage, child and spousal abuse, and marital breakup. Additionally, the proposed changes to divorce law underscore the important of parenting and “family values” by providing economic support/resources for this role into which many women devote so much time, energy and money.

Another tactic to increase both the economic and political feasibility of WAPIA is to highlight how this policy will connect more individuals to the workforce. Spending money on “deserving” individuals (e.g., those who are employed) versus the
"undeserving" (e.g., those who receive public assistance) is an agenda that is typically supported by conservatives (Karger & Stoesz, 1998). The elements that serve this purpose in WAPIA are: reclassifying education and training as a work activity for those on public assistance, providing peripheral supports so individuals can enter and remain in the marketplace, and expanding the EITC. These three elements will serve to decrease the number of women who will need to rely on public assistance due to inadequate resources in the marketplace.

Similarly, a strategy utilized to increase the support for WAPIA within the current climate of political conservatism has been to obtain funds from the private sector when possible, rather than attempting to rely solely on increasing public monies to fund the proposed policy (Karger & Stoesz, 1998). It is not the intention here to imply that public funding approaches designed to increase women's economic security and equity are not valid or important. However, if we are truly to advocate for women in general, and abused women specifically, it is critical that we examine the current political climate and formulate policies that have the best chance of being supported and implemented.

Conclusion

In reviewing current trends in public policy regarding woman abuse, Kurz (1998) argues that "federal and state policymakers must make greater commitments to protect abused women and to help them rebuild their lives" (p. 105). Similarly, she implores states to "give highest priority not only to the physical safety of all citizens, but also to their economic security" (p. 117). In attempting to assist women who have experienced abuse achieve economic security, it will also be important for policymakers to keep in mind the bigger picture of the multiple components that comprise economic security.

The recommendations in this paper, while not exhaustive, reflect an attempt to not only recognize and connect various components of economic security for women who have experienced abuse, but also will help women actually achieve long-term economic security. Policymakers must devise and implement policies that reflect the reality that many women never
marry or marry in an attempt to avoid impoverishment, only to enter into relationships with men who abuse them and/or their children (Bryan, 1999). When is all is said and done, it is crucial that new policies go the distance by creating opportunities for women to be economically independent. Assets such as savings accounts, homeownership, small business ownership and post-secondary education are new and important initiatives in the complex process of helping a woman experience economic and emotional independence from both abusive partners and public assistance, and thereby decrease the prevalence of woman abuse.

References


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Woman Abuse and Economic Resources


Beyond Welfare or Work: Teen Mothers, Household Subsistence Strategies, and Child Development Outcomes

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There is probably no aspect of the work versus welfare debate that is more contested than the effects of welfare use on child development outcomes. Liberals tend to emphasize the detrimental effects of poverty and welfare stigma on children, while conservatives cite the negative socialization that occurs regarding the value of work within welfare dependent families. However, large scale longitudinal studies that have been used to address this question only indirectly measure critical influences on child development such as maternal mental health and do not consider the effect that a range of economic strategies that low-income mothers might undertake may have on their children. In this analysis, we employ data from a longitudinal study of 173 teen-mothers to assess the relative effects of maternal characteristics and economic strategies on the developmental outcomes of their children at time of school entry. Two principal findings emerge. First, over the period from their first teen birth to the reference child's entry into school, the sample subjects used a variety of household economic strategies aside from the simple welfare versus work dichotomy that is commonly used to depict the choices of teen-mothers. Second, while maternal depression appears linked to the prevalence of problem behaviors in early childhood, the particular economic strategies used by the mothers in the sample do not explain any variation in either the prevalence of problem behaviors or in children's learning preparation for school entry. These findings support the
perspective that the influence of teen mothers' parenting qualities on child development cannot be assessed through an analysis of their labor force participation, use of welfare, or other strategies of household subsistence.

In *Making Ends Meet* (1996), Edin and Lein's widely read ethnography of low income single mothers, a very different and compelling portrait emerges of poor women and their families from those imageries commonly employed by proponents of both sides in the national debate on welfare policy. The women described in the book are neither "welfare queens" nor the perpetual victims of an indifferent society, but rather pragmatic actors living in difficult circumstances who engage in a variety of material strategies to minimize economic risks and maximize the survival and well-being of their children.

Although a rich and refreshing departure from the often murky quantitative studies of work and welfare among poor families that dominate the welfare policy literature, the conclusions derived from Edin and Lein's study may be unconvincing to many because they are not based on the positivist conventions of probability sampling and multivariate analysis. Additionally, Edin and Lein focus on the motivations and intentions of low-income mothers, rather than the impact of household-level decisions on specific child development outcomes. In this paper, we seek to test the conceptions that emerged in *Making Ends Meet* by examining the economic activities and choices of a cohort of teenage mothers followed since 1988 by researchers at the School of Social Work at the University of Washington. We also examine whether particular income maintenance strategies appear to influence key developmental outcomes in the first-born children of teen mothers, independently of other maternal characteristics. Before describing the details of our analysis and our findings, we provide a brief review of the welfare versus work literature that frames the context for our study.


We chose a cohort of teen-mothers to examine the economic strategies of the working poor because as a group teen-mothers are at highest risk for long term welfare dependence. In perhaps
the most precise categorization of individual household heads at risk of long-term welfare receipt, Duncan et. al. (1996) find that young mothers under the age of 22 at first welfare receipt, single mothers having children under the age of three, mothers who are unwed at the point of initial welfare receipt, and those lacking a high school diploma or prior work experience are at greatest risk of long term welfare use (a period of five years or longer, a figure that coincides with federal time limits established in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996). Moreover, although teen mothers represent a very small cross-sectional fraction of AFDC/TANF caseloads at a given point in time, research indicates that a large number of long-term users were teenaged, unwed, or both at time of first welfare receipt (Wertheimer & Moore, 1997).

The literature on characteristics, motivations, economic opportunities and economic behavior of women who comprise the ranks of the working poor is large, complex, and generally in service of different ideological camps. Three dominant explanatory perspectives are represented in this literature: conservative, human capital, and structuralist. We will briefly review each, beginning with the conservative perspective, since the assumptions of conservative doctrine have shaped contemporary welfare reform efforts.

The conservative perspectives articulated in the works of Charles Murray, Lawrence Mead and Robert Rector are perhaps the most cogent and persuasive within the conservative genre, and their impact on welfare policy cannot be underestimated. Each emphasizes the preeminent role of individual values and attitudes in shaping subsequent welfare entry, use, and duration. According to Mead (1986, 1992), poverty and long-term welfare use among the able-bodied are the result of a breakdown of public authority to enforce appropriate attitudes and behaviors towards work, education, and human capital investments necessary for an individual to succeed in the labor market. From this perspective, the poor are viewed as being responsible for their own condition in that they lack orthodox, middle-class values towards work and a willingness to make use of labor market opportunities available to them.

According to Murray (1984, 1994) and Rector (1993, 1995,
1996), federal social policies aimed at improving the lives of the poor were not just ineffective but actually harmful. In fact, Murray and Rector view welfare receipt as a kind of social toxin. In their view, AFDC contributed to the deterioration of the condition of those on welfare by subsidizing destructive and short-sighted behavior such as school failure, voluntary unemployment, and unwed childbearing. In effect, generous government benefits led to changes in traditional family values and increases in illegitimacy, divorce, and non-work—the very factors that underlie poverty. Although conservative theories of poverty and welfare use have been heavily criticized on both ideological (Jencks, 1992; Lafer, 1994; Fischer, et al 1996) and methodological grounds (Greenstein, 1985; Katz, 1986; 1989; Kuttner, 1984; Aizawa, 1996), there is no question they have dominated the assumptions of the welfare reform agenda.

In contrast, the human capital approaches of Harris (1991, 1993), O’Neill, Bassi, & Wolf (1987), Gueron & Pauly (1991), and Bane & Ellwood (1994) view long-term welfare receipt primarily as the result of a lack of education, job skills and work experience which limits the wages and occupational opportunities low-income women can successfully pursue to achieve economic self-sufficiency. Human capital theorists thus advocate education and training, welfare-to-work, and workfare programs as a means to enhance self-efficacy and augment the job related skills that can contribute to long-term employability (Wiseman, 1986).

The structuralist perspective on welfare use points to labor market variables as being prominent in determining use, duration and exit patterns. For example, research conducted by Bassi (1990) and Blank & Ruggles (1996) suggests that increases in welfare use are primarily determined by increases in involuntary unemployment in the local area labor market. In a study measuring both entry and exit rates, Plotnick (1983) found that higher wages inhibit entry to and increase exits from welfare. In an empirical analysis of welfare dependence using SIME-DIME data, Plant (1984) found that persistent low earnings were a more robust predictor of welfare dependence than work disincentives associated with the guaranteed income program. In sum, the structuralist perspective is bolstered by research that suggests that welfare entry and subsequent welfare exits are associated
with low prevailing wages and high unemployment rather than individual behavioral or psychological factors. Consistent with the structuralist perspective, Edin & Lein (1996), Dodson (1998), and Seccombe (1999) all emphasize that welfare mothers are not different from other mothers attempting to maximize family well-being in the face of less than ideal economic circumstances.

The literature on the role of work versus welfare on child outcomes, while fairly extensive, is far from conclusive. One part of this literature tests conservative theories by examining whether welfare use by parents contributes to teen pregnancy, school failure, unemployment and future welfare dependence (Mcclanahan, 1985; Duncan, Hill et al. 1988; Duncan and Hoffman, 1990; Haveman, Wolfe et al., 1991; An, Haveman et al, 1993; Clarke and Strauss, 1998; Baker, 1999; Moffitt, 2000). Another part of this literature considers the role of work versus welfare on early childhood development outcomes.

Although both these literatures contribute much to the understanding of the complex relationships between parent work, welfare use, and child outcomes; neither directly considers the other kinds of economic strategies aside from welfare and work that low income single mothers may rely upon. In particular, there is little consideration of latent strategies that combine welfare, work, deviant economic activities, and reliance on informal exchange networks. We address this omission by examining a variety of economic activities undertaken by a cohort of teen-mothers that might be suggestive of distinct economic strategies, and how these different strategies might influence early childhood development outcomes.

Data and Methods

Our data are based on a sample of teen-age mothers (N=173) and their first born children. The teen-age mothers were recruited from the Seattle metropolitan area during 1987–1988 by a team of researchers affiliated with the University of Washington School of Social Work. Because the subjects were recruited heavily from agencies and clinics serving low-income populations, the sample selected has a high representation of minority subjects (52%), and is generally considered representative of births to teenaged
females. The sample is also unique in its low rate of attrition (3%). Respondents were recruited to study the role of drug and alcohol use in relation to young adult behavior and patterns of parenting, and to gauge early development outcomes of the respondents’ children. Data was collected through face-to-face interviews conducted at six month intervals.

The average age of respondents at the beginning of the study was 16 (range 13–18) and at the point the sample had been followed for 72 months 67% had completed high school or had obtained a G.E.D, with 19% of the sample obtaining at least some college. Consistent with other research on teen-mothers, welfare use among the sample was high—with 89% using public assistance as a primary means of support at least once over the first 72 months following their first birth. However, a relatively small proportion of the sample (6%) were completely reliant on welfare use as their primary means of support during the 72 month period of our analysis. As we show in the analysis that follows, the teen-mothers in the sample relied to varying degrees on a complex mix of strategies for support during their first birth child’s preschool entry years—including work, cohabitation with an income producing partner, participation in illegal activities, and support from friends and relatives.

To analyze information associated with maternal characteristics, alternative economic strategies, and early childhood outcomes, the paper focuses on variables including labor force participation, welfare use, cohabitation, sources of informal economic support, mental health, illicit drug use, exposure to interpersonal violence, child-bearing, and standard measures of child development. Because the interviewing staff of this study has had relatively low turnover and a high level of training, it is our belief that the subjects have been more forthcoming in their responses concerning illegal economic activities and other stigmatized behaviors than might be typical in most survey research.

The analysis involves three steps. First, we employ exploratory principal components factor analysis to identify the prevalent economic strategies the sample subjects have engaged in over the six-year period that transpired following the birth of their first child. In a departure from other research on work and welfare use among teen-mothers, we base our measures of economic strategies on the latent correlation structure of economically relevant
variables rather than our own a priori assumptions about how best to construct measures of specific income maintenance variables (e.g. "occasional, frequent, or continuous welfare use"). We do this to avoid imposing our own assumptions about what may constitute viable, rational, or distinct economic strategies. In the second step, we use OLS regression in order to identify individual characteristics that are associated with particular economic strategies. In the final step, we regress early childhood outcome measures on both the maternal characteristic variables and the economic strategy measures to assess whether economic strategies have independent effects (either positive or detrimental) on early childhood outcomes. We discuss alternative theoretical expectations and interpretations as the findings for each analytic step are presented.

Analysis of Economic Strategies

From the time of their first child's birth until the reference child was approximately 72 months old, each subject was interviewed on 11 occasions and asked a variety of questions related to their means of economic subsistence. Each of the 11 interviews occurred in intervals approximating six months, with the exception of the second interview, which occurred at 18 months. At each time point, respondents were asked whether they were cohabitating with a husband or boyfriend, whether they had received welfare during the previous six months, whether their current primary source of support was employment or financial support from others (such as a boyfriend, husband, or parent), whether or not they had lived in a temporary shelter, and whether they had engaged in prostitution, stealing, and selling drugs for money. From these questions we constructed eleven individual economic variables using a 0,1 coding scheme for the occurrence of any one of these distinct means of economic subsistence at the time of each subject interview. This resulted in eleven variables, each having a range from 0 to 11. These variables are then analyzed with exploratory factor analysis (PCA with varimax rotation) with the results shown in Table 1.

The factor analysis of the economic subsistence variables converged on five distinct subsistence strategies, each represented by the factor loadings that exceed an absolute value of .40. The first factor shows positive loadings on three variables: a cohabiting
### Table 1

**Principle Components Analysis of Latent Income Maintenance Strategies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Support from Cohabiting Boyfriend/Husband</td>
<td>.433</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>-.092</td>
<td>.557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Support from Cohabiting Boyfriend/Husband</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>-.007</td>
<td>.872</td>
<td>-.052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Support from Non-Cohabiting Boyfriend/Husband</td>
<td>.069</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.609</td>
<td>-.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling Sex</td>
<td>.077</td>
<td>.733</td>
<td>.191</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stealing Money and Merchandise</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>.746</td>
<td>-.158</td>
<td>-.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selling Drugs</td>
<td>-.025</td>
<td>.709</td>
<td>-.060</td>
<td>-.119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Support from Parents/Relatives</td>
<td>-.844</td>
<td>-.009</td>
<td>-.163</td>
<td>.051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Support from Others</td>
<td>.746</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>-.148</td>
<td>-.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Support from Shelter Services</td>
<td>-.008</td>
<td>-.032</td>
<td>-.032</td>
<td>-.084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Support from Welfare</td>
<td>.449</td>
<td>.127</td>
<td>-.584</td>
<td>-.542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Support from Work</td>
<td>-.139</td>
<td>-.131</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>.854</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Eigen Value | 1.75 | 1.66 | 1.59 | 1.36 | 1.05 |
| % of Variance | 15.87% | 15.11% | 14.49% | 12.40% | 9.58% | **Total Variance 67.45%** |
boyfriend/husband that is not the source of primary income support, welfare use, and informal economic support of others, as well as a negative loading on primary support from parents and relatives. This depicts a pattern we have chosen to name “mixed welfare and other support” and reflects a subsistence pattern that is consistent with the narratives of women in the Edin and Lein study—women who could neither completely depend on employment or rely on help from relatives to get by economically. A second economic strategy identified, which we named “profitable deviance”, is reflected in the strong positive loadings on selling sex for money, stealing money and merchandise, and selling drugs. It should be noted that the sample subjects that engaged in these activities were not consistently the same group of subjects over time, but rather reflected a tendency of some women to move in and out of these activities as their life circumstances changed.

A third distinct economic strategy is reflected in the positive loadings for receiving primary support from either a cohabiting or non-cohabiting boyfriend/husband and a negative loading for primary support from welfare. We term this strategy “support from boyfriends and husbands.” A fourth economic strategy, “cohabitation and labor force participation”, reflects what might be considered the normative ideal for young mothers—having a job and a cohabitating male partner who also provides economic support. The fifth and final economic strategy that emerged from the factor analysis, “shelter assistance and cohabitation,” shows a marginal positive loading on secondary support from a cohabiting boyfriend and a strong positive loading for dependence on primary support from shelter services. This appears to reflect a two-partner family surviving under conditions of severe poverty and deprivation.

It should be noted that the proportion of the variance explained by each of these latent economic strategies are fairly comparable, with the exception of “shelter assistance and cohabitation,” which is a somewhat less distinct strategy than the others. Collectively, the latent economic strategies explain approximately 67% of the variance in correlation matrix of specific economic subsistence activities. Overall, the results from this first part of the analysis are consistent with the argument that single mothers engage in a variety of strategies for economic subsistence, not
exclusively either work or welfare. We next turn to the issue of whether there are socioeconomic and behavioral characteristics of single mothers that are associated with the prevalence of particular economic strategies, or whether the economic strategies of single mothers may be more a matter of circumstance.

Analysis of Individual Characteristics Associated with Economic Strategies

As discussed previously, the structuralist perspective views entry and exits from both the labor force and welfare to be a function of factors that are external to individual agency, while both the human capital and conservative perspectives place more emphasis on individual characteristics. In this step of the analysis, we regress each of the five economic strategies that emerged in the first step of the analysis on individual characteristics that from either a conservative point of view or a human capital perspective should be predictive of welfare use. The dependent variables are the factor scores for each of the five principal economic strategies that were derived from the factor regression method.

As shown on Table 2, the individual variables employed in this part of the analysis include variables that are associated with both the human capital and conservative perspectives on welfare use. From the human capital perspective, we included educational attainment of the mother, her score on a verbal intelligence test (the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, Vance and Stone 1990), and the subject’s average level of depression according to the SCL-90-R, a standard self-report depression symptom scale that was administered at each interview (Derogitis 1994). The conservative perspective also places emphasis on the role of low educational attainment of teen-mothers; and to address related arguments of this perspective we also include variables measuring intergenerational patterns of low educational attainment and welfare use, and rates of drug use and subsequent childbirth.

Consistent with the findings of some studies that exposure to domestic violence is related to welfare use and difficulty in retaining employment, we also included exposure to violence either in the form of physical abuse from parents during childhood or from boyfriends and husbands (Lloyd, 1996; Allard, Colton,
Table 2

Descriptives of Regression Variables and Dependent Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$N$</th>
<th>Std.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>Missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maternal Background</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Schooling</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's schooling</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent on welfare</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Minority/ Hispanic</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fertility</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Births</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mental Health</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Use</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exposure to Violence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Violence</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyfriend</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income Maintenance Strategies</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Welfare</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profitable</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeViance</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyfriend/husband primary support</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary work</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter/cohabitation</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Child Outcomes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBCL total problem score</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bracken raw score</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>23.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Exposure to domestic violence is argued to influence welfare use in a variety of ways: marital and cohabitative disruption, post-traumatic stress, low-self esteem, restricted access to both education and employment experience critical to economic independence. Whatever the mechanisms, studies of domestic violence prevalence among women on welfare have consistently shown higher prevalence than the general population of women (Tolman and Raphael, 2000).

Finally, we include race as a variable, less theoretically than as a control variable for unobserved aspects of disadvantage that multiple studies associate with minority race status.

Table 3 shows the results from the series of OLS regression models that assess the relative influence of the individual characteristics of the teen age mothers on the prevalence of the economic strategies they employed over the six year period following the birth of their first child. From the perspective of conservative theories of welfare use, we should expect to see the "mixed welfare and other support" strategy to be positively associated with having had a parent on welfare, higher rates of drug use and subsequent childbirth, and negatively associated with the educational attainment of the mother and the educational attainment of her parents. For the "cohabitation and labor force participation strategy," we would expect to see the opposite correlation pattern; that is, lower rates of drug use, subsequent childbirths, and parental welfare use, and higher rates of educational attainment on the part of respondents and their parents/guardians.

These theoretical expectations are not supported by the regression model estimates. In general, individual characteristics are at best weakly predictive of either economic strategy and the coefficients are for the most part either non-significant or in a direction that is contraindicative of theoretical expectations. Consistent with the predictions of conservative theory, having had a parent on welfare during the year preceding teenaged childbearing and subsequent childbirth are both statistically significant and in the expected direction. However, the educational level of the teenaged mother is opposite the expected direction and the coefficients for drug use and parent educational background are non-significant. Human capital theory doesn't fare
Table 3
Regression of Income Maintenance Strategies on Individual Characteristics (Standard Errors in Parentheses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Profitable</th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Cohabit. &amp;</th>
<th>Shelter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Welfare and Other Support</td>
<td>from BF/Husband</td>
<td>Labor Force</td>
<td>Assistance and Cohabitation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's schooling</td>
<td>-.049 (.086)</td>
<td>.045 (.088)</td>
<td>-.091 (.095)</td>
<td>.024 (.092)</td>
<td>-.025 (.090)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's schooling</td>
<td>.049 (.072)</td>
<td>-.073 (.074)</td>
<td>.043 (.075)</td>
<td>-.004 (.077)</td>
<td>-.010 (.075)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent on welfare</td>
<td>.378 (.205)*</td>
<td>-.055 (.209)</td>
<td>-.125 (.212)</td>
<td>-.111 (.219)</td>
<td>-.002 (.213)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>.201 (.076)**</td>
<td>.039 (.078)</td>
<td>-.059 (.079)</td>
<td>.070 (.081)</td>
<td>-.097 (.079)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Intelligence</td>
<td>-.011 (.007)</td>
<td>-.011 (.007)</td>
<td>.018 (.007)**</td>
<td>.006 (.008)</td>
<td>.000 (.007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Minority</td>
<td>-.148 (.180)</td>
<td>-.128 (.184)</td>
<td>-.351 (.187)*</td>
<td>-.119 (.193)</td>
<td>-.197 (.187)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Births</td>
<td>.224 (.112)**</td>
<td>-.074 (.114)</td>
<td>.197 (.116)*</td>
<td>-.061 (.119)</td>
<td>.263 (.116)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>.049 (.194)</td>
<td>.098 (.198)</td>
<td>-.105 (.201)</td>
<td>.023 (.207)</td>
<td>.051 (.202)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Use</td>
<td>.018 (.031)</td>
<td>.114 (.032)**</td>
<td>.026 (.032)</td>
<td>-.026 (.033)</td>
<td>.002 (.032)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Violence</td>
<td>.117 (.060)*</td>
<td>.025 (.061)</td>
<td>.064 (.062)</td>
<td>-.070 (.064)</td>
<td>.076 (.059)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF Violence</td>
<td>.008 (.051)</td>
<td>.068 (.052)</td>
<td>.085 (.053)</td>
<td>.062 (.054)</td>
<td>-.011 (.053)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model Constant</td>
<td>-1.092 (.916)</td>
<td>-.527 (.937)</td>
<td>-1.246 (.951)</td>
<td>-.362 (.980)</td>
<td>-.180 (.952)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.177</td>
<td>.173</td>
<td>.145</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-test of Model</td>
<td>p&lt;.01</td>
<td>p&lt;.05</td>
<td>p&lt;.10</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<.10  ** p<.05  *** p<.01
much better in these findings. Education is positively associated with the "mixed welfare and other support" economic strategy and is not associated with the economic strategy that emphasizes labor force participation. However, consistent with the findings of multiple studies finding that exposure to violence is associated with welfare use (see Tolman and Raphael, 2000) the coefficient for violence from parents is positively associated with the mixed welfare and other support economic strategy.

Other statistically significant correlations merit discussion. The positive association between drug usage and the economic strategy we have termed "profitable deviance" suggests that illicit drugs may lead to a variety of underground economic activities but not necessarily welfare use (or conversely, welfare dependence does not lead to drug usage). The positive association between verbal intelligence and the economic strategy that places emphasis on gaining primary support from boyfriends or husbands is an interesting finding. Verbal intelligence (or its unmeasured correlates), appears to benefit the teenage mother's capacity to seek and sustain relationships with male wage earners who are willing or able to contribute financially to the household.

Although these are interesting speculations, the most important finding apparent from Table 3 is that the individual characteristics of the teenage mothers in general are weakly and ambiguously predictive of the economic strategies they employ. Although we included most of the major individual characteristics that are theoretically predictive of both welfare use and labor force participation, the actual explained variance in any of the economic strategies employed by the sample of teenage mothers fails to exceed 18%. We believe these findings are far more consistent with structuralist theories of welfare use than either human capital or conservative theories, since the individual attributes of the teen mothers appear to have only a small amount of influence over the economic subsistence strategies they employ.

Examining the Role of Maternal Economic Strategies on Early Childhood Outcomes

In the final step of our analysis, we regress two child outcome variables on the maternal characteristic variables and the five eco-
nomic strategy variables identified earlier in the paper. We do so to test the proposition of some conservative theorists that receipt of welfare, rather than poverty per se, contributes negatively to healthy child development. For example, Rector (1995) offers this vitriolic appraisal of the relationship between welfare programs and the well-being of children:

\[
\ldots \text{there is no evidence that enlarging benefits and expanding enrollments in most U.S. welfare programs will improve children's lives. While higher welfare payments and spending do not benefit children directly, they do increase dependence and illegitimacy, both of which have devastating effects on children's well-being. Thus, overall, welfare operates as a system of organized, well-funded child abuse (Rector, 1995, p.3).}
\]

As noted previously, existing evidence is mixed as to whether early childhood outcomes are positively or negatively influenced by welfare use as opposed to other household economic strategies. In our study, we use two early childhood outcome measures collected on the first born children of most of the 173 teen-mothers in the sample. These measures were taken at age six, representing the development outcomes of first birth children at the point of school entry. Thus we have some capacity to test whether welfare use as opposed to other economic strategies appears to have detrimental effects on children at the point of school entry, as conservative theory suggests.

The first child development measure we employ, the Child Behavior Checklist (N=172), has been utilized in a number of child development studies to assess the problem behaviors of a child—with a higher score indicating a higher level of problematic behaviors (Achenbach 1991). The second early childhood development measure employed, the Bracken Readiness for School Inventory (N=162), assesses the extent to which a child at the age of school entry has learning skills that are important to school success (Naglieri and Bardos 1990). Although 11 cases were excluded from this part of the analysis due to missing information on the Bracken score, a logistic regression analysis of the missing Bracken scores failed to show any association between the variables that we employ in the analysis and missing information on the Bracken score.
The first set of child development models we test, shown in Table 4, assess the relative effects of individual characteristics of the teen mothers and their economic strategies on the CBCL problematic child behavior measure. Here we use the block entry method in order to examine the influence of different aspects of maternal characteristics on explained variance in the child development outcome measures—as well as the unique contribution of the economic strategy variables. The results shown on Table 4 indicate that problematic child behaviors appear to be exclusively a function of maternal depression rather than the particular economic strategies employed by young mothers in the sample. It is interesting to note that the coefficient for depression is unmodified by the income maintenance strategies employed by the mothers, suggesting that the effects of maternal depression on child behavior are completely unmediated by either work or welfare use.

Table 5 shows a set of regressions that are identical to those shown in Table 4, except that the Bracken Readiness for School is used as a dependent variable. In the Bracken, we are interested in the extent to which maternal characteristics and the economic strategies employed by the mothers might influence a child’s preparation for success in school. Head Start programs and the entire pre-school industry are predicated on overwhelming evidence that children who are prepared for a positive start in school are more likely to achieve long term academic success and eventual economic success as well.

The results shown on Table 5 provide equivocal support for conservative theory contentions that a family history of welfare use has a negative impact on children’s educational achievement, as indicated by the marginally statistically significant (p<.10) negative coefficient for the teenage mother’s having had a parent on welfare and the Bracken Readiness for School score. However, the teen mother’s educational attainment and the educational attainments of her parents are not associated with a higher Bracken score—nor is her own use of welfare. Although the lack of a positive coefficient between the Bracken score and the mother’s educational attainment may be a function of the mother’s relative youth at the at the time of the Bracken observation (mean=22 years), these other findings collectively suggest that variations in
Table 4

Regression of Problematic Child Behavior on Individual Characteristics and Income Maintenance Strategies (Standard Errors in Parentheses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
<th>Model 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maternal Background</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s schooling</td>
<td>-2.557 (1.791)</td>
<td>-2.699 (1.803)</td>
<td>-.831 (1.696)</td>
<td>-.529 (1.697)</td>
<td>-.581 (1.700)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s schooling</td>
<td>.781 (1.524)</td>
<td>.812 (1.527)</td>
<td>.117 (1.407)</td>
<td>-.519 (1.413)</td>
<td>-.750 (1.425)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent on welfare</td>
<td>-2.536 (4.422)</td>
<td>-2.390 (4.433)</td>
<td>-2.693 (4.070)</td>
<td>-2.913 (4.014)</td>
<td>-3.959 (4.060)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>-.310 (1.576)</td>
<td>-.483 (1.593)</td>
<td>-.698 (1.502)</td>
<td>-.390 (1.491)</td>
<td>-.598 (1.543)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Intelligence</td>
<td>-.123 (.154)</td>
<td>-.175 (.152)</td>
<td>-.120 (.140)</td>
<td>-.152 (.140)</td>
<td>-.008 (.145)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Minority</td>
<td>-1.336 (3.814)</td>
<td>-1.226 (3.823)</td>
<td>.091 (3.534)</td>
<td>1.493 (3.535)</td>
<td>.042 (3.610)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fertility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Births</td>
<td>-1.893 (2.369)</td>
<td>-.796 (2.219)</td>
<td>-1.031 (2.189)</td>
<td>-.785 (2.303)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Health</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depression</td>
<td>16.420*** (3.577)</td>
<td>14.206*** (3.806)</td>
<td>14.235*** (3.794)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Use</td>
<td>.646 (.606)</td>
<td>.480 (.606)</td>
<td>.799 (.639)</td>
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<td></td>
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Table 4
Continued

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
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<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
<th>Model 5</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Violence</td>
<td>2.238 (1.178)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.250 (1.198)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF Violence</td>
<td>.881 (.998)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.931 (1.016)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Income Maintenance Strategy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Welfare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.961 (1.808)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profitable Deviance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.706 (1.763)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF/Husband Support</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-2.679 (1.741)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabit/Labor Force</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-1.800 (1.691)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter/Cohabit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- .925 (1.743)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model Constant</td>
<td>58.685***</td>
<td>63.071***</td>
<td>34.967</td>
<td>17.981</td>
<td>10.656</td>
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<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.032</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>.204</td>
<td>.240</td>
<td>.281</td>
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<tr>
<td>F-Test R² Change</td>
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<td>n.s.</td>
<td>p&lt;.001</td>
<td>p&lt;.10</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model Significance</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>p&lt;.001</td>
<td>p&lt;.001</td>
<td>P&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.10,  **p<.05,  ***p<.01

Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare
Table 5

**Regression of Bracken Readiness for School Score on Individual Characteristics and Income Maintenance Strategies**
*(Standard Errors in Parentheses)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
<th>Model 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td><strong>Maternal Background</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother’s schooling</td>
<td>-.175 (5.729)</td>
<td>-.778 (5.754)</td>
<td>1.162 (5.899)</td>
<td>-.146 (6.000)</td>
<td>.020 (6.176)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father’s schooling</td>
<td>-4.279 (4.874)</td>
<td>-4.145 (4.872)</td>
<td>-4.828 (4.893)</td>
<td>-4.613 (4.996)</td>
<td>-4.851 (5.177)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>-2.852 (5.040)</td>
<td>-3.591 (5.884)</td>
<td>-4.132 (5.225)</td>
<td>-3.776 (5.523)</td>
<td>-4.358 (5.605)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Intelligence</td>
<td>.652 (4.87)</td>
<td>.645 (4.87)</td>
<td>.691 (4.89)</td>
<td>.627 (4.97)</td>
<td>.635 (5.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fertility</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Births</td>
<td>-8.07 (7.561)</td>
<td>-7.338 (7.719)</td>
<td>-7.208 (7.740)</td>
<td>-7.686 (8.366)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mental Health</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Use</td>
<td>.0096 (2.109)</td>
<td>-.124 (2.144)</td>
<td>-.193 (2.323)</td>
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</table>
Table 5

Continued

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
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<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
<th>Model 4</th>
<th>Model 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to Violence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Violence</td>
<td>-4.252 (4.165)</td>
<td>-4.502 (4.403)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF Violence</td>
<td>3.412 (3.527)</td>
<td>3.416 (3.691)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Income Maintenance Strategy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Welfare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.536 (6.566)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Profitable Deviance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.114 (6.405)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF/Husband Support</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.886 (6.323)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cohabit/Labor Force</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.556 (6.142)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter/Cohabit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.841 (6.333)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model Constant</td>
<td>152.156***</td>
<td>171.374***</td>
<td>144.813**</td>
<td>103.749**</td>
<td>170.038***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.073</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>.102</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F-Test R² Change</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model Significance</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<.10,  ** p<.05,  *** p<.01
Beyond Welfare or Work

the Bracken score are attributable to a number of unmeasured parenting characteristics that are not correlated with verbal intelligence, family educational background, or the mother’s level of welfare participation. In fact, no latent economic strategy appears to have a specific positive or negative impact on the children’s preparation for school, and collectively their influence on the total explained variance is statistically non-significant. These results resonate with the general theme of ethnographic studies of poor women which suggest that the economic strategies employed by single mothers are a matter of pragmatic adaptation and not an attribute of parenting ability (Rank, 1994; Jarrett, 1994; Schein, 1995; Oliker, 1995; Edin & Lein, 1996; Dodson, 1998; Seccombe, 1999).

Conclusion

As they progress toward adulthood, teen mothers use a variety of economic subsistence strategies—few of which are strongly predicted by their individual characteristics in ways that are consistent with either human capital or conservative theory. We believe the findings from this study are most consistent with the view that single mothers at risk for poverty and long-term welfare dependence use whatever economic opportunities are available to them according to immediate individual circumstances. Contextual circumstances are harder to capture in quantitative terms than are individual characteristics, which is why the insights gleaned from ethnographic studies of poor women are so difficult to capture in a 60 second social science soundbite. Unfortunately, truncated or overtly ideological information sources are all too often the basis of public decisions on issues pertaining to welfare, work, and the well-being of children. Except for findings from the principal components factor analysis that suggest that welfare use is in part a function of the availability of support from parents and relatives, findings from this study do not isolate the individual circumstances that are associated with either work or welfare dependence as a primary strategy of household subsistence. Rather, our analysis shows that teen-mothers employ multiple subsistence strategies—none of which are strongly associated with the individual characteristics of teen-mothers in a ways that neatly
fit the prevailing theoretical dichotomy that frames the welfare and work debate.

We have also shown that while maternal mental health is associated with critical aspects of early childhood development—work, welfare use, cohabitation and other means of economic subsistence are not. Although these findings are based on a modest sample cohort of 173 teen-age mothers, the longitudinal nature of the data is superior in assessing cause and effect relationships than the larger cross-sectional studies that are prevalent in this domain of social science research. Moreover, the data from the 173 teen-mothers in our sample replicate the observations from ethnographic research on the women and children caught in the ideological debate on welfare and work—observations that portray low income single mothers as pragmatic and responsible parents. We believe these findings collectively suggest that the future success or failure of welfare reform will have little to do with changing the motivations of the individual women who are at most risk for welfare reliance—but rather (like politics), will reflect the art of the possible.

References


Beyond Welfare or Work


Recruitment and Foster Family Service

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JOHN G. ORME

University of Tennessee
Children’s Mental Health Services Research Center

Using data from the National Survey of Current and Former Foster Parents this study examined how foster parents first found out about the need for foster parents (mass media, other foster parents, religious organization, or civic organization) affected foster family service (number of children fostered, years of fostering service, fostering of children with special needs, and families’ intent to continue fostering). Respondents who became aware of the need for foster parents through religious organizations fostered for more years; respondents who became aware through mass media fostered for fewer years. How foster families first found out about the need for foster parents did not differentially affect other foster family service measures. Implications for foster parent recruitment and future research are discussed.

Three-fourths of the 568,000 children in foster care live with foster families (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services [DHHS], 2001). Even with the rise in the use of kinship families, agencies place approximately two-thirds of children in non-kinship families (DHHS, 2001). However, there is a chronic shortage of foster families (DHHS, 1993). This is due in large part to the fact that many certified families quit fostering within the first year of service (Baring-Gould, Essick, Kleinkauf, & Miller, 1983; Casey Family Programs, 2000; Chamberlain, Moreland, & Reid, 1992; Pasztor & Wynne, 1995; Ryan, 1985; U.S. General Accounting Office [GAO], 1989), and many families who continue are not willing to foster children with special needs (DHHS, 1993).
Considerable practice wisdom exists concerning how to recruit foster families (Barbell & Sheikh, 2000; Casey Family Programs, 2000; Pasztor & Wynne, 1995). However, very little research exists concerning recruitment in general, and there is even less regarding how to recruit families willing to foster for a number of years and willing to foster children with special needs. This paucity of research makes it difficult for agencies to know how to recruit foster families effectively, and this is especially problematic because recruitment is time-consuming and expensive (Barbell & Sheikh, 2000; Craig & McNally, 1982; Rodwell & Biggerstaff, 1993).

To help agencies shape recruitment efforts we examine the relationships between how foster parents first became aware of the need for foster families (awareness source) and the type and length of service provided by these families. "Type of service" refers to the number of children fostered and the number of types of special-needs children fostered. "Length of service" refers to years of fostering and the intention to continue fostering.

The effects of awareness source on the type and length of service for subgroups of foster parents are examined to better target recruitment efforts. Specifically, we examine whether the effects of awareness source are different for those who: are European- and African-American; live in rural and non-rural areas; have different motivations to foster; do and do not have previous exposure to fostering; and do and do not have previous exposure to persons with special needs.

Previous Research on Awareness Source

Recruitment campaigns have two goals: (a) to raise public awareness about fostering and the need for foster families, and (b) to recruit qualified foster parents (DHHS, 1993; Glassberg, 1965; Meltsner, 1984; GAO, 1989). To accomplish these goals agencies primarily use four venues to publicize information about foster care and the need for family foster homes: (a) mass media (newspapers, television, radio, billboards, printed material), (b) personal contacts with foster parents, (c) churches, and (d) community or civic organizations. It is important to note that researchers have not always distinguished awareness source from other fac-
tors that had a determining influence on the decision to foster. However, in order to be comprehensive, we have included studies in this review that provided information on recruitment source, in general, even though they might not have been examining uniquely the awareness source.

Mass Media

Mass media is used widely to recruit foster parents (Child Welfare League of America [CWLA], 1991; DHHS, 1993) and generates a high number of inquiries about fostering (CWLA, 1991; Moore, Grandpre, & Scoll, 1988; Ougletree, 1957; Siegel & Roberts, 1989). This method has the advantage of recruiting diverse families interested in fostering while at the same time educating the community at-large about the purposes of foster care and the roles foster parents can play in children’s lives (CWLA, 1991; Coyne, 1978; Donley, 1984; Glassberg, 1965; Horejsi, 1989; Lawrence 1993; Meltsner, 1984; Pasztor & Burgess, 1982; Pasztor & Wynne, 1995; Pasztor et al., 1989; GAO, 1989). A disadvantage is the high attrition rate that occurs between initial inquiry and final approval (Glassberg, 1965; Sacks & Case, 1968; Smith & Gutehlel, 1988). In addition, in order for media campaigns to result in greater numbers of applicants, agencies must be prepared to respond to the high volume of inquiries about fostering generated by media campaigns (Pasztor & Burgess, 1982; Pasztor & Wynne, 1995).

A national survey of child welfare agencies demonstrated that 83% of agencies used public service announcements and/or public speaking opportunities, and 82% advertised in the newspaper (CWLA, 1991). About 72% used exhibit booths at community events, posters, and billboards. Although mass media generated more inquiries than did other recruitment methods, only 14% of agencies believed these inquiries led to foster parent retention (CWLA, 1991).

Reports on the effectiveness of mass media are mixed. Although some researchers have questioned its effectiveness for recruiting foster parents (e.g., Groze, McMillen, & Haines, 1993), many have reported positive results (Larson, Allison, & Johnston, 1978; Moore et al., 1988; Oughtlitree, 1957; Palmer, 1981; Siegel & Roberts, 1989). Moore et al. (1988) found that it was the most effective method and that applicants recruited through mass
media were as qualified as those recruited using other methods. The effectiveness of mass media also seems to have increased slightly over time. Twenty-nine percent of foster families licensed after 1985 reported that they first became aware of the need for foster families primarily through mass media, compared to 23% licensed before 1980 and 21% licensed between 1980 and 1985 (DHHS, 1993).

Results also suggest that mass media might be more effective in recruiting under some circumstances, for some types of people. It seems to be more effective in urban areas than in rural areas. About 28% of urban foster parents first heard about the need for foster parents through the media, compared to 23% of rural foster parents (DHHS, 1993). In addition, compared to applicants who indicated that they were motivated to help children, applicants who reported being motivated by self-oriented concerns were more likely to have heard about fostering through television (Kraus, 1975). However, two studies (Coyne, 1978; Groze et al., 1993) reported that mass media is less effective for recruiting families to foster children with special needs. Researchers also suggest that foster parents’ familiarity and experience with persons with special needs (i.e., physical and mental disabilities, AIDS) facilitated targeted recruiting efforts (Groze et al., 1993; Roberts & Siegel, 1988).

Personal Contact with Current Foster Parents

The use of current foster parents in recruitment campaigns has been advocated widely (Friedman, Lardieri, Murphy, Quick, & Wolfe, 1980; Glassberg, 1965; Horejsi, 1977; Pasztor & Wynne, 1995; Pedosuk & Ratcliffe, 1979; Sacks & Case, 1968; Smith & Gutheil, 1988; Stone, 1967; GAO, 1989; Valluzzo, 1984). Advantages of personal contact include the communication of enthusiasm and authenticity. Potential applicants are able to ask questions and express concerns. Disadvantages include the limited number of people current foster parents can contact and the potential serendipitous nature that might characterize personal contact if agencies do not formalize this method as part of their overall recruitment plan.

Many researchers have found that interpersonal contact, particularly contact with foster parents, is the most effective recruitment method (Abbey, 1974; Coyne, 1978; DHHS, 1993; Fried-
man et al., 1980; Kriener & Kazmerzak, 1995; Radinsky, Freed, & Rubenstein, 1963; Smith & Gutheil, 1988). Coyne (1978) also reported that interpersonal contact was more effective than mass media for making people aware of the need for fostering and successfully influencing people to pursue fostering. In a national survey of child welfare agencies, 80% of the agencies reported that contact with current foster parents was a useful recruitment strategy, although only half of the agencies reported a systematic recruitment plan that involved current foster parents (CWLA, 1991).

Churches and Community Organizations

In a national survey of child welfare agencies, 61% of the agencies reported involving civic or religious organizations in recruitment campaigns (CWLA, 1991). One advantage of recruiting through churches and community organizations is that participants already are embedded in a social network that can provide additional information and support. Recruitment in this arena also facilitates an interactive process such that churches and community organizations can fulfill some of their service and support goals by aiding in the recruitment process. A disadvantage is that a limited audience is reached.

Pasztor et al. (1989) stressed the importance of developing recruitment strategies that are community-based, culturally responsive, and easily replicated; the use of churches and community organizations in recruitment can facilitate this community-based approach (also see Barbell & Sheikh, 2000). Churches and civic organizations might be particularly influential in rural areas (DHHS, 1993; Kriener & Kazmerzak, 1995) and with African-Americans (Brunton & Welch, 1983; Glassberg, 1965; Herzog, Sudia, & Harwood, 1971; Ougheltree, 1957; GAO, 1989). There also is some evidence that foster parents who were recruited through church were more likely to be altruistically motivated and more interested in the general welfare of children than those who were recruited using other methods (Kraus, 1975).

Targeted Recruitment

Although research has been limited, there is some evidence that a recruitment plan should include a general, systematic recruitment effort, as well as recruitment strategies that are aimed at reaching and attracting potential foster parents with specific
characteristics (Pasztor & Wynne, 1995). In this study, we examine the role of five characteristics that potentially shape interest in or willingness to consider becoming a foster parent. Motivation to foster, previous experience with someone who has provided or received foster care, and previous involvement with a person who has special needs are characteristics that seem to influence awareness source and interest in becoming a foster parent (Groze et al., 1993; Roberts & Siegel, 1988). Race is a potentially important specific characteristic because the racial background of children who need care might influence the community needs for foster parents and because recruitment campaigns need to be culturally sensitive (Barbell & Sheikh, 2000; Brunton & Welch, 1983; Fisher, 1971; Neilson, 1976; Pasztor & Wynne, 1995). Residence (i.e., urban, rural, or suburban) might be an important contextual factor because specific awareness sources might be more effective in non-rural than rural areas (and vice versa) (DHHS, 1993).

Although there is some suggestion in the literature that these background characteristics might be useful to consider in the recruitment process, there is no research that has examined how these characteristics interact with awareness source to influence length and type of foster family service. In this study, we suggest that that these factors might moderate the associations among awareness source and length and type of fostering service because they shape the context of personal and familial decision-making and role performance.

Research Questions

Considerable practice wisdom exists concerning the recruitment of foster families, but very little research exists concerning the efficacy of different awareness sources. Much of the existing research is dated and limited to regional samples of unknown representativeness. More importantly, research has not examined the effect of awareness source on the type and years of service provided by foster families. Also, little research exists that has examined the extent to which different awareness sources work differently with different types of people. Thus, the following research questions were examined in this study:

- What percentage of foster families report that they first heard of the need for foster parents from different sources?
Recruitment and Foster Family Service

• Does awareness source predict the total number of children fostered?
• Does awareness source predict the number of years of fostering?
• Does awareness source predict the number of types of special-needs children fostered?
• Does awareness source predict foster families' plans to continue fostering?
• Are any of the empirical relationships outlined in the above questions moderated by residence, race, fostering motives, exposure to persons with special needs, or exposure to fostering?

Methods

The data for this study are from The National Survey of Current and Former Foster Parents (NSCFFP) (DHHS, 1993). The NSCFFP was conducted in 1991, and is the only study of current and former foster families based on a national probability sample. The purpose of the NSCFFP was to collect extensive information potentially useful in agency and public policy planning regarding recruitment and retention of foster parents.

Sampling Procedures

The NSCFFP used a multistage stratified sampling design with probability sampling at each stage so that the findings generalize to the 1991 U.S. population of approved, licensed, or certified foster families. States were stratified by level of foster care payment. Counties were stratified by residence and level of unemployment. Foster parents were stratified by their current and former status, and current foster parents were stratified by their length of service. Ultimately, data were collected from foster parents living in 27 counties in 9 states. The unweighted sample contains 1048 current (116,964 weighted) and 265 former foster homes (63,823 weighted).

For this study only data from current foster families were used, because awareness source data were only collected from these families. Also, the focus of this article is on non-kinship family foster homes because this is the most prevalent type of care for children, and recruitment issues probably are different for kinship and group home caregivers. Consequently, family
foster homes approved to provide kinship care, group care, or unspecified "other" types of foster care were excluded from the sample. Of the total sample of 1048 current foster homes, 876 current foster homes (108,592 weighted) were approved as family foster homes and not approved as a kinship, group, or an "other" type of foster home. In addition, the sample for this study was limited to European-American and African-American foster parents because race was used as a moderator variable and the samples sizes of other racial groups did not allow for adequate comparisons. The final sample, then, consisted of 771 current foster homes (95,798 weighted). The population-weighted sample was used in order to obtain representative national estimates. Estimates were computed using the Jackknife (JK1) replication approach. The replicate and full sample weights were used in the analyses. Data were analyzed using WesVar (Version 3.0, SPSS 1998). WesVar is used to analyze data collected using complex sampling designs (Johnson & Elliott, 1998).

Measurement

The NSCFFP is a large and complex data set. Four categories of variables were used in this study: (1) demographic characteristics; (2) awareness source; (3) type and length of foster family service; and (4) moderating variables.

Demographic characteristics. Family-level characteristics used for descriptive purposes include: income, marital status, number of children, and whether they adopted children. Individual-level characteristics include: race, age, educational level, and employment status.

Awareness Source. Respondents were asked “How did you first hear about the need for foster parents?” and asked to choose one of the following: (1) “Television or radio announcement, poster, or other advertisement,” (2) “From another foster parent,” (3) “Through my church or other religious organization,” (4) “Through a civic or community organization,” (5) “From a foster child,” (6) “Was a foster child,” or (7) “Inquired about adoption and was also told about foster parenting.” Because only sources 1–4 have been addressed in any detail in the recruitment
literature, sources in categories 5, 6, and 7 were combined into an “other” category.

Foster Family Service. Respondents were asked how many children they had fostered and the year they were approved to foster. Because data were collected in 1991, number of years fostered was calculated by subtracting the year of approval from 1991. Respondents also were asked if they intended to continue to foster over the next three years. A response of “yes” was coded 1 and “no” was coded 0.

Respondents were asked whether they had fostered the following: (1) a developmentally disabled/mentally retarded child, (2) a physically handicapped or seriously ill child, (3) a drug-exposed infant or newborn, (4) a child born with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome or other alcohol-related disorders, (5) a child born with AIDS virus, (6) a mentally ill or emotionally or behaviorally disturbed child, or (7) a sexually abused child. For each type of special-needs child fostered a variable was created and coded 0 for “have not fostered” and 1 for “have fostered.” A count variable then was created for total number of types of special-needs children fostered, and this variable has a potential range of values from 0 through 7. Because data are from current foster parents, fostering service measures (i.e., number of years fostered, number of children fostered, and number of types of special-needs children fostered) refer to service provided thus far (as of 1991) in a family’s fostering career.

Family race and residence. Respondents were assigned a “0” if they were European-American and a “1” if they were African-American. For married couples, respondents were assigned a “0” if both parents were European-American and a “1” otherwise. Respondents were assigned a “0” if they lived in an urban or suburban area and a “1” if they lived in a rural area.

Fostering motivation. Respondents were asked to think about why they were interested in becoming a foster parent. They were asked to review a list of 27 possible reasons and mark “yes” if they endorsed a given reason and “no” if they did not. Mplus was used to conduct an exploratory factor analysis of the tetrachoric correlations among the 27 motivation items (Muthen & Muthen,
Weighted least squares (WLS) estimation was used. The promax method was used to rotate the WLS estimates (Gorsuch, 1983). This is an oblique rotation procedure (one that allows factors to be correlated), which was used because there was no a priori reason to believe that the factors should be uncorrelated. Three factors emerged. The first centered on wanting children but not being able to have them through birth or adoption (5 items). We labeled this motive “wanting children.” The second centered on wanting to provide a good home to a child and give love to a child who needed care (six items). We labeled this motive “giving to children.” The third centered around wanting to foster for more utilitarian, self-oriented reasons such as helping a distressed marriage, getting help around the house, and providing needed companionship (six items). This motive was called “satisfying family needs.” Each respondent received a score calculated by summing responses for each motive.

**Exposure to foster children.** Respondents were asked four questions about previous exposure to foster children: whether they (1) had been a foster child, (2) had lived in foster homes or relatives’ homes, (3) had foster or adopted brothers or sisters, or (4) had close friends or relatives in foster care. Respondents were assigned a “0” if they answered no to all four questions and a “1” if they answered yes to any of the four questions. The intent of this measure was to assess whether or not a person had previous exposure rather than the extent of exposure.

**Exposure to persons with special needs.** Respondents were asked if they had worked or volunteered with handicapped, retarded, or disturbed children. Respondents also were asked if they had a family member who was handicapped, retarded, or emotionally disturbed. Respondents were assigned a “0” if they answered no to both of these questions and a “1” if they answered yes to either question.

**Results**

**Respondents**

The majority of information in the present study was provided solely by foster mothers (64.5%) or jointly by foster mothers and
foster fathers (29.1%). A small percentage was provided solely by foster fathers (6.4%).

Characteristics of Respondents

Family-level data. Table 1 shows family-level demographic characteristics of current foster parents. Three-fourths of families included married couples or couples living as married couples. Income levels were diverse, with 41% of families with an income less than 25,000, 32% with an income between 25,000 to 39,999, and 27% with an income of greater than 40,000. Seventy-six percent of families had at least one birth child and 33% of families had adopted at least one child. Approximately 39% of families lived in suburban areas, 35% in urban areas, and 26% in rural areas. Seventy-five percent of families were European-American.

In terms of fostering motives, 51% of families reported one or more “wanting children” motives, 67% of families reported four or more “giving to children” motives, and 34% of families reported one or more “satisfying family needs” motives (see table 5 for descriptive data). Twenty-five percent of families had been exposed previously to foster children and 35% had been exposed previously to persons with special needs.

Individual-level data. As shown in Table 2, 24% of foster mothers and 14% of foster fathers were African-American. Eighty-five percent of mothers and 86% of fathers had at least a high school education. Eighteen percent of mothers and 25% of fathers had a bachelor’s degree or higher. A vast majority of fathers were employed full-time (83%), whereas only 35% of mothers were employed full-time. Forty-eight percent of foster mothers were not employed outside of the home. The mean age of mothers was 44.3 years (SD = 10.6) and the mean age of fathers was 45.2 years (SD = 11.0).

Awareness Source

About 36% first heard about the need for foster parents through other foster parents, 28% through mass media (television, radio, poster, or other advertisement), 9% through a civic or community organization, 4% through a church or other religious organization, and 24% through other sources. The “other”
Table 1

**Characteristics of Current Foster Homes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Total families (n=95,798)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married or living as married</td>
<td>74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow/Widower</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never married</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Race</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European-American</td>
<td>75.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Birth Children</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 or more</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Any adopted children</strong></td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Annual Family Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 15,000</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15,000–19,999</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000–24,999</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000–29,999</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000–34,999</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35,000–39,999</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000–49,000</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 50,000</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Geographical location</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>35.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburban</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of years fostering</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M = 6.7 (SD=6.5), Median = 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 2 years</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - 3 years</td>
<td>28.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - 5 years</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10 years</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;10 years</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* The percentage of missing data was 4.4% or less for all variables. In two parent families, families were considered European-American when both parents were European-American.
Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Total families (n=95,798)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers (n=94,255)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European-American</td>
<td>75.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest Degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;HS</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS/GED</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College, No Degree</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-Year Degree</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grad work, no grad degree</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate degree</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-Time</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Time</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not employed outside home</td>
<td>48.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(M (SD))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>44.3 (10.6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The percentage of missing data for mothers ranged from 1.0% to 2.5% and for fathers ranged from 2.0% to 3.6%.

sources included: 9% who first heard about the need for foster parents while inquiring about adoption, 6% who listed multiple sources, 4% who learned of fostering from foster children, 1% of respondents who had themselves been foster children, and 4% who learned through other sources. Awareness source did not differ by race, exposure to persons with special needs, or exposure to foster children (see Table 4). A chi-square test could not be used to determine whether awareness source differed by residence because of low cell sizes (see Table 4 for descriptive statistics). Multi-nominal regressions could not be used to determine whether awareness source differed by fostering motives.
Table 3

*Types of Children with Special Needs Fostered*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of child</th>
<th>% of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexually abused</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentally ill or emotionally or behaviorally disturbed</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmentally disabled or mentally retarded</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug-exposed infant or newborn</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically handicapped or seriously ill</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born with Fetal Alcohol Syndrome or other alcohol-related disorders</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born with AIDS virus</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* The percentage of missing data ranged from 2.4% to 4.5% except for sexually abused children (15.5% of families)

because this procedure is not available in WesVar (see Table 5 for descriptive statistics).

*Awareness Source and Foster Family Service*

Linear regression was used to model continuous foster family service variables and logistic regression was used to model intention to continue fostering, a dichotomous variable. In all analyses, two-tailed tests and a .05 level of statistical significance were used. To examine the main effects of awareness source, a regression model was estimated for each dependent variable. For each dependent variable, effects coding allowed for comparisons between each awareness source (e.g., average number of children fostered by respondents who first became aware of the need for foster parents through mass media) and the overall mean (e.g., average number of children fostered in the entire sample) or the overall odds in the case of logistic regression.

To examine interaction effects between awareness source and each hypothesized moderator, instead of using effects coding to code awareness source, a dichotomous variable was coded for each awareness source. For example, the mass media dichotomous variable was coded “1” if the respondent became aware of the need for foster parents through mass media and “0” if respondent became aware of the need for foster parents through a
Table 4

Awareness Source by Race, Residence, Exposure to Foster Children and Persons with Special Needs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness source</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th></th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Exposure to foster children</th>
<th>Exposure to persons with special needs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>European-American</td>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Non-rural</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass media</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>28.5%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another foster parent</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church or other religious organization</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic or community organization</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other method</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chi-square test</td>
<td>$X^2 = 3.47, p = .236$</td>
<td></td>
<td>na (low cells sizes)</td>
<td>$X^2 = 2.79, p = .386$</td>
<td>$X^2 = 4.12, p = .227$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
method other than mass media. Then, for each dependent variable four separate regression models were estimated. In each regression model, one of four dichotomous awareness source variables (e.g., another foster parent), a moderator variable (e.g., race), and the product of these two variables were entered into the regression equation.

**Number of children fostered.** The distribution of number of children fostered was positively skewed. The median was 7 and the mean was 18.7 ($SD = 41.7$). Awareness source did not predict total number of children fostered (see Table 6). However, parents who were more motivated by the need to “give to children” and who reported awareness via civic organizations, fostered more children than did parents who were less motivated by this need. Residence, race, previous exposure to fostering, previous exposure to persons with special needs, and the other two fostering motives were not statistically significant moderators.

**Years of fostering.** The distribution of number of years of fostering was positively skewed. The median was 5 and the mean was 6.7 ($SD = 6.5$). Awareness source was related to number of years of fostering service (see Table 6). Respondents who became aware through churches or other religious organizations fostered for more years than did the average respondent. Respondents who became aware through mass media fostered for fewer years than did the average respondent. This association existed only for foster parents who lived in urban/suburban counties. In rural counties, respondents who became aware through mass media fostered for slightly more years than the average respondent.

The association between awareness via mass media and number of years of fostering also was moderated by previous exposure to persons with special needs. Parents who were exposed to persons with special needs and who first became aware via mass media, had fostered for fewer years than had parents who were not exposed to persons with special needs. The awareness sources of civic organizations and other foster parents did not interact with moderating variables to predict number of years fostering.

**Number of types of special needs children fostered.** Out of seven different types of special-needs children, foster families fostered
Table 5

Awareness Source by Types of Motivation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness Source</th>
<th>Wanting children</th>
<th>Giving to children</th>
<th>Satisfying family needs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
<td>Median</td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass media</td>
<td>1.1 (1.4)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.9 (1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another foster parent</td>
<td>.9 (1.2)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8 (1.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church or other religious organization</td>
<td>.9 (1.4)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.3 (1.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic or community organization</td>
<td>.6 (9)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.0 (1.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other method</td>
<td>1.6 (1.6)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0 (1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All sources</td>
<td>1.1 (1.4)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.9 (1.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6

**Awareness Sources and Fostering Service Measures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outcome measure</th>
<th>Number of children fostered</th>
<th>Number of years fostered</th>
<th>Number of types of special-needs children fostered</th>
<th>Intention to continue fostering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$B$</td>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$B$</td>
<td>$p$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass media</td>
<td>-8.00</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>-1.63</td>
<td>.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Another foster parent</td>
<td>-2.65</td>
<td>.658</td>
<td>-.40</td>
<td>.555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church or other religious organization</td>
<td>23.84</td>
<td>.235</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic or community organization</td>
<td>-4.52</td>
<td>.584</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall model</td>
<td>$F(4,13) = 1.54$, $p = .249$, $R^2 = .023$</td>
<td>$F(4,13) = 3.23$, $p = .048$, $R^2 = .023$</td>
<td>$F(4,13) = .61$, $p = .666$, $R^2 = .006$</td>
<td>$F(4,13) = 2.65$, $p = .081$, $R^2 = .019$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recruitment and Foster Family Service

There was a median of 2 types of children ($M = 2.7$, $SD = 1.73$). The largest percentage of parents had fostered children who had been sexually abused (74%), and the smallest percentage of parents had fostered children born with the AIDS virus (1%) (see Table 3). Awareness source did not predict total number of types of special-needs children fostered (see Table 6). None of the moderators interacted with awareness sources to predict number of types of special-needs children fostered.

**Intention to continue fostering.** Seventy-two percent of foster families reported an intention to continue fostering over the next three years. Awareness source did not predict the intention of respondents to continue fostering (see Table 6). However, parents who were more motivated by the need to “give to children” and who became aware via another foster parent, were less likely to express the intention to continue than were parents who were less motivated by this need. Residence, race, previous exposure to fostering, previous exposure to persons with special needs, and the other two fostering motives were not statistically significant moderators.

**Discussion**

Previous research on recruitment suggests that mass media generates more fostering inquires; whereas, word-of-mouth recruitment by other foster parents is more efficient in producing licensed foster families (Ougletree, 1957; Smith & Gutheil, 1988). However, in this study, awareness sources, in most cases, did not differentially affect more distal foster family service measures. The source of respondents’ awareness of the need for foster parents did not predict number of children fostered, number of types of special-needs children fostered, or intention to continue fostering. However, respondents who became aware through religious organizations fostered for more years; respondents who became aware through mass media fostered for fewer years. Four interaction effects were found. Residence, exposure to persons with special needs, and being motivated by a need to give to children moderated the association between some awareness sources and foster family service measures. Race, prior exposure to fostering, and two other fostering motives did not moderate the association
between awareness sources and the type and length of fostering services.

Implications for Practice and Policy

In general, this study found that the method through which foster parents reported that they learned of the need for foster parents does not affect the type and length of foster family service. Once foster parents are approved and begin accepting placements, perhaps other factors such as agency services and willingness to accept special-needs children are more determinant of foster family service measures (see Cox, Orme, & Rhodes, 2002; Rhodes, Orme, & Buehler, 2001). The fact that recruitment methods do not differentially affect foster family service measures supports the notion that foster care agencies should use a variety of recruitment methods to spread awareness about the critical need for foster parents. Moore et al. (1988) reported that 37% of foster parent applicants reported they had been recruited by more than one recruitment method. Other researchers suggest that knowledge about fostering must accumulate, often for over a year, before people inquire about fostering (Glassberg, 1965; Palmer, 1981; Pasztor & Wynne, 1995). Using a variety of recruitment methods, agencies maximize the potential to spread awareness about fostering and to supplement and reinforce previous knowledge about fostering.

The results of this study suggest that agencies might make more effective use of civic and religious organizations to recruit foster parents. In this study only 9% of respondents first became aware of the need for foster parents through civic or community organizations. Much has been written about strategies to involve the community in recruitment activities (see Barbell & Sheikh, 2000; Pasztor et al., 1989; Pasztor & Wynne, 1995). More agencies need to invest resources to implement these strategies which would increase community awareness about the need for foster parents and ultimately increase interest in fostering.

The current study found that only 4% of respondents first became aware through churches or religious organizations and these respondents had fostered for more years than the average respondent. These results suggest that agencies should not only recruit in religious organizations because they are being
Recruitment and Foster Family Service

underutilized, but also because foster families recruited through churches might foster longer. Previous research has shown that many foster parents are religious (Abbey, 1974; Buehler, Cox, & Cuddeback, 2001; Fine & Pape, 1991; Le Prohn, 1993) and report attending worship services (Abbey, 1974; Kirby, 1997). Le Prohn (1993) found that one motive for fostering is to fulfill religious beliefs by helping a child, and Kraus (1975) suggests that people who belong to a place of worship may be more altruistic in their motives and less centered on their own needs. Cox (2000) found that foster families who belong to a place of worship were more willing to foster children who have been deprived or abused than families who did not belong to a place of worship.

Unfortunately, there are not many good examples in the recruitment literature about how to recruit in places of worship. Within the African-American community, one example is the One Church/One Child organization (GAO, 1989). This organization works with state child welfare agencies and African-American churches to increase the awareness of the need for African-American foster and adoptive parents. One Church/One Child also canvasses local church members and refers potential foster parents to state social service agencies. The findings of this study suggest that agencies should develop recruitment strategies to use religious organizations more effectively.

Although respondents who reported becoming aware through mass media had fostered for fewer years than the average respondent, this relationship was moderated by residence. Specifically, rural respondents who became aware through mass media fostered for more years; whereas, urban and suburban respondents who became aware through mass media fostered for fewer years. Kriener and Kazmerzak (1995) suggest that public service announcements on television and radio were more effective in urban counties; however, this study found no main effects of residence on awareness source. Agencies in need of foster parents in rural areas should ensure that recruitment messages delivered over mass media also are reaching rural populations.

The relationship between mass media and number of years fostered also was moderated by exposure to persons with special needs. Exposure to persons with special needs was able to moderate the negative effect of mass media on number of years fostered,
which may suggest those who have experience with persons with special needs should be targeted in recruitment campaigns. Previous research also has suggested targeting persons employed in a helping profession (e.g., nurses, teachers, social workers) because of their experiences in caring for children, especially children with special needs, and their willingness to care for such children (Cox et al., in press; GAO, 1989; Siegel & Roberts, 1989).

Parents who were more motivated by the need to "give to children" and who became aware via civic organizations, fostered more children than parents who were less motivated by this need. When recruiting in civic organizations, perhaps messages that focus on the needs of children should be emphasized such as the importance of providing homes for foster children, giving foster children love, helping foster children with special problems, and saving children from life in an institution. In regards to the moderating effects of the variables just discussed, some caution should be exercised. Due to the large number of interactions examined and the small number that were found to be significant, it is possible that one or more of these interactions could have been found by chance.

Methodological Strengths and Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The present study is based on a large, national probability sample of licensed foster families, and it provides the best estimates to date on how foster parents became aware of the need for foster parents. However, this sample has limitations that should be considered. In particular, the sample in the present study was limited to current licensed foster families. No data on awareness source was available for foster families who discontinued fostering. It might be that families who continue fostering would have fostered longer, have fostered more children, and have fostered more types of special needs children; therefore, the present study might overestimate these foster family service measures. However, because this study only measures fostering service to date (e.g., number of years fostered so far), then one might expect that former foster families would have fostered longer, have fostered more children, and have fostered more types of special needs.
children, thus this study might underestimate these foster family service measures.

Cohort effects also must be considered because foster families in this study were licensed from 1944 to 1991. Therefore, this study only may suggest that foster care agency involvement with religious organizations is less prevalent today (or at the time of the survey) than in the past and that the use of mass media by agencies is more prevalent today than in the past. It may not suggest that foster families who find out about fostering through religious organizations serve longer as foster families or that foster families who find out about fostering through mass media serve for shorter periods of time.

To address these limitations, future research should collect recruitment data from foster families who inquire about fostering, and follow these families prospectively. In addition to examining relationships between recruitment methods and the foster family service measures outlined in this study, such a design would make it possible to examine the effects of recruitment methods at different points in the recruitment process and family life cycle including: initial inquiry about fostering, attendance at informational meetings, request for fostering application, application completion, licensure, initial child placement, and decision to discontinue fostering. This type of prospective study is strongly advised because previous research has shown that only 6% to 9% of inquiries result in licensed families (Friedman et al., 1980; Ougheltree, 1957; Siegel & Roberts, 1989). A prospective design also would add to the validity of recruitment data because the data would be more proximal to the time of data collection. In this study foster parents were asked how they first became aware of the need for foster parents, often 5–10 years later, so some foster parents may have inaccurately reconstructed this information from their memories.

In addition to sampling and design limitations, there also are potential limitations concerning the measurement of awareness source. Families’ first awareness of the need for foster parents measures only one aspect of recruitment. In future studies other recruitment measures should be collected, such as the influences on families’ decisions to foster (see Coyne, 1978). In addition, when asking about recruitment, the list of recruitment sources
should be tailored to the agency’s specific recruitment activities and strategies. Information about the effectiveness of agency specific sources (e.g., billboard, television feature on fostering, newspaper advertisements) is likely to be more useful than information about the effectiveness of more general sources (e.g., mass media).

Because of the complex nature of the decision to foster, qualitative interviews of relatively new foster parents should be conducted to better understand the process(es) involved in the decision to foster, including the interplay of various recruitment methods in this decision-making process. Qualitative research might generate new ideas about what types of information or support is needed by prospective foster parents to make informed decisions about whether to foster. In addition qualitative research could guide future quantitative research on recruitment.

Conclusion

Because of a chronic shortage of foster families, finding ways to recruit and retain qualified foster parents is critically important to foster care agencies. The results of this study support the use of a variety of recruitment methods and suggest that religious and civic organizations are underutilized as avenues of recruitment. Although some linkages were found, the source of first awareness of the need for foster parents was found to be largely unrelated to foster family service measures. Thus, future recruitment studies should be prospective, focusing on the effects of recruitment methods on more proximal measures such as foster parent inquiries, applications, licensure, and initial child placement. Future research also should explore qualitatively the decision-making processes of prospective foster families who contact agencies to inquire about fostering.

References


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Recruitment and Foster Family Service


Book Reviews


This ambitious edited volume addresses family group conferencing and touches on other popular new children's services initiatives, including *patch*, and *wraparound* services. This is an encyclopedic volume, encompassing 30 chapters by a total of 49 authors from seven countries. The book is structured into four sections: origins and philosophical orientation of family group conferencing (FGC), practice framework, comparative practices, and evaluation issues. The editors provide a general introduction and succinct section introductions, although no concluding chapter. Although there is some discussion of evaluation, the typical chapter is a description of how family group conferencing is delivered in a local municipality or with a certain population. Readers seeking examples of ways that family group conferencing could be implemented will find much richness.

Most of the chapters, regardless of their placement in the book, take time to articulate and commend the philosophical orientation of FGC—perhaps because this is FGC's strongest selling point. Although much of the attention given to FGC positions it at the front end of the child welfare system, as part of the determination of a case plan, during the first months of child welfare involvement. Yet, Maluccio and Daly's chapter, in the practice section, extends the argument for the relevance of FGC to the duration of child welfare services. They conclude that “Permanency planning embodies a number of features that are quite consonant—if not identical—with the key characteristics of conferencing” (p. 70) and details them. They make no mention of any aspects of FGC that might not be consonant with permanency planning, missing a chance to discuss reunification bypass procedures and adoption as issues that might not be so consonant with a family-based decision making process. More generally, there is nary a cross word said about FGC—it is generally treated as having limitless possibilities.

Indeed, in general the chapters lack the hard edge that I like
to see—the critiques and concerns are generally mild. This may be because of the unassailable virtues of FGC, commitment to the core principles of FGC and wanting to be sure that it has a chance to develop, or to the selection of authors. To their credit, the editors clearly indicate the themes used in selecting authors. They sought authors who, together, created an international slate, viewed FGC as part of a widespread effort toward civic renewal, could link FGC to other theory, practice, and research activities in social work, could locate FGC in a value-based commitment to social justice and culturally competent practice, knowledgeable about program sponsorship and new roles in communities that might emerge from FGC practice, and commitment to multiple-method, multiple-indicator forms of evaluation.

This volume appears most suited for persons who have already made a commitment to increasing their delivery of community-based services through the FGC mechanism. My major disappointment with this volume is that so little attention is given in this volume to the differences in activities and cost between "standard" child welfare CPS or intake procedures and family group conference approaches. I wish that the editors had asked each of the authors to indicate the level of effort, cost, and expended time required to organize family group conferences. Although we now have a notion of the procedures involved in delivering FGC, and that organizing a conference may take a month or more, there is little detail about the cost of these efforts and how they might compare to conventional CPS costs. Without this effort and cost data, decisions on whether or not to employ FGC must assume that the costs are not so much greater than the costs of standard CPS services and that the benefits are substantially greater. We may never know if FGC achieves better results than standard CPS services, but we should be further along in determining differences in cost.

The advancement of human services can be conceptualized as following a path of scientific inquiry that builds a range of coordinated, rigorously evaluated pilot projects followed by major clinical trials that generate reliable evidence of intervention effectiveness. This is not the standard model for the development of child welfare services, at least. The development of these services seems to involve the rapid expansion of intervention approaches—
e.g., classroom-based child abuse prevention programs, intensive family preservation programs, and post-adoption holding therapies—prior to rigorous evaluation and then lose credibility, when their efficacy is found to be seriously wanting. This may also be the path of FGC—there is little science in this volume to suggest otherwise. If the editors had asked authors to raise and answer serious concerns, FGC would be better protected against later disappointment.

The evaluation section acknowledges or addresses a few of the numerous and massive evaluation challenges attendant to such a flexible broadly focused intervention, but provides little guidance about approaches that will be most useful in future evaluation efforts. FGC evaluation efforts must recognize findings summarized by Sundel (and observed by others), “today it is understood that one FGC does not bring about instant change, but that a series of FGCs are needed where a succession of problems are dealt with, and the extended family is motivated to continue to support the child and parents” (p.205). None of the authors directly addresses the question of which designs and statistical treatments are most useful for capturing the benefits of such a fluid and ongoing intervention.

Yet, the assumptions of family group conferencing are so compelling that variations on this practice will undoubtedly continue to develop without evaluation endorsements. The field is better off now that this volume is available to guide that development.

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While there has been a large body of research and literature on victims of family violence and a growing body of knowledge concerning prison inmates, Katherine Van Wormer has written an innovative volume that examines the similarities and differences between females who are victims and those who are incarcerated as offenders. As a starting point, the author points out that both female victims and female offenders must cope with a male-dominated criminal justice system. Secondly, while victims are often intimately tied to perpetrators of violence, the vast majority of female offenders have a past or current history of victimization. Finally, Van Wormer proposes a strengths-restorative approach to counseling both female victims and offenders that forms a bridge between the two, traditionally discrete populations of women.

For United States social workers, social work students and other professional mental health clinicians in the field of criminal justice and domestic violence, this book is an exciting addition to the list of interesting and comprehensive texts. It provides an insightful examination of the problems confronting women on both sides of the criminal justice system. In addition, it defines precise social work techniques and methods for working with women who are victims, offenders or both.

The book is divided into two major sections. The first section of the book focuses on women’s victimization. The first two chapters provide an overview of women involved in the criminal justice system and a framework for empowering women utilizing the strengths-restorative approach whether they are victims or offenders. Chapter 3 contains a detailed description of abuse and sexual assault of women both within and outside of intimate relationships. The final chapter of this section, Chapter 4, describes guidelines for counseling and empowering victims of violence.

In addition to providing an important historical perspective of women and the criminal justice system, the author leads the reader through a paradigm shift from a retribution model of justice to a restorative-strengths model that could empower female victims and prevent female offenders from cycling through the
criminal justice system with no hope of improving their lives. The first section includes case examples and clearly delineated methods for social work counseling with victims and offenders.

The second section of the book is divided into three chapters that focus on women who commit illegal acts. While women continue to account for only a small percentage of all arrests, the author suggests that the increase of female arrests in the last two decades could be accounted for by a male oriented justice system embracing an "equality with a vengeance" attitude toward women. The author delineates the prevalence rates for female arrests and discusses the nature of female crime. She makes a solid argument for the higher number of arrests of females being due to new mandatory arrest policies leading to increased arrests of females caught in domestic violence situations. While the majority of social workers working in the field of domestic violence clearly understand from their practice experience that female perpetrators are most often victims themselves, the reasons for this dual role have rarely been clearly defined from a sound theoretical set of assumptions.

Paralleling the section on female victims, the final chapter of the book provides clear guidelines for counseling female offenders. The author describes current prison programs available for women and proposes a counseling program framework that focuses on empowering female inmates to resolving past issues, increasing self-awareness and making a contribution to others. The author draws on existing literature and her own research and practice experience to develop this "five state empowerment model" for counseling female offenders. It is a clear and comprehensive framework that students and social workers in practice can easily use in their work with this population. The author uses many case vignettes to exemplify how this model can be used to help incarcerated women. The final chapter summarizes the needs of female victims and offenders and the logic behind a strengths-restorative approach to counseling these women.

Katherine Van Wormer is a prolific and gifted author. Her current and newest textbook is an exciting addition to the social work literature. Van Wormer has compiled over two decades of literature, case studies and her own research in a very unique volume juxtaposing the experiences of victims and offenders. She
provides comprehensive guidelines for working with both populations of women. Perhaps, the book could have been strengthened with the addition of questions for discussion at the end of each chapter. While the chapters provide a wealth of information for student learning, it would have been useful to have questions to contemplate for classroom discussion. With this exception, the text reads like a good novel. It is rare when one reads a textbook and feels excited about getting to the next chapter. I would highly recommend this text for both undergraduate and graduate social work students as well as practitioners working in the field regardless of area of practice. The issues addressed in this text are so pervasive in our society today that all social workers could benefit from the information contained in these pages. Van Wormer has made a significant contribution to the social work literature.

Elizabeth C. Pomeroy
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The Southern Poverty Law Center is the premiere resource on hate crimes in the United States. The Center has established the socio-legal context for understanding the prevalence, determent, and eradication of such crimes. *In The Name of Hate* by Barbara Perry uses data from The Southern Poverty Law Center, FBI Uniform Crime Statistics, and the Anti-Defamation League survey of hate crime laws as well as the growing body of literature on oppression based on race/ethnicity, gender, class, and sexual orientation to explain the structural and cultural context of hate crimes. This work is well documented, objectively confirming what women studies scholars and scholars of race and ethnic relations already know.

*In the Name of Hate* is an ambitious undertaking which represents a painful reality in the wake of the national tragedy of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack against the United States. While published prior to that date, this work adds a rather unique dimension to the scholarship on power and institutionalized discrimination and has global as well as domestic implications. Vivid
and distasteful remarks by state and national political representatives which fuel tendencies toward hatred, bigotry and violence are cited extensively. The author uses a class struggle framework to examine power and the dynamics of difference. Intolerance, bigotry, and negative attitudes and stereotypes about subordinate groups which are prevalent among individual Americans are discussed in the context of a rhetoric of hate which begins at the "top". The most maligned three groups African Americans, gays and lesbians, and recent immigrants are used as exemplars of how an environment of intolerance is shaped by negative political rhetoric. Vivid quotes about the 'black menace', the 'ungodly gays', and the 'immigrant threat' are provided as illustrations of how individuals are given permission to hate. The discussion in Chapter Six on the ideologies of power sets the stage for this chapter, which is indeed the most powerful of the eight chapters in the book. Hatred and the negative identity construction for subordinate groups are not just easily dismissed activities of extremist groups, but, in this author's view, are part of formal governmental mechanisms which fuel the informal mechanism which help perpetuate the marginalization of traditionally oppressed and subordinate groups. Understanding violence and hatred in this context is rather chilling.

Perry uses the phrase "doing difference" to characterize the manner in which human behavior is shaped and subordination maintained within the social structures of labor, power, sexuality and culture. Chapters Three, Four, and Five, detail the way difference is done with various subordinate or oppressed groups. In Chapter Two, this model is used to account for hate crimes and provide understanding not provided by criminology and other theories. In the final chapter, the conclusion ends on a more socially optimistic note, by describing ways that we can 'do difference differently'. Proactive strategies are given such as less exclusionary rhetoric, reshaping laws to protect and extend the rights of vulnerable groups, the promotion of social justice through the criminal justice system, planned initiatives against bigotry and violence, bridge-building efforts and similar efforts to shape a more positive political and social environment in relation to difference. That is, the final chapter focuses on strategies for
social inclusion and leaves the reader with a more optimistic note about living in a pluralistic society.

Books of this nature which focus so heavily on power dynamics, conflict and struggle, oppression and subordination as a theoretical framework, while having great sociological value, tend to be demoralizing for the reader and causes one's optimism about creating a just society to wane. Focus is concentrated to heavily on the member of the subordinate group as a victim, continuously under siege, constantly on the defensive and consumed with a need for self-preservation. While hate crimes are real, require legislative attention to acts of violence and racial profiling; the incidence of such crimes are still comparatively low in the scheme of themes. The need for social justice is ever present, but the lives of members of racial, sexual and ethnic minority groups are characterized by much more than victimization. That said, in addition to the optimistic tone of the final chapter, the author has done a unique and superlative job of characterizing the role of rhetoric in devaluing subordinate groups. Rhetoric of persistent and demeaning stereotypes is an assault on one's self-esteem and identity, destroys the soul and is as harmful as a physical assault. Perry's unique way of framing the discussion on the role rhetoric plays in the environment is a significant contribution to understanding ways to initiate better social justice efforts.

Wilma Peebles-Wilkins
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This collection of papers gives a pragmatic and fair assessment of market reform of public social security provisions in eight countries: Chile, Brazil, Netherlands, Britain, New Zealand, Zimbabwe, Canada, and the United States. The primary objective of this book is to "explore the ideological, policy, administration, governance and consequences of the marketized provision of statutory social security" (Preface, ix).

The editors set the stage by challenging the simplistic view that marketization is the exclusive domain of neo-liberalism and
casting doubt over the oversimplified dichotomy of individualism and collectivism in the analysis of social security. They examine five welfare ideologies (communist collectivism, social reformism, reluctant individualism, reluctant collectivism, and New Right) that impinge on public social security, arguing that these ideologies all endorse a role for market principles.

In another introductory chapter, John Dixon and Alexander Kouzmin estimate that the market provision of public social security provisions had taken place in 33 countries by the late 1990s, taking the form of either "as a compliment to, a substitute for, a replacement for (or in lieu of) public (and employer) provision" (p. 27). As the private-public boundary is redefined, the authors suggest that the state must be a "smart" one to regulate private program by ensuring that market provision meets social needs and fostering equitable outcomes.

Chile and Brazil are the first two countries under scrutiny. Silvia Borzutzky, a leading analyst of Chile's privatization of pension system, gives a review of the performance and impact of the world-famous marketized social security program. Chile's reform that introduces an individual capitalization fund administered by profit-making enterprises was carried out by an authoritarian regime, with no allowance for democratic debates. Problems with this approach are plenty: shrinking number of beneficiaries, high regressive administrative costs, a deficit budget, and high state involvement. Borzutzky concludes that the pension reform led to the destruction of large bureaucratic pension funds and the depolitisization of the groups of workers organized around them.

Sonia Miriam Draibe and Milko Matijascic look at the marketization of retirement income protection reform in Brazil. Three issues top the public agenda: financial balance in the public system, the enlarged participation of the private sector, and the development of a regulatory framework. To address these issues, significant changes were made in 1998 (the abolition of length-of-employment pension; the introduction of minimum-age requirements; the discontinuance of certain social assistance benefits, etc.), whose impact remains to be seen. Interestingly, the authors believe that Brazil's private sector would resist the Chilean-type radical privatization.

There is much in this collection that is useful, in particular the
analyses of the adverse impact of marketization and the shifting public/private boundary. Carol Walker in her comprehensive discussion of marketization in Britain does not put forth any alternative to marketized social security. Several driving forces fuel the privatization of social security: escalating social security costs, the ideology of individual responsibility, and the efficiency of the private sector. She warns that privatization in Britain has brought about social divisions and heavy financial burdens on the families and individuals. Public spending is also used to underpin private provisions.

Looking at New Zealand, Michael O'Brien examines sectors where privatization is instituted: accident compensation, housing assistance and wage subsidies, categorical assistance for lone parents, the unemployed, and widows, and retirement pensions for old people. Retirement benefit provision is very much entrenched since it receives strong public support. Thus it successfully counters the ideology of marketization. O'Brien underscores the point that ideological contestations (i.e. private versus public provisions) in New Zealand are still ongoing and unsettled.

In the same vein, Ruud Muffels and Henk-Jan Dirven observe that the Dutch government is still in search of an appropriate public/private mix in social insurance and healthcare. The Dutch road to privatization of social security has been colored by official hesitation and policy reversals. These have resulted in ambiguity as well as a hybrid structure of social insurance that fails to improve efficiency. They argue that the Dutch government must realize that a privatized system cannot work without public intervention.

The chapter on Zimbabwe focuses on the limit of social security privatization. Edwin Kaseke argues convincingly that private provision can only benefit a small group of people, failing to provide a viable alternative to public provision. Peaceful co-existence between public and private provisions in a harsh economic environment is difficult since many people are unable to contribute financially to the private schemes. The Zimbabwe case serves as a warning to many developing countries that often uncritically accept the tenets of privatization.

Readers who oppose the marketization of social security would certainly wish to look for ways to reverse privatization.
However, this is an aspect that is somewhat under-researched in this book. Two chapters look at Canada and the United States. Hugh Shewell notes a steady decline in public provisions in Ontario, but he has some faith in a strong labor movement (along with an entrenchment of a charter of social rights in the constitution) to restore social justice. Nevertheless, his discussion of such entrenchment is rather scant. The main theme in the US’s chapter is that privatization is not on the policy agenda. However, Max Skidmore’s analysis looks over-optimistic now that George W. Bush has become the President who is intent on reducing tax as well as exploring ways to privatize social security.

Overall, this book gives us some in-depth case analyses of private/public mix in social security within an international perspective. Despite some editorial oversights and somewhat randomness in the choice of countries for analysis, this book is a most welcome addition to the literature that helps us to understand the nature and dynamic of privatized social security programs across nations.

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Women who are punished with incarceration are far more victims of society than they are victimizers. As compassion takes a back seat in a progressively more punitive society, women connected to crime through family ties—workers who protect their drug-dealing children, or wives and girlfriends of drug-using men—are now subjected to punishment for crimes that were previously considered victimless crimes. Poor women and women of color, swept up in the hysteria of the war on drugs are paying the price for women’s liberation at the upper echelons of society. Their children, through loss of their mothers and their homes are paying the price as well. After women served their sentences, transition back to the society and to the role of motherhood is exceedingly difficult. Where can such women, now stigmatized as ex-convicts find sober support systems? How can they find meaningful work
that pays well enough to enable them to support themselves and their children?

There are many books on female offenders and women in prison but none previously to my knowledge on women in transition following imprisonment. Making it in the “Free World” admirably fills this gap. Because formerly incarcerated women’s voices have not been heard describing the vicissitudes of their transition from the institution of freedom, the narrative methodology, the qualitative, ethnographic design allows for the capture of stories and insights that otherwise would not be possible to obtain.

In contrast to most authors that utilize a naturalistic paradigm based on personal interviews, Patricia O’Brien skillfully integrates the narrative with theoretical analysis, a major contribution to the literature on female offenders in itself. The theory that informs this volume integrates the most relevant theories from social psychology (for example, Goffman’s concept of stigmatization and institutionalization) with social work’s feminist-based, empowerment formulations. Accordingly, Making it in the “Free World” would make a nice addition to any criminology or social-work-with-offenders course.

Divided into five interesting and readable chapters, this book moves from a theoretical overview through a follow-up in the lives of the eighteen ex-offender interviewees. Consistent with the strength perspective, the theme of resilience against overwhelming odds permeates each chapter.

Following a theoretical survey of the literature on recidivism and data on female inmates, chapter 2, “Establishing Home” reveals the individual problems facing women newly released from serving time. These problems, for the most part, arise not from personal deficits but from the failure of society to meet the needs of all people. The challenge to a woman on parole is very real: when a woman leaves the institution, she is required to identify the address to which she is going. Without income supports in place, without a boost from halfway houses or family members, a successful re-entry into the community would not have been possible. A continuum of care needs to be offered to women trying to re-establish their lives after prison. Social
services are vital to such women who may be tempted to return to the "old ways" without proper help and guidance.

In conclusion, as O'Brien eloquently states:

A feminist vision of justice would view offenders as members of the relational web of the community, for whom and by whom the social contract has been broken in both directions . . . We can begin using this approach immediately with nonviolent offenders through the creative application of community-based alternative sentencing programs that incorporate models for mediation and reconciliation (p. 140).

Katherine van Wormer
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Various social science theories attempt to explain economic exchange processes. The current dominant paradigm influencing academic thought and government economic policy, neoclassical economics, focuses on the market forces that effect economic exchange. Both individual behavior and overall economic performance are explained by supply and demand, individual choice, and the forces that operate in a free market system. Although the neo-classical paradigm dominates economic policy, other approaches have been articulated not only by economists but by sociologists as well. One of these is neo-Weberian economic sociology which asserts that economic action is embedded in social relations and the social norms that comprise these relations. Research in this area focuses on the extent to which social, cultural, political factors influence economic action.

Zafirovski provides a detailed analysis of different economic approaches from a sociological point of view. He makes two key theoretical arguments. First, he differentiates neo-Weberian economic sociology from rational choice theory, as neo-classical economics is known in sociological circles. Secondly, he demonstrates how a sociological approach that focuses on institutions, presents a more realistic picture of economic exchange than neoclassical economics. While rational choice theory applies market principles to social action, neo-Weberian economic sociology applies social theories to economic action. From a rational choice perspective, self interest exclusively determines individual motivation, and other factors are considered irrational. Zafirovski argues persuasively that altruism also influences individual action even when it does not correspond with an individual’s economic interests.

The author traces the roots of this approach to Max Weber who viewed “economic exchange as a special case of social action.” (p. 13). He rejects the methodological individualism of neoclassical economics and argues that the economy is socially constructed.
He provides a summary of empirical evidence that economic actors are embedded in social relations. For instance, interpersonal ties are shown to play an important role in inter-firm exchange transactions and labor market activities. Research also indicates that social-historical conditions, customs, laws, religion, norms of reciprocity, institutional and political factors influence market exchanges. He offers an interesting example of the way the prison system influences the labor market in the United States. Political factors led to a massive increase in spending on prisons during the 1980s and 1990s. The resulting increase in prison building affected labor supply and demand. While the abundance of jobs created in this industry increased labor demand, the imprisonment of large numbers of low-skilled individuals decreased the labor supply, especially at the low end of the labor market. At least part of the declining unemployment rate seen during this period can be attributed these factors.

Zafirovski presents a comprehensive discussion of economic sociology. He traces its roots to classical sociological theory and summarizes theoretical developments in the field. His discussion of empirical findings related to key theoretical propositions, clarifies points and supports the assertion that social factors have a major impact on economic processes and outcomes. Although his work is very theoretical and may be regarded as some as too dense, this is an important book which offers a useful alternative to the dominant economic paradigm. It shows that sociologists have an important contribution to make to the understanding of economic life.


Although the traditional two-parent family is a popular American ideal, it is estimated that three-quarters of households do not fit this ideal type. The two parent-two child ideal may have characterized families in the 1950s but, since then, it has ceased to be the norm. Labor force transitions and gender equity have affected the career and family options of women, and fostered the emergence of alternative family forms during the 1960s and 1970s.
Rather than defining these families as 'non-traditional' and problematic, Erera views new and diverse family forms from in a strengths perspective. Whereas extant family research and interventions were developed within the framework of the two-parent family, this interesting book considers the unique array of issues faced by diverse families. Erera begins by reviewing theoretical conceptions of the family, and empirical trends of family types in the first chapter. The historical and sociological factors affecting family diversity are also traced. After identifying alternative constructions of the family, she provides a comprehensive account of alternative family types. In-depth analyses are provided for adoptive, foster, single-parent, stepparent, lesbian/gay and grandmother-headed families. For each family type, Erera devotes an entire chapter, covering an impressive array of topics. Each chapter begins with the demographic characteristics of one of these family types. The historical background and policy issues related to these types are then reviewed, along with the structure and dynamics of each type. Next, the author presents implications for policy, practice, and research. Each chapter closes with discussion questions.

One of the important contributions of this volume is the careful consideration given to each family form. As Erera effectively demonstrates, this is necessary because of the unique and complex issues facing each family type. Especially impressive is the inclusion of a chapter devoted to grandmother-headed families. The author also gives the reader insight into the challenges facing each family form, such as homophobia for gay families, and the impact of caregiving on grandmothers. Another positive aspect of the volume is the author's sensitive understanding of how family members with more traditional orientations, function in new family systems. For example, she shows how family members adjust after an adoption, and how adoption affects non-residential family members.

In the final chapter, Erera highlights the advantages of diverse family forms. She cites evidence that children from single-parent families typically have many adult mentors, and she refers to research documenting higher scores of parenting skills by lesbian parents. Whereas the alleged weaknesses and social ills emanating from diverse family forms have previously been emphasized,
her use of a strengths perspective offers a refreshing alternative approach. Erera also addresses many of the myths that affect diverse families, including the stigmas of single motherhood and the allegedly negative consequences of parenting by non-biological adults.

The discussions in each chapter touch on a wealth of topics. This is an interesting and pioneering book which will be very useful as a teaching resource for instructors in sociology, social work and related fields. It will also be a helpful reference source for social workers, psychologists and family counselors. It should be integrated into substantive courses addressing family issues, at both the undergraduate or graduate level.


The struggle for human rights, as exemplified in the adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, has undoubtedly been one of the great, progressive achievements of this century. The Declaration brought together diverse nations and peoples, securing an international commitment to ensuring that people everywhere had basic rights which would be recognized and upheld. The Declaration also created a shared cultural ethos that pressured recalcitrant nations to accept human rights, and it provided an impetus for the extension of human rights to specific fields of human endeavor. The institutionalization of a rights approach in social policy and social work is but one example of the way the human rights ethos has been infused into these different fields.

Despite the progress which has been made, this book shows that there is little ground for complacency. It is not only that human rights are widely flouted, or that hypocrisy about the implementation of human rights is widespread, but that the international community has placed far more emphasis on civil and political rights than on social, economic and cultural rights. It is this theme which the editors of this useful book address, and which should be of interest and concern to social policy scholars, administrators and social workers.

The editors point out that the Declaration has a truly universal
ambit in that it addressed a wide range of human rights issues ranging, on the one hand, from a familiar concern with civil and political rights (such as the right to vote, the right to free expression and the right to legal representation in criminal cases) to social, cultural and economic rights (such as the right to an adequate standard of living, education, health care and income protection). However, in subsequent attempts to operationalize and implement the rights enshrined in the Charter, political and civil rights were given priority while social, cultural and economic rights were neglected. As one of the contributors to the volume points out, this was partly a function of the Cold War when the United States and its allies campaigned for priority to be given to political and civil rights, while the Soviet Union and its allies sought to emphasize social, cultural and economic rights. Consequently, two separate international legal instruments, known as the Covenants, emerged with the result that the struggle for human rights has been bifurcated into two separate agendas. It also had the unfortunate consequence that social cultural and economic rights remain of secondary importance.

The book’s argument is that the separation of rights into two distinct categories needs to be ended and that in a new, integrated approach, civil political, social, economic and cultural rights need to be given equal emphasis. The various contributors, who come from different countries, address different aspects of this argument, and raise a number of related issues. For example, the book contains interesting material on women’s rights, children’s rights and housing rights with reference to the situation in Palestine where the occupying forces have consistently flouted the right to adequate shelter by the frequent demolition of people’s homes. The book also contains an interesting chapter on indigenous land rights in Central America where commercial logging and oil interests have flagrantly ignored local people and their social and cultural rights.

While the book is in some ways a depressing account of the violation of social, economic and cultural rights in many parts of the world, it also shows that the struggle continues. There have been some successes such as the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The book also
shows that non-governmental organizations are much more active in the campaign for the extension of economic, social and cultural rights. As governments in many parts of the world have been weakened, mobilization at the community level will be an essential element in the campaign for the extension of these rights. This is an important book which should be widely consulted by anyone working in the social welfare field today. It provides a great of useful information about the legal and procedural aspects of human rights and brings an important perspective to debates about social welfare, particularly at the international level where the need to adopt and implement economic, social and cultural rights is more urgent than even before.


Social attitudes and behaviors towards aging have varied enormously over different historical periods and between different societies and cultures. In Western societies during the 20th, attitudes towards aging were characterized by the view that the elderly are a burden on society and that special services were needed to care for them. Demographers spoke gloomily of the high ‘dependency ratios’ in these countries which required high government expenditures and the intolerable burden dependency placed on younger working people. These themes have been reiterated in recent debates about the privatization of social security. The payment of income support, the demands on the health care system and the widespread use of residential care to house elderly people all contributed to the high costs of aging.

Gradually, these views have been challenged. As many more people live longer lives, it has been realized that aging is not inevitably accompanied by frailty, dependency and financial need but that many elderly people continue to live in their own homes, are well integrated into the community and enjoy excellent health. It has also been recognized that many continue to be economically productive by working not only as employees (both full-time and part-time), but as self-employed entrepreneurs and as volunteers in many different organizations. Many continue to
manage their investments actively seeking to maximize economic returns. These examples reveal that many elderly people are not economically dependent but that they participate in the economy as productive citizens and contribute positively to economic development.

As the editors of this interesting collection reveal, the term ‘productive aging’ was coined at a gerontological meeting in Salzburg, Austria in 1982 and it has since been closely associated with the work of Robert Butler, former head of the National Institute of Aging, and one of the participants at the seminar. Butler and his colleagues have been tireless advocates for the ‘normalization’ of aging and for the creation of opportunities for elderly people to continue to participate as economically productive members of society. This edited collection extends on this work by examining the concept of productive aging in the light of related concepts such as successful aging, healthy aging and meaningful aging.

By exploring the use of the term, its historical evolution, conceptual implications, biological, psychological, sociological and economic dimensions, the book offers a systematic and definitive account of the concept of productive aging. Its scope is ambitious but it succeeds admirably. Nor is it an uncritical advocate of this normative implications of the notion of productive aging. Indeed, in an important chapter, Carol Estes and Jane Mahakian examine some of the political ramifications of the idea that elderly people should be productive and self-sufficient. The book makes an important contribution, not only to the gerontological literature, but to wider debates in social welfare about self-sufficiency and dependency. Its significance for the formulation of a developmental or social investment approach is obvious. It deserves to be widely read.


The Reagan and Thatcher revolutions of the 1980s changed the world of social policy, establishing a new paradigm which debilitated the long standing welfare consensus of the post Second World War decades. This consensus accepted extensive state responsibility for economic management and the provision of
welfare services. It enshrined an ideology of redistribution, social rights and altruistic giving in social policy which fostered the creation of extensive social service programs and income transfers to a large and diverse group of beneficiaries. Although the right's electoral victories of the 1980s and 1990s did not obliterate this welfarist system, it certainly undermined it, and today, its legitimacy is in tatters. The political right now shapes the social policy agenda, and it is this agenda that is being translated into practical policies and programs.

Progressive pro-welfarist political parties such as the Democrats in the United States and the Labour Party in Britain have sought to transcend the defensive posture originally adopted in the face of the right's attack and they have more recently sought to challenge the right's hegemonic control of social policy. But to be successful, new and electorally appealing ideas about social policy will be needed. Although the electoral successes of the Democrats and Labourites in the 1990s is largely attributable to popular disillusionment with right wing politics, efforts to formulate an ideological alternative continues apace. Perhaps the most widely debated attempt to formulate an alternative of this kind is the so-called Third Way. Based on the successful political strategies of Bill Clinton, and, as articulated by British Prime Minister Tony Blair and leading theoreticians such as Anthony Giddens, the Third Way offers a pragmatic approach to social policy and economic management which seek to find the middle ground between 'old fashioned' social democracy and welfare liberalism on the one hand, and the radical individualism and dogmatic traditionalism of the right on the other. Third Way thinking downplays state direction of the economy, emphasizes human capital investments and active labor market policies rather than passive income transfers and social service provisions. It also recognizes the role of free market forces and stresses the importance of individual responsibility, community solidarity and the family in social life.

This book is the best account of the Third Way yet published. It provides an excellent historical background to the emergence of Third Way thinking, and it places the discussion in a truly international perspective that covers events in the United States and Britain as well as Europe and elsewhere. It does so with
admirable clarity. Indeed, its historic account of the events that led up to the upheavals of the 1970s, and the gradual institutionalization of New Right thinking in social policy, could form a separate textbook which would be of great value to students. This account is incisive and succinct, and yet covers a huge amount of important material. The book also provides an excellent review of some of the other ideas which have accompanied or competed with Third Way progressivism. These include communitarianism and stakeholder ideas which have not been fully integrated with Third Way thinking but which have informed some of its tenets. A detailed exposition of these components and of the criticism leveled against the Third Way is provided. Finally, the authors attempt to address the weakness of the Third Way and to offer a reformulation which addresses these criticisms.

As the authors recognize, a major difficulty is that the Third Way approach has been largely limited to academic discussion and political polemic. It has not been successful in creating a normative alternative to the right's neo-liberal and traditionalist agenda nor has it provided an acceptable ideological basis for political action. Most voters in Britain and the United States are not even aware of the Third Way and, in recent political debates on future Labour and Democratic strategies, references to the Third Way have been remarkably muted. Indeed, in a recent Fabian publication, which offers a critique as well as a potential agenda for the Labour Party, Giddens devotes only one brief chapter to the Third Way. Its potential to offer an alternative paradigmatic basis for progressive social policy development in the future thus seems limited. Irrespective of whether the Third Way is features prominently in future debates or not, elements of Third Way thinking will undoubtedly continue to influence the progressive social policy agenda. This book clarifies these elements, and is an indispensable resource for anyone interested in debates about the future of social policy.
Restorative justice, as distinct from retributive or rehabilitative approaches to offenses, has been a central tradition of justice in most, perhaps all, societies prior to the emergence of the modern, central state power with its bureaucratic-professional systems. Its revival as a new social movement in modern states offers a new paradigm for addressing the key question in social work and social welfare of the relation of formal to informal systems of care and control. Restorative justice may be defined in terms of process—one whereby all stakeholders come together to resolve how to deal with the aftermath of an offense and its implications for the future—or in terms of its core values—healing rather than hurting, moral learning, community participation and caring, respectful dialogue, forgiveness, responsibility, apology, and setting things right or making amends. The recent pathbreaking book by renowned Australian criminologist John Braithwaite—Restorative Justice and responsive regulation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)—synthesizes recent research and conceptual analysis of restorative justice and integrates them with his work on responsive regulation of business. Braithwaite not only demonstrates the superior effectiveness of restoring victims, offenders, and communities compared with punitive practices of modern judicial systems; he also shows how responsive regulation of business, utilizing a regulatory pyramid to ensure compliance, and restorative justice practices can enrich each other. He further shows the relevance of this combination to many other major social problems, such as war and peace, education, poverty, and sustainable development. In the form of family group conferencing, restorative practices have already had an important impact on child welfare and youth justice, both in the United States and in many other countries. The integration of restorative justice and responsive regulation developed by Braithwaite offers an opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the application of this new paradigm to this and other spheres of social welfare. Manuscripts are invited for a special issue of the Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare that will explore the paths opened up in the whole field of social welfare by Braithwaite’s work. Possible topics include: the fall and rise of restorative justice and implications for social welfare: responsive regulation: implications of the regulatory pyramid for work with mandatory clients; licensing and accreditation of nursing homes; social workers, schools of social work, etc.; theory and research on family group conferencing; restorative justice and family violence; worries about restorative justice (e.g., feminist, professional, and indigenous/anti-colonial critiques and responses); restorative justice and indigenous practices; restorative justice as community building; formal and informal care and control—restorative justice, state, and civil society; cultivating new hybrids for culturally responsive social welfare.

Deadline for receipt of manuscripts: April 1, 2003. Please send three copies of your manuscript, with an abstract of approximately 100 words (see Instructions for Authors) to: Paul Adams, Guest Editor, JSSW, University of Hawaii at Mānoa, School of Social Work, 1800 East-West Road, Honolulu, HI 96822.

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(Revised June, 2000)

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Founding Editors
Norman Goroff and Ralph Segalman
SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Restorative Justice, Responsive Regulation, and Social Welfare

Restorative justice, as distinct from retributive or rehabilitative approaches to offenses, has been a central tradition of justice in most, perhaps all societies prior to the emergence of the modern, central state power with its bureaucratic-professional systems. Its revival as a new social movement in modern states offers a new paradigm for addressing the key question in social work and social welfare of the relation of formal to informal systems of care and control. Restorative justice may be defined in terms of process—one whereby all stakeholders come together to resolve how to deal with the aftermath of an offense and its implications for the future—or in terms of its core values—healing rather than hunting, moral learning, community participation and caring, respectful dialogue, forgiveness, responsibility, apology, and setting things right or making amends. The recent pathbreaking book by renowned Australian criminologist John Braithwaite (Restorative Justice and responsive regulation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)—synthesizes recent research and conceptual analysis of restorative justice and integrates them with his work on responsive regulation of business. Braithwaite not only demonstrates the superior effectiveness of restoring victims, offenders, and communities compared with punitive practices of modern judicial systems; he also shows how responsive regulation of business, utilizing a regulatory pyramid to ensure compliance, and restorative justice practices can enrich each other. He further shows the relevance of this combination to many other major social problems, such as war and peace, education, poverty, and sustainable development. In the form of family group conferencing, restorative practices have already had an important impact on child welfare and youth justice, both in the United States and in many other countries. The integration of restorative justice and responsive regulation developed by Braithwaite offers an opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the application of this new paradigm to this and other spheres of social welfare. Manuscripts are invited for a special issue of the Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare that will explore the paths opened up in the whole field of social welfare by Braithwaite’s work. Possible topics include: the fall and rise of restorative justice and implications for social welfare; responsive regulation; implications of the regulatory pyramid for work with mandatory clients, victims and their families; regulation of nursing homes, hospitals, schools, social workers, schools of social work, etc.; theory and research on family group conferencing; restorative justice and family violence; worries about restorative justice (e.g., feminist, professional, and indigenous/anti-colonial critiques and responses); restorative justice and indigenous practices; restorative justice as community building; formal and informal care and control—restorative justice, state, and civil society; cultivating new hybrids for culturally responsive social welfare.

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