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Editor: *Steve Carlton-Ford*

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Forming a More Perfect Union: Racial
Perceptions of Unity and Division in the
United States
Douglas George and George Yancey 1

Examining Racial Differences in the Effects
of Substance Abuse on High School
Students' Academic Achievement
David Purcell 20

The Effects of Absolute and Relative
Incomes on Job Satisfaction among
Male Workers in Japan
*Isao Takei, Arthur Sakamoto,
and Yoichi Murase* 39

Workplace Dispute Resolution in the
Homecare Industry: The Triangle of
Worker, Client, and Manager
Elizabeth A. Hoffmann 57



Why Are Our Babies Dying?

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Sandra D. Lane

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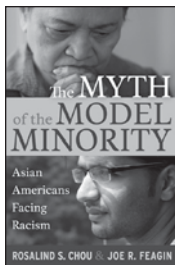
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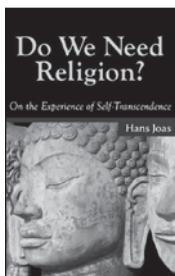
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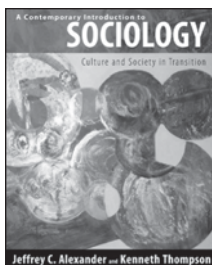
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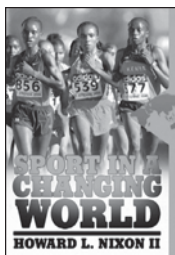
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Forming a More Perfect Union: Racial Perceptions of Unity and Division in the United States

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George Yancey
University of North Texas

This research analyzes 105 interviews from the Lilly Survey of Attitudes and Friendship to assess attitudes on bridging U.S. cultural difference. Interviewees across social categories were most likely to identify freedom as the principle that unites Americans and racial issues as that which divides. The data reveal racial variation, however. White participants often talked about unity and division in terms that did not implicate societal transformation, while many black interviewees were reluctant to endorse traditional values they think perpetuate racial inequality. In addition, whites were more likely to suggest that race is problematic because of the public's obsession with it, whereas nonwhites often commented on ongoing problems created by racism. Apparently, "traditional" core values, as easily appropriated symbols, help people define national identity, providing attributes they think tie people together. Racial groups talk past one another, however, as they refer to different value orientations to address issues of national unity.

A contentious national debate over the virtues and consequences of a multicultural society exploded into the public's consciousness late in the twentieth century in the United States (Glazer 1997). According to Zelinsky (2001:195), the widespread deliberations over cultural diversity and what it means to be an American evolved into a "constant, often obstreperous jousting for advantage, prestige, social and cultural power." During the debates, noted historian and author Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., ([1991] 1998:23) cautioned the U.S. public: "If separatist tendencies go on unchecked, the result can only be the fragmentation, resegregation, and tribalization of American life."

In fact, the increasing popularity of multiculturalism motivated many minority group members to press their case for equal treatment (Gitlin 1995), and, consequently, an enormous amount of sentiment over the issue of cultural convergence was

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mobilized (Downey 1999). Yet, when scholars attempted to situate public attitudes on building a common culture or maintaining cultural diversity, their findings revealed mixed data and weak issue alignment (Downey 2000) and that a majority of survey respondents favored cultural blending over cultural maintenance (George and Yancey 2004, 2007). In fact, a significant number, across all racial and ethnic groups, reported they prefer “just an American” identity over ethnic self-identification (Citrin et al. 2001:257). In sum, preferences for sustaining cultural difference seemed to coexist with even stronger inclinations for building a common national identity.

It seems implausible that in a time of sharp dissent against forced assimilation, race and ethnic identification failed to clearly motivate similar attitudes and aspirations among group members. What is it about a common national identity that continues to capture the public’s attention across cultural identities? While much research investigates the impact of cultural difference on U.S. attitudes, few studies assess cultural and social mechanisms that the public assumes might bridge cultural difference. In this paper, we seek to fill the gap in the literature and inquire further into the apparent ambiguity in attitudes over cultural integration. Specifically, we address the following two research questions: What cultural items does the public think serve to unify and divide their society? And, do attitudes on mechanisms of societal unity and division vary according to race and ethnic identification?

In the wake of a contentious debate over the boundaries of the U.S. culture (Downey 1999), participants in face-to-face interviews, conducted by the Lilly Survey of Attitudes and Friendships¹ (LSAF), were asked to reflect on what unites and what divides Americans. Below we employ an interpretation of the LSAF data to address our research questions. We look first at the overall response pattern of the interviewees to the question of unity and division and then focus on variations in racial attitudes. We believe the perspective of the interviewees, revealed in the interviews and statements below, provides insight into the cultural ideals people deem essential to building a national community and offers a unique and telling look at racial aspirations for American universalism.

AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM: VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND RACE IN THE UNITED STATES

Looking back on race and ethnic relations in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century, Higham asserts that it is difficult to exaggerate the impact of a universalizing ideology Gunnar Myrdal called the American Creed—“the cement in the structure of this great and disparate nation” (Higham 2001:3). While not realized in actual social life, Higham suggests that this ideology of common plight and common redemption served as a principle mechanism in alleviating intergroup tensions, holding out implicitly the promise of social inclusion for all that abide. Indeed, Lipset (1996) suggests that devotion to the American Creed—albeit a double-edged sword—continues to shape a society many Americans proudly believe is unique to the world.

Lipset (1996) and other scholars employ American exceptionalism to discuss the inclinations of the U.S. public to unify around values embedded in social institutions and unique to the American Creed—values associated with liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, and anti-state populism (Ignatieff 2005; Lockhart 2003; Madsen 1998). According to these scholars, while American exceptionalism tends to constrain the nation's commitment to guaranteeing equal opportunity for minority group members, aggravating adversarial race relations, its core values remain well entrenched and continue to serve as important organizing principles in the United States.

Similarly, Williams (1960) identifies 15 value orientations—including many that correspond to themes in the American Creed—that he suggests are deeply embedded in U.S. culture and upon which there is substantial agreement. According to Williams, these value orientations represent shifting configurations of cultural symbols that bind individuals to their culture. He asserts, however, that a clash over value constellations is likely, as the salience of value orientations shifts and recombines, corresponding to diverse cultural strains. In fact, both Williams's observations and proponents of American exceptionalism are confirmed in the LSAF data and, ultimately, provide a foundation for the analysis below.

Clearly, collective conceptions of what is and is not desirable in society are likely to emerge among diverse populations through all forms of public discourse. Yet, it is just as likely that the majority group will dominate the production and interpretation of cultural meanings in the public arena, especially in terms of cultural integration (Schubert 2002; van Dijk 1993). According to Blumer ([1958] 2000; see also Blumer and Duster 1980), social systems become racialized, and members of racial groups form a sense of their position in the racial hierarchy relative to others. Since majority group members assume a sense of entitlement, Blumer asserts they inevitably strive to maintain their dominance in a culture that protects their privileged status.

Many scholars of U.S. intergroup relations concur, suggesting that a sense of group position and attendant divergent racial realities help explain contrasting racial perspectives on unity and division in the United States. Although both whites and minority group members are likely to form opinions about racial policy based on perceived group interests (Bobo 2000; Hughes and Tuch 2000; Kinder and Sanders 1996), white Americans are more likely to downplay or ignore the significance of structural racism. Shielded by a privileged "hidden ethnicity" and a script of colorblindness, the white majority can deny the legitimacy of claims of racial discrimination, and consequently, facilitate the appropriation of a national "American" identity and allegiance to a system they perceive to be unbiased and fair (Doane 1997).

Contemporary assessment of attitudes of the white population in the United States confirms the concomitant decline of overt expressions of racial prejudice and firm opposition to group-based preferential treatment for minorities, especially African Americans (Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000; Hughes 1997; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Kluegel 1990; Schuman et al. 1997; Sidanius et al. 2000). According to theories of modern racism, members of the white majority often rationalize forms of antiblack, anti-minority feelings in terms of traditional values congruent with the American Creed,

such as individualism, self-reliance, laissez-faire economics, antistatism, and color-blindness or equal opportunity (Bobo, Kluegel, and Smith 1997; Bonilla-Silva 2001; Carr 1997; Kinder and Sanders 1996; McConahay 1982; Sears 1988; Sears, Henry, and Kosterman 2000; Tuch and Hughes 1996). In sum, by blaming minority group members for their own disadvantage, white Americans can appear not to be racist and, at the same time, obstruct challenges to a racialized system that harbors built-in advantages for them (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Bonilla-Silva 2001, 2003; Hughes and Tuch 2000).

CULTURAL BLENDING AND RACIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE UNITED STATES

In Park's (1950) classic discussion of the race relations cycle, he theorized that historical processes engender societal division and conflict, but that compelling processes guarantee the eventual blending of all groups into one society. Despite clear evidence of the progressive inclusion of minorities, researchers found simultaneous indications of cultural blending and retention in society, and scholars increasingly acknowledged that acculturation did not ensure complete incorporation (Yinger 1981). In fact, many suggest rapid acculturation tends to coexist with a slower "bumpy-line" process of social and structural integration (Alba and Nee 1997, 2003; Gans 1979, 1992; Gordon 1964; Steinberg 2001).

The pace of the bumpy-line process is not the same for all minorities, however, since the U.S. racial hierarchy continues to be a potent determinant of the opportunities available to minority group members (Alba and Nee 2003). In fact, research indicates that racism has created disparities in life chances between whites at the top of the hierarchy, nonblack minority group members with an intermediate racial status, and blacks at the bottom (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Feagin 2000; Yancey 2003). Some contend that because of the inability of the United States to successfully incorporate African Americans, blacks are more likely to express a sense of racial alienation and disenfranchisement from the dominant group culture than other minority group members (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Glazer 1997; Yancey 2003).

Other scholars have developed alternate models to augment the research on the social integration of intermediate nonblack minorities in the United States. According to segmented or downward assimilation theory, the identity of many nonwhite immigrant populations becomes racialized, and the consequences of this newly imposed racial identity restrict their opportunities and obstruct their path to rapid incorporation (Hirschman, Kasinitz, and DeWind 1999; Portes and Zhou 1993; Rumbaut 1997). Ogbu (1990) asserts that because racialized minorities experience prejudice and discrimination, they are likely to reject the dominant culture, forming, instead, an oppositional culture more reflective of their own cultural understandings. Moreover, despite discrimination, voluntary minorities with an intermediate racial status are more likely to put trust in the majority culture, developing strategies to utilize available resources to improve their economic and social well-being (Ogbu 1990).

SITUATING U.S. RACIAL ATTITUDES ON BUILDING A COMMON CULTURE

Current attitudinal research on cultural blending indicates only modest racial variation in preferences for building a common culture or sustaining cultural diversity. Link and Oldendick (1996) find that the more positive the cognitive images whites hold of minority group members, the more likely they are to support policies associated with equal opportunity, and the less likely they are to be overly concerned with the increasing presence of ethnic cultures. According to Downey (2000) and Citrin et al. (2001), while minority group members are more likely to favor sustaining cultural diversity over cultural blending than whites, the data are mixed and somewhat ambiguous. For Downey (2000), the most important trend in the data is the tendency for attitudes to be stronger in relation to the salience of the issue for the respondent, rather than the respondent's actual preferences. For instance, Downey reports that, ironically, African Americans express more support for both cultural blending and cultural diversity than members of other racial groups.

According to Citrin et al. (2001:257), despite modest support in minority groups for sustaining cultural diversity, a significant number of Americans across all ethnic groups favor the more inclusive "just an American" identity. They conclude that sustaining cultural difference failed to resonate strongly for the American public in the 1990s, and that the preference for a national identity seems to coexist with the widespread acceptance of more moderate, less formalized manifestations of multiculturalism. Consistent with Downey (2000), Citrin et al. (2001) assert that the inability of minorities to consistently unite in opposition to the white majority, the allure of a single national identity, and persistent prejudice among some U.S. whites constrain the inauguration of group-conscious remedies for social inequality.

George and Yancey (2004) report that, in general, survey respondents favor cultural blending over sustaining cultural diversity. In the analysis of open-ended discussions, however, George and Yancey (2007) find that across racial categories interviewees did not support either cultural blending or sustaining cultural diversity exclusively, but overwhelmingly preferred a synthetic, less divisive approach to social integration. While viewpoints of the interviewees echoed a mixture of the feel good message of multiculturalism, they preserved a strong affinity for the creation of a common culture—especially in the form of the American melting pot.

DATA AND METHODS

The analysis presented below derives from interviews of over 100 participants in the Lilly Survey of Attitudes and Friendships. While findings based on our analysis cannot be generalized easily to the rest of the United States,² we believe they are telling and reveal provocative areas of agreement and disagreement across racial and social categories in the United States.

One of the primary objectives of the LSAF interviews was to produce qualitative data associated with attitudinal differences between members of multiracial and uniraical church congregations. We expect that the religious ideology of the sample participants will be reflected in their attitudes, and we understand this is a limitation to the data. However, because of the composition of the sample and since the focus of this research falls on variation in racial attitudes on national unity and division, we generally disregard the religiosity of the participants and religion as variables in the analysis. Moreover, the responses of the LSAF participants to questions important to our research agenda correspond to those of respondents published in comparable research (see Blauner 1989; Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000; and Wolfe 1998).

Despite limitations in the data, we contend that the LSAF qualitative data uniquely speak to questions left unanswered by prior empirical research, and the strengths of the dataset outweigh the disadvantages. The rich detail of the LSAF interviews provides a deeper focus on the simultaneous impulses for unity and diversity in public attitudes not as amenable to empirical research. Our hope is that our interpretative analysis will help generate research questions that can be tested later with more representative samples.

In semistructured interviews, LSAF participants were asked a number of open-ended questions about race relations, politics, social networks, and their religious lives. Each interview lasted approximately one hour, was recorded on audiotape, and transcribed verbatim. While the second author helped conduct the interviews, providing the research a firsthand account of the perspectives of the interviewees, much of the analysis below derives from an interpretative analysis of the transcriptions of the interviews conducted by the first author. Coded data were allowed to emerge inductively until saturated and precautions were taken to insure intra-coder reliability. Obviously, this is not a probability sample, and we cannot perform tests of statistical significance on the data. We do present contingency tables as a means to depict discussion themes and to give the reader a sense of trends in the deliberation of the participants—but our data are qualitative.

All LSAF participants were asked, “What do you think unites all Americans?” and “What do you think divides all Americans?” As participants addressed “what unites and what divides all Americans,” they tended to focus on one unifying or divisive factor, although it was not uncommon for them to provide more than one. During the analysis, we identified all cultural elements mentioned by each participant, but noted which was the first or the focal point of their deliberation. Occasionally, we cite the total number of references to all categories, as the absolute number of elements cited does not alter the findings dramatically.

About 15 percent of the original sample reported that they were not socialized in the United States. Because we want to understand the dynamics of American social life, we removed from the analysis any participant who indicated that she or he did not grow up in the United States. Therefore, below we report on the deliberations of 105 LSAF interview participants who answered at least one of the questions central to our study.

WHAT UNITES ALL AMERICANS?

When confronted with questions of U.S. unity and division, the LSAF participants found it much more difficult to answer “What unites?” than “What divides all Americans?” Clearly, many of the participants struggled as they attempted to name any one item that might bring people in the United States together. In fact, nearly 20 percent of the participants conceded, or just bluntly stated, that nothing could unite Americans. For example, here is one what white man said: “I don’t think anything unites all Americans. . . . Americans have lost the concept of freedom. I don’t think there is any way to unite them. Most of them would rather be handed a buck than to be free.”³ The man’s response reflects the despair and resignation echoed in a substantial group of responses situated in the “Nothing” category (see Table 1)—the third most frequently cited theme among the participants. A white woman, who initially mentioned a desire for peace, abandons hope for unity later in her answer: “I would say just a desire for peace, not necessarily the way that I would desire peace but just wanting the same things. I really see more division than I see unity though. I think

Table 1. LSAF Participants’ Primary Response to the Question “What Do You Think Unites All Americans?” by Race (in percent of column total, $N = 101$)

Response Category	White ($N = 42$)	Black ($N = 35$)	Hispanic ($N = 8$)	Asian ($N = 16$)
Freedom	19.0 (8)	8.6 (3)	25.0 (2)	62.5 (10)
Civil liberty	14.3 (6)	5.7 (2)	25.0 (2)	37.5 (6)
Economic opportunity/ social mobility	4.8 (2)	2.9 (1)	—	25.0 (4)
Religion	19.0 (8)	31.4 (11)	37.5 (3)	—
Nothing	21.4 (9)	22.9 (8)	—	6.3 (1)
Humanitarianism	9.5 (4)	25.7 (9)	12.5 (1)	12.5 (2)
Social structure	9.5 (4)	5.7 (2)	12.5 (1)	6.3 (1)
Crisis	7.1 (3)	2.9 (1)	12.5 (1)	6.3 (1)
Patriotic spirit	9.5 (4)	—	—	—
American values	4.8 (2)	2.9 (1)	—	6.3 (1)

Note: A total resulting in more or less than 100 is due to rounding error or omission of categories.

Americans are so argumentative. Rather than wanting to come together, they want more reason to stay apart.”

An uncertainty or unwillingness of many participants to identify any one item that unites Americans is a significant, but not entirely unexpected, trend in the data, considering widespread concern in the public for disunity created by multiculturalism (Downey 2000). Beyond equivocation, we identified eight factors that participants believed could bring about unity. By far, the most popular set of responses to this question is grouped in a category labeled “Freedom.” “Freedom” aptly captures this theme because, first and foremost, virtually every response in the category includes the word “freedom.” In fact, over 31 percent of all items mentioned by those in the sample refer to some dimension of freedom as a unifying factor. When asked “what unites,” participants often responded in terms similar to this: “[T]he privileges, the freedoms that we have here—I think that’s what unites us all. Being able to have that freedom to do almost whatever we please.” While other responses are more involved, almost one-fourth of the participants clearly emphasized freedom to address the question of American unity. Here is an example from a black man:

Wanting to, you know, achieve the American pie—buy a house, ownership of property. Freedom to have the type of occupation you want to have. Economic and also social values. I grew up in a predominantly black neighborhood, but as far as having a dream for achieving success, that wasn’t stifled because it was stressed in my household.

As depicted in Table 1, we found that the participants typically referred to freedom in terms of two dimensions—response categories identified as “Civil Liberty” or “Economic Opportunity/Social Mobility.” The statement of the black man above is in keeping with responses situated in the “Economic Opportunity/Social Mobility” category. A “Civil Liberty” response, in comparison, featured noneconomic themes, like those represented in the statement of the white man below and the following brief but characteristic response: “I think we’re all united around the notion of freedom and democracy.” Whether the participants talked about freedom in terms of civil rights, political freedom, or freedom of opportunity, we found that those situated in the freedom category relied on this abstraction to symbolize a cluster of ideals—ideals they believed to be exceptionally American, worthy of respect, and upon which a foundation of societal unity is built:

I think what makes us one nation, and a great nation, and what helps not divide the people, is our history. [While this participant, a white man, is concerned that Americans are losing a sense of their common history, he continues:] Up to this point . . . what has kept the people as one, no matter what, no matter how we typically would be divided—whether it be region or race or whatever—that one common thing we’ve had—is our freedom.

In general, more than 60 percent of the participants chose one of three categorical themes—“Freedom,” “Religion,” and “Nothing”—to talk about “what unites Americans.” The limitation of the sample aside, the prominence of these categories in the discussions is conspicuous and remains significant to the analysis. However, as we

contemplated other trends in the “what unites” data, we found compelling racial variation in attitudes on this issue. Therefore, we shift the analysis below from a general discussion of each response category for the entire sample and focus on important differences in racial and ethnic attitudes on the question. As we identify other trends in the data, we will continue to talk about the response themes that remain undefined.

Although the white and Hispanic American participants found freedom important in what unites us, the Asian American participants chose freedom most often as the answer to “what unites us.” They were notably more likely to emphasize freedom than those in the other groups. Consider the discussion of this Asian American man, as he talks about the unifying function of freedom.

Opportunity to have a better life here. I think that’s one of the main reasons people come to the U.S. The chance and opportunity is available in the U.S. You go to all the countries and you hear them talk about how bad things are, but it’s not available, you can’t get it. But they come to the U.S. and they know that it is there. That is why so many do struggle to get into the U.S., to have the opportunities.

In addition, the Asian American participants often discussed “what unites Americans” in terms of freedoms associated with economic opportunity and social mobility. For example, the Asian American man quoted below was convinced that the pursuit of monetary gain is the tie that binds Americans together.

So it seems to me like money is something that all Americans gravitate to. Success. Independence. I was recently listening to an interview with this guy who helped design this new Chrysler—the PT Cruiser—and he was describing what Americans like about cars. It had little curtains, a TV, a mini-bar, and things like that. And this seemed to paint a picture of what Americans really like. They want to be safe and protected, but at the same time they want nice things. This is really the land of opportunity where you can have bigger and more expensive things and it causes people outside of the U.S. to both hate and love the U.S.

Looking at other trends in racial attitudes on “what unites,” two stand out in the analysis. First, we found it interesting that, other than one Asian American participant, only the white and black participants suggested that “nothing” could unite Americans. As those most directly affected by the intractable nature of the black-white divide, it is plausible that these participants have found little evidence of cross-race unity, and thus, have limited optimism for the future of societal unity. Second, the salience of humanitarianism responses for African American participants is exceptional, and, we think, quite compelling. More than twice as often as any other group, the African Americans evoked themes of equal respect, tolerance, humanity, and civility as they talked about creating unity. Moreover, although a significant number of participants in the other groups employed freedom to answer the question, the African Americans did not. In fact, they were least likely to believe freedom could entice people to bridge social differences. Instead, other than religion, the African American participants overwhelmingly relied on themes of humanitarianism to discuss national

unity. With a combination of lament, admonition, and commemoration of community, the African Americans spoke in terms often reminiscent of the now famous Rodney King question, “Can we all get along?” This African American man voices his aspirations for harmonious race relations:

People tend to follow the path of least resistance. I would like to see people stepping out a little more from their culture, class, or whatever it is, and be more human and understanding where they’re coming from, understanding what they are thinking. You know, I would like my best friend to be a Korean and I would like to have my best friend as an Indian, I would like to have my best friend as a white person, I would like to have my best friend as a black person. Far removed from culture because when you get very close to someone, for some reason or another you forget their facial features, you forget that he’s black, you forget that he’s brown, you forget he’s Korean.

About 20 percent of the sample employed one of the last four response categories depicted in Table 1 to answer “what unites all Americans.” A small percentage of all participants across racial groups believed that the presence of social practices already in place (“Social Structure”), a generic set of traditions (“American Values”), or events like war or terrorism (“Crisis”) create societal unity. Notably, however, only white participants answered the question by referring to the importance of patriotism (“Patriotic Spirit”). “Patriotic Spirit” responses were often similar in tone to those in the “Freedom” and “American Values” categories, but because they suggested that the spirit of patriotism alone unites all Americans, we allowed this group to stand alone.⁴

In sum, despite the reiteration of common themes in the group as a whole, deliberations marked by platitudes and conventional wisdom often masked contrasting racial viewpoints on creating and sustaining societal unity. In the next section, we explore the participants’ attitudes on what divides all Americans and continue our evaluation of variations in racial preferences on the question.

WHAT DIVIDES US AS AMERICANS?

In stark contrast to their reaction to “what unites,” the LSAF participants did not hesitate when asked, “What divides all Americans?” In fact, almost 40 percent of the participants in the sample identified more than one item in their answer, and many provided three.⁵ In general, the participants were three times more likely to identify multiple divisive elements in their responses to “what divides” than in their deliberation on “what unites.” Multiple answers notwithstanding, in the end the participants’ concern with issues associated with race—race, racism, racial disharmony, prejudice, and discrimination—dominated the discussion of societal division (refer to Table 2). In comparison, only 14 percent of all participants emphasized social class in their response—the second most frequently cited category. Across the board, most agreed that racial issues cause disagreement and disunity.

Table 2. LSAF Participants' Primary Response to the Question "What Do You Think Divides All Americans?" by Race (in percent of column total, $N = 99$)

Response Category	White ($N = 41$)	Black ($N = 35$)	Hispanic ($N = 9$)	Asian ($N = 14$)
Race	53.7 (22)	57.1 (20)	55.6 (5)	35.7 (5)
Social class	17.1 (7)	11.4 (4)	11.1 (1)	21.4 (3)
Intolerance	12.2 (5)	11.4 (4)	—	14.3 (2)
Religion	4.9 (2)	17.1 (6)	11.1 (1)	7.1 (1)
Politics	7.3 (3)	2.9 (1)	11.1 (1)	—
Cultural diversity	4.9 (2)	—	11.1 (1)	21.4 (3)

Note: A total resulting in more or less than 100 is due to rounding error or omission of categories.

Even though race dominated the discussion of "what divides," the participants' concern for the divisive nature of race might be, in fact, understated in the data. Referring to Table 2, two categories of responses—intolerance and cultural diversity—often corresponded to race. Arguably, all three could be combined into one inclusive category—"Race and Ethnic Pluralism," for example. Such a combination (70 percent of the sample) would accentuate even more dramatically the prominence of race in the discussions of the participants. However, even though responses in "Intolerance" and "Cultural Diversity" often alluded to racial and ethnic discord, they did not refer to race, racism, racial prejudice, or discrimination directly. Instead, these response themes tended to emphasize social problems created by the matter-of-fact reality of segregation ("Cultural Diversity") or a general unwillingness in the population to bridge social divides ("Intolerance").⁶ Consequently, we have kept these two categories separate from "Race."

As to racial attitudes on "what divides," the Asian American participants were more likely to cite cultural diversity and less likely to mention race as divisive factors than participants in other groups. However, in general terms, beyond the overwhelming concern for race across racial categories, the data seem to indicate only modest variation in racial attitudes on this question. However, a close examination of the discussions revealed important racial differences in the way participants talked about the divisive nature of race relations.

When minority participants contemplated societal disunity, many mentioned race as the most important issue or the only issue pertinent to the question. For example, a black participant stated, "Race is number one" when it comes to things that divide

us and then added, "I say race more so than class. You can have a certain kind of socioeconomic status, but still not be welcome in some circles based on your race." Unlike the white participants, minority participants rarely included race in a list of divisive elements, but when they did, it was clear that they still thought race was the central issue in the discussion of "what divides."

Like the other participants, the white participants often referred to race as problematic, but interestingly, they often did so in conjunction with other divisive items. For example, a white man stated, "Political issues, and I would say things that divide are economics, education, and racial issues definitely divide." For many white participants, race was just one of several elements that caused disunity. In an interview with a white man and his Middle Eastern wife, the wife began talking about the societal disunity: "Well, I see race, definitely, economical status . . ." but, during her response, her white husband interrupted, and quickly added "gender" as another issue important in the discussion. It seemed as though the husband could not allow race and socioeconomic status to stand as the only things that divide Americans.

In addition, we found that the attitudes expressed by many white participants on "what divides" revealed tendencies toward modern or color-blind racism. Even though racial issues cause division, some white participants suggested that racial discrimination is a thing of the past. Therefore, for these participants, the most effective way to deal with racial disharmony is to move beyond history. For example, this white man stated, "The thing that I think always divides people is when we bring up the past. I think when you keep reliving things or you keep harping on things that happened in the past, you have to have a breaking point and move forward." Another white participant seemed to suggest that until a recent resurgence of racial animosity, the country had resolved many problems associated with race and race relations: "I have seen the pendulum swing over the years and it seems as if we are getting more into racial divisions than we have had during a lot of my life, which I deplore because it seems as if we have come so far."

This woman went on to state that racial division is a matter of perspective and that part of the problem can be attributed to the "races themselves . . . [as they] have a responsibility to contribute their part and not look to someone else to help." For her and many other white participants, a preoccupation with racial issues (by nonwhites primarily) has caused many of the social problems we can associate with race.

On the other hand, the nonwhite participants were not as willing to ignore racial issues or minimize the significance of racism in the discussion of "what divides." They often mentioned racism as an ongoing feature in American life. For instance, an Asian American participant remembered an occasion when someone on the street shouted a racial epithet at her. She suggested that "we have improved in making laws," but that racism is still a problem. An African American participant worried that the public has been "taught black people should be below whites" and that this cannot help but create racial disharmony. A Hispanic woman was convinced that racial issues cause separation and discrimination:

It's our race. Because my parents told me that they were discriminated, being Mexicans, you know. I never experienced that. I never felt discriminated. But I think in some ways we were. I'm talking about my parents, this right here [referring to her race]. I think that separates us. If you are separate 'cause you're Hispanic or there's the bridge [and] all the black people on that side and all the white people on this side. I think that separates us.

In sum, while the whites and nonwhite participants agreed that race is extremely divisive, they could not agree on the source of racial division. Unlike the majority group, nonwhites were not willing to dismiss racism and discrimination as part of the past.

DISCUSSION AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ANALYSIS

Findings based on the LSAF interviews suggest obvious points of agreement in the public's attitudes on national unity and division. As suggested by Williams (1960), for a notable number of participants in the LSAF sample, cultural ideals like freedom, democracy, and humanitarianism seem to sustain national unity, while issues associated with race relations assuredly create division. Yet, despite some attitudinal conformity, the results also reveal compelling racial variation. According to the analysis, racial groups appear to harbor contrasting positions on the vitality of the U.S. common culture and often talk past one another in deliberations overshadowed by platitudes and conventional wisdom.

When asked "what unites all Americans," the participants overwhelmingly agreed that freedom is the most important factor in the creation of societal unity. According to our findings, it is plausible that easily appropriated, unambiguous symbols of American exceptionalism and "time-honored" values—such as freedom, democracy, economic opportunity, and humanitarianism—serve as mechanisms that, in fact, link many in the public to an ideal national community. During the interviews, the ideal of freedom, especially, acted as a watchword for American unity—a finding corroborated with even a cursory look for the presence of this ideal in the media. People invariably evoke this ideal to characterize the United States and to talk about what it means to be American. In many cases, the LSAF participants seemed to refer to traditional ideals as if they were reciting an oath of allegiance. In the abstract, fundamental core values appear to help people define the national identity, providing them with organizing principles that strengthen the allure and promise of a common culture and a means to transcend difference.

At the same time, any trend toward consensus on "what unites" or "what divides Americans," happens alongside discernible variation in participant attitudes—attitudes often corresponding to racial identity. In fact, although many believed freedom might link Americans—especially the Asian American participants—a notable number of

black participants did not. More than the others, black participants suggested that humanitarianism was the ideal most likely to unite Americans into a common culture. As suggested by the theory of oppositional culture (Ogbu 1990) and the literature on the persistence of the black-white divide (Alba and Nee 2003; Bonilla-Silva 2003; Yancey 2003), it is plausible that African Americans are less willing to embrace unity built on a national identity that they think resonates primarily with the white majority group. Because they believe societal barriers continue to obstruct minority inclusion, many might hinge their aspirations for racial harmony on mechanisms more proximate and honorable. For them, the surest route to unity appears to entail effecting a set of values—already in place, but often overlooked—that are certain to reconcile difference and disharmony. While African Americans appear to be as pessimistic about societal unity as the majority group, this might be because many do not trust the machinations of a system thought to be unfair and intolerant (Doane 1997; Ogbu 1990).

In comparison to African Americans, our data suggest that intermediate minority group members appear more willing to advocate traditional U.S. values and adapt to mainstream culture. For nonblack minorities and more recent immigrant streams, assimilation might be the means to succeed in a place that they have come to accept is full of opportunity, and accordingly, where success is likely to follow hard work (Alba and Nee 2003; Ogbu 1990).

Not surprisingly, the white participants emphasized universalizing mechanisms that did not implicate societal reform or require action designed to bring about social integration. For instance, only white participants thought that patriotism alone could provide a universal bond. Concurring with Blumer's sense of group position ([1958] 2000; see also Blumer and Duster 1980) and Doane's (1997) hypothesis on the role of "hidden" ethnicity, more than any other group, whites appear to assume that canonical U.S. ideals inevitably merit allegiance, likely to assure cultural blending and the ongoing maintenance of the common culture. Yet, conversely, a large number of white participants remained convinced nothing could "unite us." Apparently, many in the majority group see resistance to American exceptionalism as evidence of a tragic level of disunity, societal cynicism, or a preoccupation with identity politics.

On "what divides Americans," despite widespread, cross-race agreement, minority participants were more likely to suggest that racial disharmony is the result of ongoing racism and discrimination, while many in the majority group asserted that disunity happens as a function of the inability of the public (i.e., minority group members) to resolve racial issues. Given the willingness of many in the white majority to adopt a script of colorblindness—as suggested by theories of modern racism—it is not surprising that many believe that racial issues are sensationalized by the media or a problem created by the attention-seeking actions of minority group members themselves. Even though racial issues provoked concern for members of the majority group, clearly they appear less concerned for reforming an intolerant and unjust system, focusing instead on the divisive nature of protracted debates over racial issues.

For minority group members, especially African Americans, the majority group's overemphasis on society's inability to put aside racial issues must seem inappropriate and misguided. Instead of identifying the source of racial disharmony—racism, prej-

udice, and discrimination—many minorities see some majority group members blaming the victim or responding to debates on race relations in knee-jerk fashion. In sum, considering the data, the extent of cynicism and skepticism in the public on creating and sustaining a national community seems to reflect several decades of a rather contentious national deliberation on the significance of national, racial, and ethnic identity and, therefore, should not surprise us.

Indeed, contradictory trends seem to emerge concurrently in the data. A cross-race consensus on the importance of “traditional” values for unity and the divisive nature of race seems to be coupled with a marked contrast in racial attitudes on which values are important and why racial issues are divisive. We contend that the apparent similarities in participants’ initial conceptualization of what unites and what divides—American exceptionalism and race—mask divergent racial perspectives revealed in the explication of their attitudes. We also believe the data correspond to and delineate mixed messages found in current attitudinal research and theory on the public’s preferences for the construction of a common culture or sustaining cultural diversity.

For instance, Downey (2000) found that while blacks are more likely than others to support cultural blending, they are also more likely to voice support for cultural maintenance—attitudinal incongruity with which the findings of this paper align. The LSAF black participants were more likely than others to think nothing can “unite us,” clearly expressing distress over racial disharmony. Yet, they were still more willing than the others to advocate the reconciliatory power of humanitarianism. Presumably, countervailing aspirations for the realization of America’s promise of equality and the preservation of African American culture, coupled with an overriding devotion to the United States (even with its imperfections), appear to result in the polarization of the aspirations of blacks for cultural blending.

Moreover, although minority group members are more likely to support multiculturalism than members of the majority group, Citrin et al. (2001) found that in general a plurality of all racial groups prefer “just an American” identity over any particular racial and ethnic identification. Our findings bear this out. The allure of a unified society and national identity has widespread appeal, especially when framed in easily appropriated, symbolic forms. It is plausible our data and current research do not reflect public indecision on the virtues of a national community as much as they indicate a new period of public deliberation on the intersection of racial, ethnic, and national diversity—the vicissitudes of a public struggling to reestablish a consensus on what it means to be American.

Indeed, the analysis above calls attention to the appeal of ideals deemed to be honorable and exceptionally American. In fact, based on the analysis and congruent with Alba and Nee (2003), even in the face of racism and discrimination, cynicism, and dissolution, a set of universalizing mechanisms, embedded in social institutions and the culture, continues to stimulate cultural blending. In sum, ideals and traditional values must provide a lynchpin upon which many in the public hinge their aspirations for American unity, as communities of individuals on both sides of racial and ethnic boundaries respond to the unifying force of cultural ideals.

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NOTES

1. For a complete discussion of the Lilly Survey of Attitudes and Friendship (LSAF) and its methodology, refer to “Appendix: Description of the Study” in Yancey (2003) or Appendix C and D in Emerson (2006).
2. The LSAF research team attempted to minimize the possibility of regional, as well as other, effects influencing the representativeness of the sample. LSAF interviews were conducted in four different states (Texas, California, Michigan, and New York). The sample of interviewees includes: men (48 percent) and women (52 percent); ages 20–39 (40 percent), 40–59 (40 percent), 60–88 (20 percent); who hail from these U.S. census regions: Northeast (32 percent), Midwest (24 percent), South (21 percent), and West (23 percent).
3. We sometimes, though not often, abridge the statements of the participants to remove extraneous words and expressions in order to improve the readability of the quotation. However, the quotations are not deprived of their main content nor are any words added or altered, unless identified as such within the quotation.
4. The following quotation is situated in the Patriotic Spirit category. “I think patriotism is one thing. I think people are patriotic, even though a lot of them don’t really boast about it all the time, and that sort of holds them together.”
5. Besides “Race,” “Intolerance,” and “Cultural Diversity” responses—described in more detail above—the participants spent little time qualifying the responses situated in the other categories depicted in Table 2. Accordingly, we expect that the category titles are sufficient descriptors of response themes; therefore, we provide little explanation for how they are defined.
6. The following is an example of an “Intolerance” response: “I think the number one thing would have to be selfishness. Because when you think about yourself, you are only thinking of self-gratification. You are not thinking about other people, and I think people need to be a little bit more compassionate . . . kind of put themselves in another person’s shoes once in a while and just reach out to other people.” Below is a “Cultural Diversity” response: “I see a lot of segregation in the communities. Every city you go to, there are communities . . . which is a natural thing, but you see where the borders are and people aren’t so easy to accept others.”

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Examining Racial Differences in the Effects of Substance Abuse on High School Students' Academic Achievement

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Many studies document racial disparities in the American educational system, finding that white students generally outperform black students. Researchers justifiably focus on structural explanations for such disparities, but generally pay less attention to more proximate influences on academic achievement. However, studies have found that substance use negatively impacts adolescent academic achievement; other findings on race and substance use suggest that this relationship could be more damaging for black students. This paper uses National Education Longitudinal Study data to determine if substance use negatively impacts the academic achievement of high school students, and if black students are more negatively affected than whites. The analysis finds that substance use has a negative impact on academic achievement, even while controlling for a range of known influences on academic achievement. However, this relationship is not found to be more damaging to black students, probably due to white students' higher level of substance use.

A long line of social science research illuminates the importance of education for American youth. Education is strongly associated with many positive outcomes, including increased social mobility and wealth (Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992; Jencks 1972). Researchers have documented a variety of factors that influence academic performance, including social class and cultural capital (Lareau 2000), school characteristics (Lee and Bryk 1989), neighborhood effects (Garner and Raudenbush 1991), and race (Blau 2003; Kao, Tienda, and Schneider 1996; Lewis 2003).

Racial disparities in academics persist, particularly at the high school level, with whites generally outperforming blacks in various measures of achievement, including

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standardized test scores (Miller 1995), graduation rates (Warren 1996), and educational attainment (Kao and Thompson 2003). Parents' socioeconomic status (SES) explains a significant amount of the racial gap, but still leaves some variation unexplained (Bali and Alvarez 2003; Kao and Thompson 2003). Researchers have explored other factors to account for the racial disparity in achievement, including school-level factors such as segregation and school quality (Kozol 2005), teacher quality (Ferguson 1991), and teacher expectations (Ferguson 2000); neighborhood-level factors (Lopez Turley 2003); parental cultural capital (McNeal 1999); oppositional identity (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Ogbu 2004); and the influence of negative racial stereotypes (Steele and Aronson 1995).

In general, social science researchers have been less interested in student-level factors that impact academic achievement. However, a number of studies have identified the negative effects that substance use—smoking, drinking, and drug use—have on adolescent academic achievement (Codina and Yin 1998; Jeynes 2002; Mensch and Kandel 1988; Rob, Reynolds, and Finlayson 1990; Zimmerman and Schmeelk-Cone 2003). While few studies have considered substance use as a possible explanation for the lesser academic performance of black students, research suggests that black adolescent drinkers may encounter more alcohol-related problems than white adolescent drinkers, despite consuming less alcohol than their white peers (Bailey and Rachal 1993; Welte and Barnes 1987). In addition, research finds that black adolescents drink for more negative and troublesome reasons (e.g., to alleviate psychological distress rather than to celebrate) and in less socially approved settings (e.g., drinking alone or before school) than their white peers. Thus, it is important to consider if substance use contributes to blacks' poorer academic performance.

I analyze data from a large national survey to determine if substance use negatively impacts the academic achievement of high school students. I also test the hypothesis that substance use has a more negative effect on academic achievement for black students than for whites. Identifying the effects of an individual-level factor such as substance use can help schools identify problems that are more readily corrected than larger structural issues (e.g., neighborhood effects or the impact of families' socioeconomic status). In addition, examining racial differences in the relationship between substance use and academic achievement can help school officials tailor programs and policies to different audiences.

BACKGROUND

The Racial Gap in Academic Achievement

Education is an important factor in many life domains and is consistently linked to positive outcomes regarding social mobility and status attainment (Blau and Duncan 1967; Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992), the labor market (Coleman 1961; Jencks 1972), health (Ross and Chia-Ling 1995), and subjective well-being and happiness (Campbell 1980). Research has shown that some of blacks' relative disadvantage compared to whites stems

from their lower levels of academic achievement (Jencks 1972). In this light, the persistent racial gap in academic achievement is particularly troublesome.

Racial disparities in the academic achievement and educational attainment of blacks and whites have been a longstanding research focus (Jencks 1972; Jencks and Phillips 1998; Miller 1995). Regardless of how academic achievement or progress is measured, white students generally achieve at a higher level than black students (Kao and Thompson 2003). Although the gap has narrowed over the past several years, a substantial difference remains. For example, one study using a nationally representative sample of eighth graders found white students' grade point average (GPA) to be 8.5 percent higher than that of black students. Findings often show parental socioeconomic status accounting for much of the variation in student grades, but blacks' mean GPA was significantly lower than that of whites, even after controlling for parental education, income, household structure, and immigrant status (Kao, Tienda, and Schneider 1996).

Results are similar for standardized test scores. For over 30 years, the standardized test scores of black students have been lower than those of white students. The black-white gap has narrowed, but a disparity remains (Kao and Thompson 2003). Scores from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) tests, which have been given periodically to students in the fourth, eighth, and twelfth grades since 1971 and are known as the "Nation's Report Card," are illustrative here. In recent years, black twelfth-graders scored 13 percent lower than their white peers on the math portion of the test, and 9 percent lower than whites on the reading portion (National Center for Education Statistics 2003). Again, controlling for parental SES accounts for some of the racial gap but not all of it. The racial disparity in other standardized test results, including the Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT), is comparable (Kao and Thompson 2003).

While research finds parental SES and parental education to be the most significant factor in explaining the racial gap in academic achievement, researchers have identified a variety of other negative forces on the academic performance of black students, including social capital, school quality, neighborhood effects, discriminatory academic tracking and course placement practices, and a stigmatized, subordinate status that leads some black students to reject "white" attitudes and behaviors conducive to academic achievement in favor of an oppositional identity (Blau 2003; Ferguson 2000; Ferguson 1991; Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Kozol 2005; Lareau 2003; Lewis 2003; Lopez Turley 2003; McNeal 1999; Ogbu 2004; Steele and Aronson 1995). In short, black students are more likely than white students to have their educational opportunities and academic achievement negatively impacted by structural factors. Although structural factors play a powerful, negative role in the academic lives of black students, researchers should not overlook the potential impact of more proximate individual-level factors as well. One such factor is adolescent substance use.

Adolescent Substance Use, Academic Achievement, and Race

A number of studies have identified the negative effects that substance use—smoking, drinking, and drug use—has on adolescent academic achievement. Various forms of

substance use have been linked to dropping out, lower grades, lower standardized test scores, truancy, and learning and cognitive problems related to school achievement (Block et al. 1990; Codina and Yin 1998; Jeynes 2002; Mensch and Kandel 1988; Rob, Reynolds, and Finlayson 1990; Zimmerman and Schmeelk-Cone 2003). Researchers have also considered the question of causation, noting that poor academic achievement can lead to substance use (Barnes 1986; Dewey 1999; Maton and Zimmerman 1992). However, at least one review of the literature indicates that the majority of studies emphasize substance use as the causal force rather than vice versa (Jeynes 2002). This issue will be addressed further in the methods section.

Physiological effects may act as a key mechanism in the relationship between substance use and academic achievement. Adolescent alcohol and drug use can lead to loss of sleep, memory loss and impairment, depression, neuropsychological problems, and problems with cognitive functioning (American Medical Association 2003; Block et al. 1990). Jacobsen et al. (2005) found that teenage smokers had greater impairments with working memory and verbal memory. Further, this study found that male adolescent smokers performed worse during tests of selective and divided attention. Recent research also focuses on the damaging effects of smoking and drinking on the brain during adolescence, a key period for brain growth and development (Barron et al. 2005; White 2006). In one study, teenagers who drank frequently performed worse on a battery of tests of learning, memory, and visuospatial functioning than their control group peers (Brown, Tapert, Granholm, and Delis 2000). Motivation or school engagement can also act as an intervening variable—i.e., substance use can lead to lower motivation or school engagement (Brook and Newcomb 1995).

Few studies have considered possible racial differences in the relationship between substance use and academic achievement. This may be due to the fact that findings consistently show black youths engaging in substance use at a lesser rate than white youths (Parker, Calhoun, and Weaver 2000). For example, a 2001 Centers for Disease and Control report (Grunbaum et al. 2002) found that 31.9 percent of white students reported current cigarette use compared to just 14.7 percent of black students; white students (17.2 percent) were also more likely to be frequent smokers than black students (4.6 percent). White students were more likely than black students to report current alcohol use (50.4 percent to 32.7 percent) and “episodic heavy drinking” (34 percent to 11.1 percent). The racial gap was much smaller for marijuana use—24.4 percent of white students reported current marijuana use compared to 21.8 percent of black students (Grunbaum et al. 2002).

However, there are four reasons why the relationship between substance use and academic achievement may vary by race and may be more harmful to black students. First, black adolescent drinkers may encounter more alcohol-related problems than white adolescent drinkers, despite consuming less alcohol than their white peers. A large study of students in grades seven through twelve in New York found that black students who drank experienced more alcohol-related problems—defined as a range of behaviors, including conflicts with teachers or friends because of alcohol use, and driving while drunk—than white student drinkers *despite consuming less alcohol*

(Welte and Barnes 1987). Evidence from a longitudinal study of middle and high school students in a southeastern U.S. county found that blacks may suffer more serious consequences in terms of alcohol dependency and drinking-related social and behavioral problems (Bailey and Rachal 1993).

Second, black students appear to drink for more negative reasons than white students. Black adolescents are more likely to drink because of stress (Brannock, Schandler, and Oncley 1990) or to alleviate physical or psychological problems (Beck and Zannis 1992), whereas white adolescents are more likely to drink to enhance positive mood states (Brannock, Schandler, and Oncley 1990). Third, black adolescents are more likely than whites to drink in environments that are less approved by mainstream society. Black youths are more likely than whites to drink alone, at work, or before, during, or after school. Conversely, white youths are more likely to drink at parties, with friends, or with family (Stewart and Power 2003).

Fourth, the larger social context must be considered. American society is stratified by race—in general, blacks have poorer access to key resources such as quality education (Kozol 2005) and health care (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003), and blacks continue to face racism (Bonilla-Silva 2003) and discrimination in routine life settings (Feagin 1991). Notably, the negative effects of race are often independent of social class: blacks in the middle or upper-middle class continue to face racial discrimination in a range of social settings (Bonilla-Silva 2003; Cose 1993; Feagin 1991; Feagin and McKinney 2003; Pierce 2003). Specifically, black adolescents face a host of disadvantages. They are more likely to grow up in poor, single-parent families and live in impoverished, segregated neighborhoods (Massey 2001; Wilson 1996) and, thus, are more likely than their white peers to be victims of homicide and assault (McLoyd and Lozoff 2001), experience joblessness (Massey 2001), and fare worse on a number of health indicators (McLoyd and Lozoff 2001). Given the numerous challenges facing black adolescents in this racialized context, it is important to consider the possibility that unhealthy behaviors may harm black adolescents more than their white counterparts.

In sum, although black adolescents are less likely to engage in substance use than their white peers, they appear to do so for more troublesome reasons and in less socially acceptable settings, possibly suffering greater consequences as a result. Notably, this occurs in a society in which black adolescents and their families are often disadvantaged. In this context, black adolescents may be more vulnerable to the damaging effects of substance use.

Most studies on substance use, academic achievement, and race consider only a single population (Zimmerman and Schmeelk-Cone 2003) or examine race as a factor, while neglecting to examine potential interaction effects, wherein the relationship between substance use and academic achievement varies by race (Jeynes 2002). There is one exception: in a study of 30 school districts in Oregon and California, researchers found that alcohol use led to a higher risk of dropping out of high school for black students than for white students (Ellickson, Bui, Bell, and McGuigan 1998). Given that only 8 percent of their sample was black (with 71 percent being white), their conclusions regarding racial differences should be interpreted cautiously.

However, this article contributes to the relevant literature by examining racial differences in the effects of substance use on academic achievement.

I use national survey data to test two hypotheses. First, I hypothesize that increased substance use (smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, and smoking marijuana) has a negative effect on high school students' academic achievement, net of the effects of known influences on academic achievement. Second, I hypothesize that the negative relationship between substance use and academic achievement will be stronger for black students than for white students.

METHODS

Data

To test these hypotheses, I used data from the second follow-up of the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS). NELS is a nationally representative longitudinal data set collected by the National Center for Education Statistics at the U.S. Department of Education. NELS tracked a nationally representative cohort of eighth-grade students beginning in spring 1988. By the second follow-up early in 1992, most sample members were in the second semester of their senior year of high school. In addition to student surveys, NELS also contains information on the sample members' parents, teachers, school administrators, and academic transcripts. The response rate for the second follow-up was 92.5 percent (Curtin, Ingels, Wu, and Heuer 2002). The final unweighted sample used in this paper includes 8,454 respondents, composed of 7,522 whites and 932 blacks.

Dependent variables. Academic achievement was measured by students' scores on standardized tests assessing comprehension in four core subject areas: reading, mathematics, science, and social studies. The curriculum-based cognitive tests were designed by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) and administered as part of the NELS study (Curtin, Ingels, Wu, and Heuer 2002). The test scores were provided in standardized form with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 (the mean and standard deviation for the scores used in this study vary slightly because of missing values). Although standardized tests have been criticized for being biased by race and class (Jencks and Phillips 1998; Maume, Cancio, and Evans 1996; Orr 2003), they continue to be used by researchers to measure intelligence or ability, and they remain a predictor of attainment and labor market outcomes (Kao and Thompson 2003).

Independent variables. Substance use was measured by a scale composed of six items that considered the students' recent use of cigarettes, alcohol, and marijuana. The first item assessed how many cigarettes students reported smoking per day—categories included none, less than one, one to five, a half-pack, a half-pack to two packs, or more than two packs. Items two through five measured alcohol and marijuana use as determined by the number of occasions on which students used each drug in the past 30 days and past 12 months; categories included “none,” “1–2 occasions,” “3–19,” and

“20 or more.” A sixth item measured the number of times in the last two weeks the respondent had five drinks or more in a row.

The six items were combined into a scale with a Cronbach’s alpha coefficient of .81. Scale creation was guided by the literature, which consistently has found an association between smoking and drinking (Ritchey, Reid, and Hasse 2001), as well as a relationship between smoking, drinking, and the use of other drugs (U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services 2001; White 2006); the scale has also been used in previous sociological studies on substance use by high school students (Brunsmma and Rockquemore 1998).¹ Roughly 12 percent of the cases included a missing value on one of the substance use items. For this analysis, I used multiple imputation, a powerful, flexible approach to the problem of missing values (Schafer 1999). The UVIS (univariate imputation sampling) Stata module was used to impute missing substance use index values based on a multiple regression with race, gender, household structure, and *trouble* (described below) as predictors.

Control variables. Several variables control for known influences on high school students’ academic achievement. *Race* and *sex* are measured with standard items, and only blacks and whites are included in the sample. *Family SES* is measured by a composite NELS measure created from the parents’ education, occupation, and total household income. The SES variable is measured in centiles, which provides a clearer picture of the family’s class-based social location than the pure composite measure, which is less meaningful substantively. *Single-headed household* is a dichotomous variable indicating whether the student lives in a home with just one adult parental figure present. School quality and type are assessed by two dichotomous variables: *urban* and *private*, which are coded to one if the student attends an urban or private school, respectively.

Although a majority of studies on this topic have focused on the effects of substance use on academic achievement (Jeynes 2002), some studies have questioned the direction of causation, arguing that poor academic achievement leads to substance use, not vice versa (Barnes 1986; Dewey 1999; Maton and Zimmerman 1992). I control for possible selection effects by including the student’s *tenth grade standardized test scores* in each subject, collected during the first follow-up of the NELS study. The regression models used the appropriate score for each subject—for example, the tenth grade reading score is controlled for when predicting the twelfth grade reading score. While this method may not completely solve the common question of causality, it allows for a robust attempt at controlling for selection effects using a solid indicator of previous academic performance.²

Many deviance theorists argue that underlying factors explain deviant behavior and that a common cause may influence both substance use and poor academic achievement (for a brief review, see Zimmerman and Schmeelk-Cone 2003). Overall deviance is controlled for here by *trouble*, an item measuring the number of times the respondent got in trouble for not following school rules in the first semester of the current academic year. While it is true that some adolescents do not actually get

caught committing deviant acts, this factor has been used as a measure of deviance in other research on NELS data (Blau 2003).

Analytic Plan

NELS data are weighted to adjust for the complex survey sampling design, which involved stratification, disproportionate sampling of certain strata, and clustered, multistage probability sampling (Curtin, Ingels, Wu, and Heuer 2002). The weight allows one to project estimates to the population of all twelfth graders in the 1991–92 school year. All statistics presented here were calculated using Stata version 7.0. Stata software features commands that adjust standard errors to accommodate complex survey designs such as the NELS study (StataCorp 2001).

Multivariate models were estimated using ordinary least squares regression. As noted in the literature review, I expect interactions between race and several other variables, including the substance use scale. A Chow test of models with and without the explanatory variables interacting with race confirmed that separate analyses by race are valid (Chow 1960). Thus, separate regression models for blacks and whites are presented in the tables.³ T-tests to determine if the regression coefficients differ significantly by race were conducted using the formula $t = (B_{i1} - B_{i2})/\sqrt{SE^2_{B_{i1}} + SE^2_{B_{i2}}}$ (Pedhazur 1997).

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for all variables in the study using weighted data. The sample included 8,462 unweighted cases, for a weighted total of 1,259,234. Of the sample 87 percent is white, and 13 percent is black. The four dependent variables, standardized test scores from the twelfth grade, range from a minimum of 25 to a maximum of 71, and have means of 52. The mean of the substance use index is 3.96, with a range from 0 to 22.

Table 2 displays the bivariate distribution of the analysis variables by race. There is a significant association ($p < .01$) between race and all variables used in the study, with the exception of *private school*, which is significant at $p < .05$, and *female* and *trouble*, which are not significant. As noted in the literature, white adolescents generally drink, smoke, and use drugs at a higher rate than black adolescents—these findings are confirmed here. Black students have lower standardized test scores in both waves, come from families with lower SES, are more likely to live in a single-headed household and attend an urban school, and are less likely to attend a private school.

The multivariate regression results for the entire sample are shown in Table 3. Increased substance use has a consistently negative and significant ($p < .01$) effect on test results in all four subject areas, even after controlling for known structural, familial, school-related, and individual influences on academic achievement. *These results lend support to my first hypothesis that substance use negatively impacts academic achievement.* A comparison of the standardized beta coefficients for the significant variables

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for All Variables Used in the Analysis^a

	Mean (percentage)	SD	Min	Max
<i>Dependent Variables</i>				
12th grade test scores				
Reading	52.29	9.40	29.04	68.35
Math	52.59	9.46	29.88	71.49
Science	52.43	9.57	30.28	70.81
Social studies	52.38	9.51	25.75	70.26
<i>Explanatory Variable</i>				
Substance use	3.96	3.86	0.00	22.00
<i>Control Variables</i>				
Black (= 1)	(12.79)	—	—	—
Family SES (centile)	57.10	27.29	1.00	99.00
Female (= 1)	(49.52)	—	—	—
Single-headed household (= 1)	(19.41)	—	—	—
Urban school (= 1)	(22.66)	—	—	—
Private school (= 1)	(10.38)	—	—	—
Got in trouble at school	0.50	0.90	0.00	5.00
10th grade test scores				
Reading	52.59	9.55	30.61	68.8
Math	52.80	9.51	31.43	71.05
Science	52.68	9.70	31.72	72.54
Social studies	52.58	9.56	28.76	73.26
Unweighted N	8,462			
Weighted N	1,259,234			

^aAll statistics use weighted data.

shows that substance use is a stronger predictor than either gender or attending an urban school. The standardized coefficients also demonstrate that test scores from the previous wave are the strongest predictor.⁴ Overall, black students have lower test scores than whites, girls do better than boys, and family SES has a positive effect on test scores. Table 3 also contains variance inflation factor (VIF) statistics. None of the VIF values approach even the more conservative cutoff point of 5, thus multicollinearity is not an issue in these models.

Table 4 presents the multivariate results separately for black and white students. The most striking finding is the racial difference in the effects of the substance use index. For white students, increased substance use has negative effects on test scores in all four subject areas (all significant at $p < .01$). For black students, substance use is significant

Table 2. Means and Percentages of Analysis Variables by Race^a

	White	Black
<i>Dependent Variables</i>		
12th grade test scores		
Reading	53.12	46.58**
Math	53.57	45.87**
Science	53.61	44.40**
Social studies	53.22	46.64**
<i>Explanatory Variable</i>		
Substance use	4.18	2.46**
<i>Control Variables</i>		
Family SES (centile)	59.37	41.62**
Female (= 1)	(49.29)	(51.09)
Single-headed household (= 1)	(15.92)	(43.19)**
Urban school (= 1)	(19.86)	(41.70)**
Private school (= 1)	(11.13)	(5.29)*
Got in trouble at school	0.50	0.47
10th grade test scores		
Reading	53.42	46.90**
Math	53.83	45.77**
Science	53.83	44.81**
Social studies	53.36	47.30**
Unweighted N	7,530	932
Weighted N	1,098,178	161,056

*p < .05; **p < .01 for differences by race.

^aPercentages are noted in parentheses.

only for the science test score. However, as the t-tests indicate, the differences between the substance use coefficients for black and white students are not statistically significant. (The substance use coefficients in the math model are significantly different. However, the black coefficient is not significant on its own and is positive—it seems unlikely that increased substance use would actually increase math scores, as this coefficient indicates.) Nonetheless, there is a clear pattern of significance for whites and nonsignificance for blacks.⁵ *These results fail to lend support to my second hypothesis:* that black students are harmed more academically by substance use than white students, calling into question earlier research that finds black adolescents to be more negatively impacted by substance use than whites. As with the models presented in Table 3, multicollinearity is not an issue, as indicated by the low VIF values.

Table 3. OLS Regression Coefficients Predicting Academic Achievement

	Reading			Math			Science			Social Studies		
	b	B	VIF	b	B	VIF	b	B	VIF	b	B	VIF ^b
Substance use	-0.091**	-0.038	1.21	-0.079**	-0.032	1.21	-0.123**	-0.050	1.21	-0.110**	-0.045	1.20
Black (= 1)	-1.605**	-0.057	1.21	-0.374**	-0.013	1.23	-2.414**	-0.084	1.25	-1.938**	-0.068	1.20
Family SES (centile)	0.025**	0.071	1.26	0.017**	0.050	1.30	0.031**	0.087	1.26	0.037**	0.106	1.26
Single-headed household (= 1)	0.096	0.004	1.08	-0.307**	-0.013	1.08	-0.069	-0.003	1.08	-0.421*	-0.018	1.08
Female (= 1)	0.564**	0.030	1.07	-0.753**	-0.040	1.07	-1.272**	-0.066	1.09	-0.677**	-0.036	1.08
10th grade test score ^a	0.743**	0.755	1.27	0.879**	0.884	1.32	0.710**	0.720	1.32	0.689**	0.693	1.23
Got in trouble at school	-0.482**	-0.046	1.23	-0.361**	-0.034	1.23	-0.454**	-0.043	1.23	-0.473**	-0.045	1.24
Urban school (= 1)	0.642**	0.029	1.21	0.181	0.008	1.21	-0.032	-0.001	1.21	0.752**	0.033	1.21
Private school (= 1)	0.125	0.004	1.21	0.490**	0.016	1.21	0.552*	0.018	1.20	0.930**	0.030	1.21
Constant	12.159**			6.056**			14.916**			15.090**		
Unweighted N	8,462			8,462			8,462			8,462		
R-squared	0.673			0.852			0.656			0.610		

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

^aIndicates 10th grade test score for each respective subject (e.g., reading controls for reading).^bVariance inflation factor.

Table 4. OLS Regression Coefficients Predicting Academic Achievement by Race, and T-Test for Difference of Coefficients^a

	English			Math			Science			Social Studies		
	Black	White	T-value	Black	White	T-value	Black	White	T-value	Black	White	T-value
Substance use	0.004	-0.097**	1.395	0.030	-0.090**	2.460*	-0.144*	-0.124**	-0.282	0.031	-0.119**	1.864
Family SES (centile)	0.001	-0.042		0.009	-0.039		-0.045	-0.054		0.009	-0.051	
Single-headed household (= 1)	0.021**	0.025**	-0.569	0.012*	0.018**	-1.322	0.042**	0.029**	1.779	0.038**	0.037**	0.080
Female (= 1)	0.062	0.072		0.036	0.053		0.137	0.083		0.117	0.105	
10th grade test score ^b	-0.089	0.142	-0.585	-0.374	-0.265*	-0.414	0.222	-0.123	0.877	-1.452**	-0.146	-2.980**
Got in trouble at school	-0.005	0.006		-0.021	-0.011		0.013	-0.005		-0.083	-0.006	
Urban school (= 1)	0.329	0.595**	-0.689	-0.087	-0.854**	2.976**	-1.232**	-1.281**	0.128	0.196	-0.805**	2.349*
Private school (= 1)	0.018	0.032		-0.005	-0.047		-0.074	-0.070		0.011	-0.043	
Constant	0.788**	0.737**	2.308*	0.920**	0.873**	3.024**	0.749**	0.706**	1.788	0.703**	0.687**	0.654
Unweighted N	0.781	0.752		0.892	0.879		0.721	0.724		0.679	0.698	
R-squared	-0.143	-0.525**	1.613	-0.707**	-0.315**	-2.463*	-0.738**	-0.418**	-1.369	-0.303	-0.494**	0.725
	-0.013	-0.052		-0.066	-0.031		-0.074	-0.041		-0.029	-0.048	
	0.373	0.723**	-0.881	0.186	0.167	0.073	-0.755*	0.131	-2.254*	0.109	0.914**	-1.826
	0.020	0.031		0.010	0.007		-0.045	0.006		0.006	0.039	
	0.911	0.052	1.031	0.418	0.485**	-0.119	-0.086	0.530*	-0.750	2.199*	0.778**	1.537
	0.023	0.002		0.011	0.017		-0.002	0.018		0.056	0.026	
	8.487**	12.485**	-3.714**	3.641**	6.398**	-3.735**	10.637**	15.176**	-3.930**	12.237**	15.278**	-2.372*
	932	7,530		932	7,530		932	7,530		932	7,530	
	0.664	0.654		0.843	0.841		0.620	0.617		0.555	0.593	

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

^aUnstandardized coefficients are on the first line for each predictor. Standardized coefficients are underneath.^bIndicates 10th grade test score for each respective subject (e.g., reading controls for reading, math for math, etc.).

DISCUSSION

The goals of this article were twofold: to examine the effects of adolescent substance use on academic achievement and to explore racial differences in this relationship. I hypothesized that increased substance use—in terms of smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, and smoking marijuana—would have a negative effect on high school students' academic achievement, as measured by standardized test scores in the four core subject areas of reading, mathematics, science, and social studies. I also hypothesized, based on previous research and on the systemic racial inequalities embedded in American society, that this relationship would be more harmful to the academic achievement of black students than whites.

The results support my first hypothesis—increased substance use has a clear, negative, significant effect on test scores, even while controlling for influences on academic achievement noted in the literature, such as race, gender, family SES and household structure, deviance, school type, and relevant test scores from the previous wave of data. However, the findings did not support the second hypothesis. While the results confirmed previous findings that black adolescents are less likely to engage in substance use than their white peers, the findings do not demonstrate that substance use has a more negative impact on scholastic achievement for blacks than for whites.

For blacks, increased substance use significantly affected test scores in just one subject (science), and, overall, the substance use coefficients were not significantly different by race. However, the separate regression models *did* differ consistently by race in the opposite fashion: that is, increased substance use has consistently negative effects on achievement for white students, but not for black students. Although the substance use coefficients do not differ by race, the pattern of nonsignificance for blacks and significance for whites is worth noting.

This study confirms earlier findings that substance use negatively impacts the academic achievement of high school students (Codina and Yin 1998; Jeynes 2002; Rob, Reynolds, and Finlayson 1990; Zimmerman and Schmeelk-Cone 2003). Although students have many broader social forces impinging on their educational attainment, including their family's social class and household structure, school characteristics, and neighborhoods (Garner and Raudenbush 1991; Lareau 2000; Lee and Bryk 1989), more proximate individual behaviors play a part as well. Beyond the academic ramifications, substance use at a young age can cause other problems such as loss of sleep, memory loss and impairment, depression, and neuropsychological problems (American Medical Association 2003; Barron et al. 2005; Block et al. 1990; Jacobsen et al. 2005; White 2006). Families and school administrators are clearly justified in being concerned about adolescent substance use.

However, the findings of this study also suggest that those concerned about adolescent smoking, drinking, and drug use should consider racial differences while planning alcohol and drug prevention efforts. Despite earlier research that found substance use to be more harmful to black adolescents, this analysis provides no support for these claims. The findings presented here suggest that adolescent substance use is a far greater problem for white high school students than for their black peers.

Three potential limitations of this study should be noted. First, the substance use variables provided in the NELS data are problematic. The alcohol and marijuana items are provided by NELS in categories of “none,” “1–2 occasions,” “3–19 occasions,” and “20 or more occasions.” For the “last 30 days” variables, there would seem to be a substantial difference between using a drug three times in a month (less than once a week) and 19 times in the same period (more than every other day). Although the substance use scale used here yielded a high Cronbach’s alpha coefficient, a scale composed of continuous measures or items with a more detailed categorical breakdown might yield more helpful results.

Second, my analysis does not consider every factor that might possibly impact both substance use and academic achievement. Influences not included in this study include peer influences and social psychological factors (e.g., locus of control and self-esteem), as well as other potential influences on the racial gap in academic achievement, including stereotype threat (Steele and Aronson 1995) and oppositional identity (Fordham and Ogbu 1986; Ogbu 2004). Relatedly, while the models presented here attempt to demonstrate causality in the relationship between substance use and academic achievement by controlling for past academic performance and deviance, the question of causation might be better answered through more elaborate modeling on a data set that is better designed to address these issues. Nonetheless, these results identify substantially important findings on the effects of individual behaviors while controlling for a range of structural, familial, school-related, and individual factors in a model that remains parsimonious.

Third, the NELS data rely on self-reports of teenage substance use. Although studies increasingly confirm the validity and reliability of self-reports of adolescent substance use across racial and ethnic groups (Wallace et al. 2003), some researchers in this area remain cautious with their claims of generalizability (Bachman et al. 1991; Wallace et al. 1999).

This article confirms the importance of considering race when examining issues concerning substance use and the educational attainment of adolescents and high school students. While substance use is not likely to be a healthy behavior for any adolescent, white students are more likely to indulge and appear more likely to suffer from it academically. This is not an insignificant point in an era when negative media portrayals skew Americans’ perceptions of the delinquency of black youths (Blau 2003), when critics assail the media for conflating race and class in promoting the war on drugs (Banks 1997), and when the media and Hollywood are condemned for their overall negative portrayal of black adolescents (Giroux 2003). Future research on social problems, such as the one examined herein, should include more meaningful measures of social location while striving to explicate the interlocking nature of race, class, and gender. Also, future research on adolescents should endeavor to consider more fully the complete range of influences on adolescent behavior, including peers, families, neighborhoods, schools, and structural forces. A stronger understanding of the factors that influence our adolescents can only help to produce happier, healthier, and more productive adults in the long run.

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NOTES

1. An anonymous reviewer questioned the inclusion of cigarette smoking in the scale. The results of models using a substance use scale composed solely of the alcohol and marijuana items did not differ substantially from models using the full scale, for either the overall regression results as presented in Table 3, or the by-race results as presented in Table 4. Thus, the smoking item was kept in the scale in order to keep the models consistent with the previous literature. The results of these alternative models were made available to the reviewers and are available from the author upon request.
2. I chose not to utilize more elaborate methods of addressing the issue of causation (e.g., a system of equations) for two reasons. First, this article aims to respond to the previous literature (the majority of which identifies substance use as the causal force) using similar methods and data, while examining the impact of race that previous studies have mostly overlooked. Second, I attempt to examine the relationship of substance use, academic achievement, and race while retaining parsimony in the models. A full path model involving all of the possible influences on substance use and academic achievement is beyond the scope of this article.
3. The Chow test results are as follows: reading, $F(6,8127) = 2.903$; math, $F(6,8127) = 3.716$; science, $F(6,8127) = 3.137$; and social studies, $F(6,8127) = 3.119$. All values are greater than the critical F of 2.10 (at .05 level of significance).
4. At the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer, I tested the models without the test scores from the previous wave. When lagged scores are not included, substance use has a stronger effect, with unstandardized coefficients that are roughly two to three times higher, in each model (e.g., in the model using reading test scores, the effect of substance use increases from $-.091$ to $-.318$). While this could make for a stronger case for the first hypothesis, it also increases concerns about causality in the model. Thus, I chose to keep the lagged scores as a control.
5. An anonymous reviewer suggested that I examine two possible alternative specifications for the results involving black students. First, it was suggested that socioeconomic status might mask the effects of substance use for black students. This does not appear to be the case: the correlation between SES and substance use for black students (0.047) is not significant at $p < .05$, nor is the overall correlation between substance use and SES (0.016); the correlation between SES and substance use for white students (-0.023) is statistically significant. Second, the reviewer suggested that I test for an interaction between substance use and attending an urban school for black students in the within-race models. The interaction is only statistically significant at $p < .05$ when reading scores are the dependent variable, but including this interaction renders the main effects (substance use and urban school attendance) not significant. Thus, "urban schools" does not have a moderating effect on the relationship between race and substance use for black students.

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The Effects of Absolute and Relative Incomes on Job Satisfaction among Male Workers in Japan

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Using a series of cross-sectional surveys, we investigate the sources of job satisfaction among Japanese male workers from 1955 to 1985. Our analysis focuses on income and disentangles the net effects of absolute income versus relative income during a period of high economic growth. The results indicate that both absolute income and relative income have substantial effects on job satisfaction after controlling for the respondent's demographic characteristics, job position in the labor market, and year of the survey. This conclusion suggests the significance of both the traditional economic and sociological approaches to the study of well-being and job satisfaction.

Job satisfaction refers to the evaluation of the enthusiasm, pleasure, and contentment that a worker finds in his or her paid employment (Warr 1999). This social outcome is significant for several reasons. First, it is associated with overall life satisfaction in cross-sectional analyses (Kalimo and Vuori 1990; Loscocco and Spitze 1990; Melamed et al. 1995; Pugliesi 1995; Roxburgh 1996) and in longitudinal studies of workers changing jobs (Barnett et al. 1995; Karasek 1979; Martin and Wall 1989). Second, job satisfaction improves mental and physical health (Faragher, Cass, and Cooper 2005). Third, job satisfaction promotes more productive employment relations, including better job performance (Iaffaldano and Muchinsky 1985; Petty, McGee, and Cavender 1984; Shore and Martin 1989), reduced absenteeism (Farrell and Stamm 1988; Melamed et al. 1995; Spector, Dwyer, and Jex 1988), and lower turnover (Hom et al. 1992; Lee and Ashforth 1996).

Prior research has investigated how job satisfaction is affected by intrinsic factors such as whether job activities are inherently interesting, stimulating, meaningful, or

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appropriately challenging (Kalleberg 1977). Characteristics of jobs that researchers have studied include: variety and scope (Xie and Johns 1995), physical security (Campion 1988; Oldham and Fried 1987), opportunity for skill use (Campion and McClelland 1993; Sevastos, Smith, and Corderly 1992), personal control and autonomy (Spector and O'Connell 1994; Warr 1990), job demands and complexity (Melamed, Fried, and Froom 2001; Warr 1990; Williams, Gavin, and Williams 1996; Xie and Johns 1995), supportive supervision (Griffin, Patterson, and West 2001; Miles, Patrick, and King 1996), participatory management (Kim 2002), family-friendly work policies (Saltzstein, Ting, and Saltzstein 2001), labor unions (Bender and Sloane 1998; Heywood, Siebert, and Wei 2002; Schwochau 1987), gender segregation (Bender, Donohue, and Heywood 2005; Wharton, Rotolo, and Bird 2000), sexual harassment (Laband and Lentz 1998), and racial harassment (Shields and Price 2002).

In terms of extrinsic factors, the key variable that has been investigated is financial reward (Freeman 1978; Gruenberg 1980; Kalleberg 1977; Kalleberg and Loscocco 1983; Lincoln and Kalleberg 1990). Although this literature confirms the positive effect of income on job satisfaction, the issue that has not been adequately addressed is disentangling the effects of absolute versus relative incomes on job satisfaction. Previous research has simply investigated the net effect of income in general. Although useful, the latter approach is not specific about the particular process by which higher income increases satisfaction.

JOB SATISFACTION AND ABSOLUTE VERSUS RELATIVE INCOME EFFECTS

If people with higher incomes derive satisfaction primarily because of their increased power to purchase goods and services *per se*, then increases in incomes for a population will tend directly to increase satisfaction for everyone who enjoys any income growth. This sort of process is typically assumed by economists when they specify a utility function in which well-being is deemed proportional to one's absolute income. As stated by Firebaugh and Tach (2005:6), "this is called the absolute income effect because happiness depends only on one's own income, and not on the income of others."

On the other hand, many sociologists would argue that at least part of the satisfaction of having a higher income derives from its social significance. In particular, the capacity to consume more goods and services *relative to others in society* may be a significant factor in accounting for increased satisfaction. In this case, relative income increases satisfaction rather than absolute income *per se*. If relative income has a significant effect, then the total population-level increase in satisfaction due to economic growth will be discounted to the extent that relative incomes remain unchanged.

Although prior research has not distinguished between absolute and relative income effects in regard to job satisfaction, previous studies on overall life satisfaction have verified the significance of this distinction (Easterlin 1974; Firebaugh and Tach 2005; Frank 1997; Rainwater 1974; Scitovsky 1976). Firebaugh and Tach (2005:6) describe it this way:

[I]f richer people are happier because of what money can buy, then the unprecedented income growth of the past two centuries should have led to unprecedented growth in human happiness. The fact that subjective well-being or happiness has not increased as rapidly as material well-being worldwide over the past two centuries suggests that the slope of the absolute income by happiness curve is not very steep. . . . Indeed, many observers believe that the absolute effect of income on happiness is now close to zero in the United States and other rich countries.

Relative income is assumed to have no significant net effect, however, in the standard utility function that is the basis of contemporary economics (Pindyck and Rubinfeld 1992; Scitovsky 1976). Mainstream economists appear to resist the entire concept of social comparison as somehow representing a veiled normative claim against inequality (Cogan 1995). In any event, microeconomics simply assumes that income increases utility (i.e., subjective well-being, satisfaction, or happiness) and that all of this increase is due to the absolute income effect. Unfortunately, this assumption is usually taken as an a priori starting point for economic theory, rather than as a proposition that should be empirically verified and investigated.

In contrast, sociologists often err in the opposite direction. Although rarely discussed explicitly by sociologists, the implicit utility function that they seem to be using is that well-being is only a function of relative income, at least for developed nations (Rainwater 1974:24–25). That is, sociologists tend to ignore absolute incomes among countries where the standard of living is already high. This approach is most clearly evident in the sociological literature on social mobility in which occupation is almost exclusively used as the indicator of socioeconomic origins and destinations precisely because occupation exhibits a fairly consistent relative (i.e., ordinal) ranking across time and nations (Featherman and Hauser 1978; Treiman 1977), despite wide variation in absolute incomes. Any discussion about absolute incomes has been traditionally eliminated from sociological analyses of social mobility.

Summary statements of social stratification similarly emphasize income inequality in terms of the level of scale-invariant dispersion (e.g., the Gini coefficient) that effectively rules out the significance of absolute incomes (Kerbo 2006). Sociological analyses of racial, ethnic, and gender inequalities are usually considered in percentage terms (Farley 1996; Kilbourne, England, and Farkas 1994). A currently popular class theory argues that occupations are the core of social stratification, inequality, and exploitation (Grusky 2005). In these sociological investigations, absolute incomes are almost entirely ignored both empirically as well as theoretically.

In order to improve our understanding of the complex but important issue of job satisfaction, our primary theoretical objective is to estimate the net effects of absolute and relative incomes on job satisfaction. That is, we seek to estimate *the net effect of absolute income on job satisfaction controlling for relative income* as well as *the net effect of relative income controlling for absolute income*. There is no obvious reason to assume a priori that the net effect of absolute income is mutually exclusive with respect to the net effect of relative income. Both may be significant, at least to some degree. At the very least, this

issue should be empirically investigated, especially given its critical welfare and policy implications.

We investigate the sources of job satisfaction using Japanese data from cross-sectional surveys conducted in 1955, 1965, 1975, and 1985. These data provide an excellent opportunity to disentangle the net effects of absolute and relative incomes. Absolute incomes increased dramatically over this period, during which the Japanese economy experienced a great deal of development and expansion. The information provided by these data is, furthermore, highly compatible across these decades. Each cross-sectional survey is known to be of high quality, as well as nationally representative.

In defining relative income, however, the issue immediately arises as to which group an individual is compared. Because one's relative income refers to one's income as ranked or differenced in comparison to the incomes of others, the definition of who specifically constitutes the comparison group (i.e., who the "others" are) will affect the calculation of one's relative income—in short, income relative to whom? This issue is also known as the problem of determining the appropriate reference group (Festinger 1954; Hyman 1942; Merton and Kitt 1950; Pollis 1968; Shibutani 1955).

The study of reference groups has not received a great deal of research attention in recent years, but we suspect that previous studies are probably correct in surmising that individuals may have multiple reference groups (Liu and Sakamoto 2005; Merton 1957; Merton and Kitt 1950). The social psychological processes associated with multiple reference group comparisons are, however, undoubtedly highly complex. Unraveling these complexities is a task beyond the scope of this analysis, because the data that we use mostly refer to socioeconomic and demographic characteristics (rather than detailed information on social psychological responses).

Our approach is to use one of the most basic and widely relevant reference groups, namely, the entire national labor force. While there are obviously other possible reference groups (such as other workers with a similar age, education, occupation, or region), the entire national labor force is certainly relevant to most people including Japanese workers. Lacking much prior empirical research to build upon—indeed we know of no prior publication that shares our main research objectives in the study of job satisfaction—our investigation must necessarily begin with the most plausible and fundamental assumptions. Thus, our analysis is based on the entire national labor force as the comparison group. We do not rule out or preclude the possibility that comparisons to more specific reference groups may have additional effects, but we leave that more specialized research task for future studies that may build upon our efforts here.

CULTURE, WORK, AND JOB SATISFACTION IN THE JAPANESE CONTEXT

As explained below, our definition of relative income is based on the national male labor force. This gender-specificity is appropriate due to the low level of female labor force participation and the extremely high level of gender segregation in the Japanese economy during the period of our study when there were no legal protections against

gender discrimination in employment in Japan. From 1955 to 1985, female workers were almost exclusively relegated to dead-end jobs that were usually restricted to women but were supervised by men. A strong cultural norm also prevailed, requiring women to resign their employment when they married (Rohlen 1974). Indeed, traditional gender roles and gender segregation were so pronounced in Japan during this era that most of our survey data do not even include information on women as independent workers in the labor force. For these reasons, our calculation of relative incomes assumes that male workers are comparing themselves to other male workers, because during the middle part of the twentieth century in Japan, their reference group is unlikely to include female workers.

From a general cultural point of view, previous research has portrayed Japan as being (at least compared to the developed Western nations) a relatively closed society in which individuals have a higher sense of group identity and place a relatively lower priority on individual independence (Nakane 1970; Reischauer 1977; Smith 1983). Viewing itself as an “island country” (i.e., *shima kuni*), Japan has carefully guarded its borders and minimized and regulated foreign influences (Reischauer and Craig 1978). Immigration to Japan has historically been quite low, and recent studies observe a continuation of this trend, especially in comparison to the United States (Mouer and Kawanishi 2005). Until as late as the middle nineteenth century, Japan was essentially an isolated feudal society that lacked any experience of foreign conquest. In contrast to the history of modernization in Western societies, Japan has not undergone centuries of cultural evolution promoting the rights of the individual vis-à-vis the state or religious institutions. In sum, Japan has been widely regarded as a more group-oriented society that has maintained a significant portion of its traditional cultural values when compared to the United States.

Consistent with a greater proclivity toward group identity and community during the decades of our data, Japanese workers tended to place a greater emphasis on their companies, employment, and coworkers as sources of personal satisfaction (as compared to American workers). Male Japanese workers had long-term employment relations with their companies, particularly in larger firms where the “lifetime employment system” is most applicable (Cole 1972; Hashimoto and Raisian 1985). These long-term employment relationships facilitate a stronger and broader social bonding between workers and their companies (Dore 1973; Rohlen 1974). Accordingly, Takezawa and Whitehill (1981) surveyed workers in American and Japanese companies and found that Japanese workers were almost 3.5 times more likely than American workers to rate their company lives as equal to or greater in importance than their personal lives. Although the reported differential is not quite as high, the same basic conclusion is noted by Lincoln and Kalleberg (1990).

Associated with this greater emphasis on their work roles, Japanese workers probably also had greater expectations about their work, as well as a higher level of organizational commitment (Cole 1979; Lincoln and Kalleberg 1990). Cole (1979) argued that these greater expectations resulted in reduced job satisfaction. When workers are very motivated and committed with high expectations about their companies, fulfillment is harder to achieve. That is, high expectations may breed discontent in Japan

whereas Americans are typically easier to satisfy because for them work is more likely to be “just a job” that is not as important as their personal lives. Thus, several surveys have found that Japanese workers are significantly less satisfied with their jobs than American workers are (Lincoln and Kalleberg 1990).

This brief summary of work in Japan during the twentieth century generally assumes that Japanese culture is more traditional and group-oriented than American culture. While we believe that this assumption is largely valid for the period of our data, in recent years significant changes have taken place that could call into question the accuracy of this conventional description of Japanese society (Mouer and Kawanishi 2005). While one could certainly debate the extent to which Japan in the twenty-first century can still be characterized as being a more traditional society, for our purposes the essential characterization of Japanese culture as placing greater emphasis on group identity (at least relative to the United States during this same time frame) remains, however, a reasonable and relevant background consideration because our data refer to the period from 1955 to 1985.

Given the maintenance of a relatively more homogeneous and traditional culture that emphasizes group identity over individualism during this era in Japan (as compared to the United States), the issue arises as to whether absolute income has any effect at all on job satisfaction. That is, given the Japanese context of a highly group-oriented culture, one would expect the net effect of relative income to be greater than the net effect of absolute income. The significance of absolute income—though often ignored by sociologists—would be forcefully underscored if it has an important effect on job satisfaction even during this time period in Japan.

RESEARCH METHODS

As discussed above, our research objective is to estimate the net effects of absolute and relative incomes on job satisfaction among Japanese male workers. Investigating these effects with cross-sectional data is not, however, methodologically straightforward due to the problem of multicollinearity. For any given sample of individuals at a particular point in time, absolute income is highly correlated with relative income. To the extent that a person has a higher absolute income, then he will also necessarily have a higher income relative to others. Indeed, if one’s relative income is measured as one’s deviation from mean income (i.e., $X_i - \bar{X}$), then the inclusion of this term into a regression model that also includes X_i (i.e., absolute income) will not be statistically identified—it will be characterized by *perfect* multicollinearity—because $(X_i - \bar{X})$ is a linear function of X_i (i.e., it is subtracted by a constant to obtain relative income).

We overcome this methodological complication in two ways. First, instead of using the deviation from the mean, we use the cumulative percentile ranking associated with X_i to indicate relative income. For example, if one’s income is equal to the median income for the given year, then one’s relative income is defined as being equal to .50. Or, if one’s income is greater than or equal to the incomes of one-third of the

sample in the given year, then one's relative income is defined as being equal to .33. Although still highly correlated, the cumulative percentile ranking is not an exact linear function of absolute income (i.e., X_i) in contrast to the deviation from the mean. The cumulative percentile is also appropriate theoretically, because it indicates relative income by directly ranking one's income in relation to the incomes of others.

More importantly, our analysis uses cross-sectional data sets from four different decades over which absolute incomes tended to significantly increase. For this reason, an absolute income of given value will have a substantially different relative ranking depending on the year. For example, \$7,000 would be considered a high income (i.e., above the median) in 1955, but it would be considerably below median income in 1985, by which time the standard of living had substantially risen in Japan (Shikamata 1990). Thus, by including data from four different decades characterized by different average income levels, our analysis reduces the correlation between absolute income and relative income that is inherent at any one point in time. Previous research has been unable to follow this approach because comparable measures of job satisfaction and other relevant socioeconomic information are not so widely available for different years.

Data

The data that we use are the 1955, 1965, 1975, and 1985 Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) Surveys of Japan. We can combine these data sets for the estimation of our statistical models because these surveys are generally compatible as they were designed with that consideration in mind by sociologists in Japan. The SSM data were obtained by multistage probability sampling methods (Ishida 1993). Table 1 shows the variables used in the analysis.

The dependent variable for our statistical models is *job satisfaction*. This variable is obtained from responses to the survey question, "If possible, do you want to change your current job, or are you satisfied with your current job?" The possible responses provided by the survey include "satisfied," "neither satisfied nor unsatisfied," or "unsatisfied." Due to the clear ordinal ranking of this dependent variable, we use the ordered logistic regression model to estimate the effects of independent variables (Powers and Xie 2000).

The analysis is restricted to men between the ages of 20 and 69 who were employed (students and the unemployed were deleted) and whose income data are not missing. Male workers of all economic classes are included (i.e., employees, self-employed, and family workers). After deleting students, unemployed men, and missing cases on personal income or job satisfaction, the total sample size is 6,252 (after combining all four cross-sectional data sets).

As has been discussed, the two independent variables of primary theoretical interest are absolute income and relative income. Absolute income refers to total personal income during the year prior to the survey and is adjusted by the Japanese Consumer Price Index to reflect 1985 prices (in terms of constant 1985 Japanese yen). Relative income, as discussed above, refers to the cumulative percentile ranking of absolute

Table 1. Description of Variables Used in the Analysis

Variable Names	Measurement and Description of Variables or Categories
Dependent variable	
Job satisfaction	Ordered categorical variable with 3 levels
Independent variables	
Absolute income prices	Personal absolute income in terms of 1985 prices
Relative income rank	Personal relative income in terms of cumulative percentage
Age	Years of age
Age squared	The square of age
Years of schooling	Years of schooling completed
Log of firm size	Log of total number of workers in firm
Married	Dichotomous variable with currently married = 1
<i>Occupation</i>	
Professional	Dichotomous variable with professional occupations = 1
Manager	Dichotomous variable with managerial occupations = 1
Clerical	Dichotomous variable with clerical/office occupations = 1
Sales	Dichotomous variable with sales occupations = 1
Miner	Dichotomous variable with mining occupations = 1
Farmer	Dichotomous variable with farmers, tenant farmers, fishing occupations, and forestry occupations = 1 (reference group = transport, skilled, security, and service occupations) ^a
<i>Class or employment type</i>	
Government worker	Dichotomous variable with government worker = 1
Self-employed	Dichotomous variable with self-employed = 1
Family worker	Dichotomous variable with family worker = 1
<i>Year</i>	
1955	Dichotomous variable with 1955 = 1
1965	Dichotomous variable with 1965 = 1
1975	Dichotomous variable with 1975 = 1 (reference group = 1985)

Source: Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) Survey of Japan, 1955, 1965, 1975, and 1985.

^aReference group also includes production workers in the manufacturing sector.

income across male workers during the given year. In order to facilitate interpretation, we enter absolute income and relative income as standardized scores (Z scores) in the regression models, using the means and standard deviations for the entire sample across the four decades of data.

The other independent variables include age, age squared, years of schooling, marital status, occupational category, firm size, and economic class category or employment type. Age effects on job satisfaction have been found in previous research (Kalleberg and Loscocco 1983; Lincoln and Kalleberg 1990), including some evi-

dence for a nonlinearity (Oswald 1997). Regarding education, lower job satisfaction has been reported among Japanese workers with more schooling (Lincoln and Kalleberg 1990). Being a general demographic characteristic that may influence expectations about employment, marital status is included as a dichotomous variable. Additional dichotomous variables are used to indicate different occupational categories in order to allow for the effects of possible intrinsic sources of job satisfaction associated with different work skills. Particularly in the Japanese labor market, firm size for workers in the private sector has long been regarded as an important variable (Cole 1979; Hashimoto and Raisian 1985; Mouer and Kawanishi 2005). Another dummy variable is used to indicate government workers for whom firm size is not defined. In order to control for possible economic class (i.e., employment type) effects, dummy variables are also included for the self-employed and for family workers (with paid employees being the reference group for class).

Our regression model also controls for the survey year. Dichotomous variables are included to indicate 1955, 1965, and 1975 with 1985 serving as the reference category. We control for each year of data separately because our focus is on estimating the net effects of absolute and relative incomes per se. Job satisfaction may change over time if recent cohorts of workers have higher expectations than older cohorts of workers. These dummy variables furthermore control for all other period effects.

EMPIRICAL RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2 shows the statistics for income and the frequency distributions for job satisfaction. As is evident in Table 2, mean absolute income for men has steadily increased in our data from 1,203,600 yen in 1955 to 4,164,600 yen in 1985. These figures are adjusted for inflation as they are in terms of constant 1985 Japanese yen. They indicate real growth in mean absolute income by a factor of 3.46. Although the real

Table 2. Annual Income Statistics and the Distribution of Job Satisfaction by Year

	Combined Sample	1955	1965	1975	1985
Satisfied	54.78	52.40	58.65	53.56	53.56
Neither	31.88	32.38	30.03	33.25	31.26
Unsatisfied	13.34	15.21	11.32	13.19	15.17
Mean absolute income ^a	2,778,100	1,203,600	2,216,300	3,362,600	4,164,600
Mean relative income	55.65	58.41	52.99	57.29	53.27
Sample size	6,252	1,124	1,758	2,388	982

Source: Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) Survey of Japan, 1955, 1965, 1975, and 1985.

^aAbsolute income statistics are in terms of constant 1985 Japanese yen.

growth is higher when these figures are first converted into U.S. dollars using the official exchange rates of the period, we avoid this conversion due to inaccuracies created by major changes in the setting of exchange rates during this era.

In terms of relative incomes, their means by construction do not change much across these decades. That is, the mean for a distribution of cumulative percentiles (i.e., when scored exactly as 1, 2, 3 . . . 100) is necessarily 50.5 for any given year. The means on relative incomes, therefore, do not significantly change much across these decades. They are relatively constant and fluctuate only slightly around an overall mean of 55.65. The observed means are a little higher than 50.5 due to rounding errors and the number of tied scores on income (incomes that are measured as being exactly the same) that reflects the degree of precision with which income is measured in the particular survey year. In sum, the change in mean relative income across the decades is numerically trivial and derives only from rounding errors.

Table 2 also shows the frequency distribution of job satisfaction for Japanese men during these decades. The distributions are fairly stable throughout the period with slightly more than one-half stating that they are "satisfied" and about one-third stating that they are "neither satisfied nor unsatisfied" in each year. The remainder refers to those who are "unsatisfied" and they represent less than one-sixth in each year. The finding of slightly more than half of Japanese male workers reporting that they are satisfied with their jobs is consistent with the results from other Japanese surveys during this time period, although, as noted above, this figure is lower than what is typically found for American male workers during that era (Lincoln and Kalleberg 1990).

Additional descriptive statistics are shown in Table 3. The mean age for the four decades of data is about 40 years. The mean years of schooling completed are 10.50. At the time of the survey, 82 percent of the respondents were currently married while 8 percent were professionals, 6 percent were managers, 15 percent were clerical workers, 12 percent were sales workers, 1 percent were miners, 10 percent were farmers, and 49 percent of the workers were in the reference category for occupation (transportation, skilled, safety and service workers). About 7 percent were employed in governmental agencies and 15 percent were self-employed. Less than 2 percent of the sample consisted of family workers.

From an aggregate point of view, the results in Table 2 suggest the greater importance of relative income. Although mean absolute income increased substantially over this period, job satisfaction remained stable. Because relative income also remained stable, the aggregate pattern of job satisfaction more closely corresponds to the aggregate pattern for mean relative income than for mean absolute income. Scitovsky (1976:135) observed a similar pattern for aggregate income and aggregate self-reported happiness in U.S. data and commented that "the obvious explanation would be that one's happiness depends on where one stands in relation to the Joneses and not at all on one's absolute standard of living."

Scitovsky (1976) is quick to note, however, that this conclusion is probably overly simplistic, because individual sources of satisfaction are probably too complex to be accurately ascertained by the trend in a few aggregate statistics. A more multivariate approach at the individual level is needed in order to control for a richer set of rele-

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Mean	St. Dev.
Age	40.199	11.957
Age squared	1,758.900	1,023.040
Years of schooling	10.498	2.964
Married	0.823	0.382
Log of firm size	1.798	2.548
<i>Occupation</i>		
Professional	0.079	0.269
Manager	0.060	0.237
Clerical	0.146	0.353
Sales	0.119	0.324
Miner	0.007	0.085
Farmer	0.103	0.304
(transport, skilled, safety, service)	0.486	0.500
<i>Class or employment type</i>		
Self-employed	0.151	0.358
Family worker	0.017	0.130
Government worker	0.073	0.261
<i>Annual income</i>		
Absolute income	2,778,061	2,684,837
Relative income	55.652	28.100
1955	0.180	0.384
1965	0.281	0.450
1975	0.382	0.486
(1985)	0.157	0.364

Source: Social Stratification and Mobility (SSM) Survey of Japan, 1955, 1965, 1975, and 1985.

Notes: Reference categories are shown in parentheses. N = 6,252.

vant independent variables. For this reason, we estimated regression models that are facilitated by the use of individual-level data on job satisfaction.

Results for Logistic Regression Models

Results for the ordered logistic regression models are shown in Table 4. For reference purposes, Model 1 includes the respondent's absolute income and his relative income as the only independent variables. These variables are standardized in order to facilitate interpretations in terms of standard deviation units. The results for Model 1 indicate that controlling for relative income, a standard deviation increase in absolute income increases the odds of job satisfaction by 16.3 percent. Controlling for absolute income, a standard deviation increase in relative income increases the odds of job satisfaction by 30.8 percent.

Table 4. Estimates of Ordered Logistic Regression Models for Job Satisfaction

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
Absolute income	1.163***	1.156**	1.338***
Relative income	1.308***	1.373***	1.251***
Age		0.943***	0.947**
Age squared		1.001***	1.001***
Years of schooling		0.986	0.969**
Married		0.950	0.939
Professional			1.504***
Manager			1.181
Clerical			1.100
Sales			1.031
Miner			0.811
Farmer			0.850
Log of firm size			1.028
Government worker			1.193
Self-employed			1.005
Family worker			1.448
1955			1.152
1965			1.563***
1975			1.232
Pseudo-R ²	0.018	0.022	0.027

Notes: Reported odds ratio refers to the anti-log of the estimated coefficient. The reference category for occupation includes workers in transportation, manufacturing, security, and services as well as other miscellaneous skilled workers.

*Significant at the 0.05 level; **significant at the 0.01 level; ***significant at the 0.001 level (two-tailed tests).

Demographic characteristics (i.e., age, schooling, and marital status) are included as control variables in Model 2 in Table 4. The odds ratios for the net effects of absolute income and relative income change only slightly. In Model 2, the net effect of absolute income is 15.6 percent, while the net effect of relative income is 37.3 percent. These results indicate (as does Model 1) that relative income has a larger net effect than absolute income (when considered in terms of standard deviation units) and that this conclusion is not explained away by basic demographic variables.

The full specification is Model 3 in Table 4. Net of the effects of income, demographic characteristics, firm size, government employment, self-employment, being a family worker, and year, professionals have substantially higher job satisfaction. Their odds of higher job satisfaction are 50.4 percent greater than among transportation, skilled, safety, and service workers. Because this figure represents a net effect that controls for all of the aforementioned variables, this result suggests that the intrinsic fea-

tures of professional work increase satisfaction. The net effects for the other occupational groups are not, however, statistically significant at conventional levels.

Other results for Model 3 indicate that an increasing age raises job satisfaction (i.e., the quadratic term for age is greater than unity and statistically significant). Job satisfaction is, in general, greater in 1965 than in 1975 and 1985, which were recessionary years. Net of the effects of income, occupation, and the other variables, more education slightly reduces job satisfaction. The coefficients for firm size, government employment, self-employment, and being a family worker are not, however, statistically significant.

The effects of absolute and relative incomes in Model 3 are somewhat different from those in Model 2. After controlling for demographic characteristics and labor market variables, the effect of absolute income is larger. Specifically, a standard deviation increase in absolute income increases the odds of job satisfaction by 33.8 percent (controlling for relative income and the other independent variables). However, the estimated net effect of relative income is smaller in Model 3 than in Model 2. Controlling for absolute income and the other covariates, a standard deviation increase in relative income increases the odds of job satisfaction by 25.1 percent.

In sum, the net effects of absolute income and relative income are both statistically and substantively significant (Models 1, 2 and 3). When controlling for demography, labor market variables, and year, then the estimated net effect of absolute income is slightly larger than the estimated net effect of relative income (Model 3). When labor market variables and year are not taken into account, however, relative income has a larger net effect than absolute income (Models 1 and 2).

CONCLUSIONS

Using a unique series of cross-sectional surveys, we have analyzed the sources of job satisfaction among Japanese male workers from 1955 to 1985. Focusing on income, our investigation disentangled the net effects of absolute income versus relative income during a period of high economic growth. The results indicate that both absolute income and relative income have positive effects on job satisfaction even after controlling for demographic characteristics, job position, and year of the survey. Although both net effects are substantively large and statistically significant, the estimated net effect of absolute income is slightly larger than that of relative income after controlling for year and labor market variables.

These results suggest the importance of the traditional approaches of *both* sociology and economics to the study of well-being and job satisfaction. Economists are usually interested in efficiency and focus on absolute income, while sociologists' concerns with inequality lead them to emphasize relative income. Rather than being mutually exclusive considerations, however, our results indicate that both aspects of income are significant for understanding job satisfaction in Japan.

What is perhaps most notable about our findings for sociologists is the significance of absolute income. The estimated effect of absolute income is substantively and statistically significant in each of our regression models. In the full specification, the net

effect of absolute income is actually larger than relative income. Although sociologists have traditionally ignored absolute income, our results bring into question whether it should simply be assumed to be irrelevant.

Furthermore, Japan during this period is often described as having a traditional culture that provides a stronger sense of a distinctive community, emphasizing group identification over individualism. That an important net effect of absolute income (after controlling for relative income) is still evident even in the Japanese context underscores the significance of this source of job satisfaction. This conclusion raises the issue as to whether absolute income might be even more important in individualistic cultures such as the United States that place greater emphasis on individual achievement and self-fulfillment.

Future research might extend our analysis to other countries. Other measures of relative income could also be considered. Because our measure is based on cumulative percentiles, it does not identify the monetary distances between workers at different rankings in the distribution of income. Our approach cannot determine how an increase in income inequality might affect the distribution of job satisfaction. This issue is important for future research, however, as income inequality is increasing in the United States and absolute income gains have been very unevenly distributed (Kim and Sakamoto 2008; Morris and Western 1999). Future research may build upon our efforts here to investigate how changes in absolute incomes and income inequality have affected job satisfaction.

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Workplace Dispute Resolution in the Homecare Industry: The Triangle of Worker, Client, and Manager

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This study explores contrary predictions of workers' dispute resolution strategies by examining three different types of homecare businesses: a conventional, hierarchical business that is run for profit; a hierarchically organized charity; and a worker-owned, worker-managed cooperative. Some literature asserts that the structure of the organization will impact how workers address their workplace disputes. However, other literature argues the structure and culture of the industry will have greater influence than organization on workplace dispute resolution. The data in this study imply that the industry effects had the greater impact in the homecare industry. Members of the worker cooperative did not exhibit different dispute resolution behaviors; workers at all three businesses described similar dispute resolution strategies. The triadic structure of the homecare industry (employee-patient-manager), the clients' physical dependency on service, and the intense loyalty of workers to clients obviated the need for many formal grievance strategies. In addition, the supportive managerial culture of the industry facilitated easy informal dispute resolution, resulting in workers at the cooperative, private hierarchy, and charity all favoring informal resolution over raising formal grievances, exiting, or toleration. These findings highlight the importance of including industry effects in employee dispute resolution research.

This article explores how the structure and culture of the homecare industry affects workplace dispute resolution behavior. In contrast to the predictions of some scholars that businesses organized as worker-owned would have substantially different dispute resolution behavior from conventional businesses, workers in all three businesses (conventional, charity, cooperative) reported similar dispute resolution strategies. Rather than tolerating problems, raising formal grievances, or exiting to avoid disputes—as do workers in other industries—the homecare workers resolved their disputes informally.

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This specific behavior might be these homecare workers' main dispute resolution strategy because homecare involves caring for vulnerable clients who would be negatively affected by some disputing strategies—particularly exiting and filing formal grievances. Managers and employees both worked to avoid these disruptions, thereby limiting the dispute resolution options available to workers. Additionally, the culture of the industry allows for sufficiently successful informal dispute resolution so that quiet toleration of disputes is not necessary, leaving informal dispute resolution as an appealing and accessible option for homecare workers, regardless of the structure of their employers' particular businesses.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Scant research has investigated the effect of the structure of the organization and the industry on how workplace disputes are addressed. However, both could be important factors. Some literature suggests that flattening organizational hierarchy will change how employees resolve their workplace disputes. Other literature rejects this possibility, implying that flattening the organizational hierarchy is not sufficient to alter fundamental dynamics of dispute resolution. Finally, other literature emphasizes the importance of the industry structure and culture in creating dispute resolution norms that are unique to the particular industry.

The Importance of Organizational Structure

Hierarchical organizations. Some scholars assert that the structure of the organization, more so than qualities inherent within individuals, promotes workplace activism (Pateman 1970). Pateman argues that workers in oligarchic organizations will be apathetic and passive, while workers in organizations that foster participation will respond with greater activism. Pateman maintains that people have a natural desire to control their own destiny, and, therefore, naturally prefer activism over passivity (see also Hodson 2001). People lack activism in oligarchic settings when they have not learned the necessary skills through prior participation in democratic organizations. She argues that, despite workers' natural tendency toward activism, without the necessary skills of democratic participation, they will not demand participation (Pateman 1970).

Research on conventional, hierarchical organizations has found that aspects inherent in the organizational structure can severely limit employees' attempts to raise concerns (see Edelman, Uggen, and Erlanger 1999; Felstiner, Abel, and Sarat 1980–81; Grillo 1991; Hirschman 1970; Hodson and Sullivan 2002; Hoffmann 2003; Miller and Sarat 1981; Morrill 1995; Silbey and Sarat 1989). For example, employees might hesitate to raise formal grievances because (1) they fear that the struggle is “unwinnable” against the “tyrannical power” of managers (e.g., Bumiller 1988); (2) they are intimidated by managers or other powerful parties when raising the dispute as a grievance (Grillo 1991); (3) they contend with morale- and confidence-deflating managers (Hodson 2001); (4) they face a more strategically savvy managerial opponent (Galanter 1974); (5) they doubt the effectiveness of raising grievances

(Hirschman 1970); or (6) they need to convince unsympathetic formal grievance gatekeepers (Gwartney-Gibbs and Lach 1994b).

These factors might be particularly true for women workers (Bumiller 1988; Calhoun and Smith 1999; Grillo 1991; Gwartney-Gibbs and Lach 1994a). Additionally, by symbolizing legality, the employer's dispute resolution processes provide legitimacy to the employer and the employer's practices and diminish the strength of employees' rights and concerns; this increases workers' difficulties in an internal dispute resolution because the workplace's dispute process reaffirms management's position as unquestionably correct (Edelman, Uggen, and Erlanger 1999).

Worker cooperatives. Proponents of cooperatives would claim that such difficulties may be eliminated or reduced in a different type of organization: where the structure of the organization is flattened and workers enjoy greater equality. Worker cooperatives are businesses with flattened hierarchies, in which all employees are owners and all owners are employees; employees serve as worker-managers to run the business. In addition to these structural differences, worker cooperatives usually adhere to an egalitarian ideology that all members of the cooperative are equal (Cornforth, Thomas, Lewis, and Spear 1988; Linehan and Tucker 1983). A worker cooperative is wholly owned by its workers, without outside stockholders, in contrast to more mainstream uses of the cooperative concept, such as employee stock option plans (ESOPs) and employee management programs.

One way the flattened structure of a cooperative workplace could change workplace dispute resolution is if workers and worker-managers both perceive themselves as "on the same side," working toward the same goals, and engaging in interest-based bargaining. Indeed, some researchers emphasize that interest-based bargaining, sometimes referred to as cooperative interdependence, rather than rights-focused bargaining, significantly increases successful dispute resolution (Tjosvold, Morishima, and Belsheim 1999).

Tjosvold, Morishima, and Belsheim (1999) identified three types of goal interdependencies: cooperation, when people believe their goals are positively linked; competition, when people believe that goal attainment by others diminishes the likelihood of their own goal attainment; and independence, when people believe that their goals are unrelated. Cooperative goals—in contrast to competitive and independent goals—promote open-minded discussions of disputes that result in resolutions that are mutually beneficial to both supervisors and employees, while workers in competitive interdependence were "closed-mouthed, inefficient, dismissed new ideas, and developed solutions that worked against employee interests" (Tjosvold, Morishima, and Belsheim 1999:59). The cooperative supervisors and employees were often willing to compromise, assist each other, and work for a successful resolution to problems.

Although previous scholarship on cooperatives (e.g., Cornforth, Thomas, Lewis, and Spear 1988; Honigsberg, Kamoroff, and Beatty 1982; Linehan and Tucker 1983; Mackin 1997; Rothschild and Whitt 1986; Thornley 1981; Tucker 1999) does not address dispute resolution strategies specifically, some inferences can be made. This literature suggests that workers and managers in cooperatives might be more likely to

share similar goals and enjoy cooperative interdependence. In contrast, employees and managers in more conventional, hierarchical settings might be more likely to be in competition with, or independent from, one another, having antagonistic or indifferent relationships with their coworkers. Additionally, because each co-op worker is also an owner, each should be empowered to assert her or his needs, feelings, and frustrations without experiencing many of the barriers that would-be disputants experience in conventional, hierarchical organizations (see Bumiller 1988; Galanter 1974; Grillo 1991; Gwartney-Gibbs and Lach 1994a; Hirschman 1970; Hodson 2001; Pateman 1970). In addition, the constraints of gender norms that affect grievance resolution (see Blumenthal 1998; Hoffmann 2005; Oerton 1996; Welsh 1999) should be eliminated or reduced, since cooperatives, acting on their egalitarian ideals, make efforts to assist members to move outside of societally prescribed gender roles (Cornforth, Thomas, Lewis, and Spear 1988).

On the other hand, merely changing the employment situation to a worker cooperative might not substantially improve workplace dispute resolution. One could infer that worker cooperatives, if they succeed as viable businesses, will fail as substantially different alternatives to conventional businesses and so will demonstrate little difference in dispute resolution strategies (see, for example, Lipset, Trow, and Coleman 1956; Michels 1962; Weber 1946).

Furthermore, worker cooperatives could even exacerbate workers' inability to address disputes. For example, if workers perceive the needs of the cooperative as being more important or more valid than their individual needs, they may hesitate to raise problems and bring grievances forward. Some literature on cooperatives (although not on dispute resolution specifically) suggests that the collective-focused ideology could dissuade cooperative members from asserting their own rights and concerns, sublimating them to a perceived collective or organizational good (Kleinman 1996; Rothschild and Whitt 1986; Tucker 1999).

Bumiller's (1988) work on grievances in hierarchical organizations further supports this as a potential hurdle for dispute resolution in worker cooperatives. She found that workers who did not raise formal grievances, despite having official rights to support their positions, often held the belief that the authority responsible for the unjust action was benevolent and would not deliberately harm them.

Such beliefs may be even more pronounced in cooperative workplaces where collective-oriented workers might be hesitant to perceive other members of the cooperative or the cooperative itself as responsible for unfair treatment or unjust situations. However, by assuming this type of paternalism, a would-be grievant may accept unfair actions and conditions, perhaps to an even greater extent than in conventional organizations, even more severely inhibiting their ability to assert their needs and rights at each stage of the grievance process (Bumiller 1988; Felstiner, Abel, and Sarat 1980–81).

The Importance of Industry

Other studies suggest that the particular industry might affect what dispute resolution strategies employees use (Davis 1959; Dennis, Henriques, and Slaughter 1956; Gutek

and Morasch 1982; Reskin, McBrier, and Kmec 1999; Swerdlow 1989; Toiskallio 1941). For example, Swerdlow's (1989) work on women rapid transit workers examines an industry with somewhat unique disputes. The transit industry she studied employed few women, so the female workers struggled to make places for themselves in this predominantly male industry. Swerdlow's findings suggest that industry, or at least industry composition, could affect the type of disputes that different categories of workers encounter as well as what sort of strategies these workers might rely on to resolve them.

Davis's (1959) and Toiskallio's (1941) studies of the taxicab industry discuss how the physical proximity and psychological nearness of the taxicab driver to the customer often make "the urban taxicab a site of conflict" (Toiskallio 1941:100). This research argues that the cab itself creates industry-unique conflicts over such issues as physical space and atmosphere within the cab. These scholars imply that other industries that do not involve the unique one-on-one, semi-intimate, "captured" nature of the relationship between the taxicab driver and the customer will not encounter similar workplace disputes.

Research by Kahn (1993) and by Marshall, Barnett, Baruch, and Pleck (1991) on the homecare industry describes the amount of stress involved in homecare work. Many homecare clients are sick, disabled, or so elderly that they require assistance in day-to-day living. The emotional labor involved in this industry makes homecare work particularly difficult for some people and could affect the types of disputes that workers experience.

The work of Reskin, McBrier, and Kmec (1999) has documented how industry-specific factors, such as the composition of the qualified labor pool and qualifications for jobs in various industries, affect the race and gender composition of organizations within those industries. Similarly, Gutek and Morasch's (1982) research shows how the ratios of women to men in different industries affect the pervasiveness and forms of sexual harassment in the workplace.

SAMPLING AND METHODS

Sample

Homecare work refers to assistance in the home provided by nonmedical staff. Homecare workers usually work with people who have physical and/or mental disabilities. These workers do not administer medicines or do any nursing; they help their clients do what they would otherwise do for themselves: take sponge and full baths, cook meals, clean, dress, get out of bed, use the toilet, stay continent, shop, and go for walks. All three businesses had some clients who paid for their own care and others for whom a third party (such as the government or insurance) paid.

Sometimes homecare workers went individually to clients' homes. Other times, they worked in pairs. Homecare was often done in pairs when the work required difficult physical tasks, such as lifting the client.

In between visits, as well as at the beginning and end of their work days, homecare workers often spent time at the main offices of their agencies. Some workers kept personal items at the office that they wanted access to during the day, but that they did not wish to take with them to client visits. Others simply wanted a place to pass the time when they did not need to be at a client's home. Others came to the office to check on their schedule or speak with a manager and then stayed awhile to socialize. During these periods, workers spent time with their coworkers in the common break rooms and other areas of the offices.

In order to compare the effect of different organizational structures, I studied three different businesses representing three types of homecare agencies that I refer to as: (1) Private Homecare, which was owned by two women and run for profit, (2) Charity Homecare, which was run as a local charity, not-for-profit, and (3) Cooperative Homecare, which was collectively run and owned as a worker cooperative for profit. All of the homecare businesses employed mostly women: Private Homecare, 91 percent; Charity Homecare, 90 percent; Cooperative Homecare, 82 percent. Although these businesses were not all located in the same cities, their cities were quite similar: somewhat small (approximately 300,000 population) with a diminished manufacturing economy and significant unemployment (Church 1996).

The size of each homecare business in this study was relatively small. Private Homecare employed 44 workers, while Charity Homecare was somewhat larger with 51 workers. The size of Cooperative Homecare was between these two with 45 workers.

The pay scale at each of these businesses was modest, although not unusually low in relation to pay scales for other similar work in the same towns (Church 1996). The hourly wage at the time of this study was approximately \$6.50 at Private Homecare; \$7.00 at Charity Homecare; and \$6.50 at Cooperative Homecare. In addition to wages, each Cooperative Homecare worker earned one share of the business (after six months of employment), which entitled the worker to a vote.

I conducted 49 interviews: 14 at Private Homecare, 10 at Charity Homecare, and 25 at Cooperative Homecare. I did not identify a specific group of workers whom I knew to have had "disputes" but spoke to all interviewees about their workplace experiences generally. I included a wide variety of interviewees to maximize the range of problems and experiences, as well as the variety of solutions and expectations to be included in this study. My sample includes present and former employees, managers, and worker-managers. Interviewees also differed in terms of length of employment, sex, race, age, level of education, and socioeconomic status. With careful sampling and by analyzing interviewees' repeated themes, I am confident that my findings are well triangulated and valid. Although these interviewees were not statistically representative of all the workers at their individual organizations, the diversity of this sample is helpful in developing conceptual models. Table 1 shows the sample organizations and interviewees.

Methods

One of the key benefits of qualitative studies is the potential for high validity: the researcher can understand the greater context, obtain a large overview, and triangulate the accounts of differently situated interviewees with various bases of knowledge.

Table 1. Sample Organizations and Interviewees

	Type of Organization	Location	Interviewed	Total Employees
Private Homecare	Conventional hierarchy	Midlands (UK)	14 (32%)	44
Charity Homecare	Hierarchical charity	Coventry (UK)	10 (19%)	51
Cooperative Homecare	Worker cooperative	Sunderland (UK)	25 (55%)	45

In gathering data for this study, I interviewed workers, observed behavior, read related documents and articles, attended business meetings and dispute hearings, and participated in aspects of some businesses.

All interviews were conducted in person, using a set of open-ended questions as initial probes on a wide variety of work-related topics. The main focus of the interviews was how the interviewee would handle potentially grievable circumstances. Some subjects drew on past actions, while others spoke only of anticipated future actions. Thus, the discussion of various dispute resolution strategies refers both to anticipated future behavior or reported past behavior.

Most of the interviews were conducted in public places or in private spaces at the companies themselves. Most lasted between thirty and ninety minutes. All interviews and most site observations were tape-recorded and transcribed, so all statements used here are direct quotes. These data, interview transcripts, and field notes were analyzed with the aid of the qualitative data software NVivo. Generally, I approached interviewees myself, rather than requesting volunteers to come forward. Since a significant focus of this study is the raising of grievances, interviewing only those inclined to step forward could create an unrepresentative sample of perspectives on dispute resolution behavior. The assertiveness and extroversion necessary to volunteer to be interviewed by a stranger may be correlated with both attitudes on raising grievances and ability to resolve disputes. I arranged certain interviews in advance with key people and workers from underrepresented groups within the organization whom I wanted to be certain to include.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: DISPUTE RESOLUTION STRATEGIES

Dispute resolution behavior includes four distinct strategies: formal dispute processing, informal dispute processing, toleration, and exit. “Formal dispute processing” refers to any disputes resolved through official action, such as raising a complaint through a company’s grievance procedures. “Informal dispute processing” can be similar, but is resolved through negotiation rather than a formal procedure. “Toleration”

is taking no action to resolve problems, but involves developing coping skills or greater tolerance of the problems. “Exit” refers to leaving the job as a way to solve the workplace problem. In this study, “exit” refers specifically to quitting one’s job as a dispute resolution behavior—not merely leaving for reasons unrelated to workplace disputes.

Although toleration and exit are not means for *resolving* disputes, they are, nevertheless, options for handling disputes. When workers faced workplace problems but could not or would not try to resolve them, formally or informally, they either learned coping skills and allowed the problems to continue (toleration), or quit and left the problem, as well as the job, behind them (exit). Thus, when considering how a worker might approach a workplace problem, one must think beyond simply “formal” or “informal” means and recognize all four possible strategies workers could employ.

Industry Structure and Culture Effects: The Homecare Industry

Rather than evidencing strong organizational effects, as suggested by some of the worker cooperative literature, data from the homecare businesses imply that industry effects might have greater influence on workers’ dispute resolution strategies. Even though the three homecare businesses had different organizational structures (a worker cooperative, a hierarchically organized not-for-profit charity, and a hierarchically organized for-profit private business), their workers described similar dispute resolution strategies.

Instead of raising formal grievances, developing toleration skills to cope with problems, and exiting to avoid disputes—as earlier scholarship documents is typical of workers in other industries—the homecare workers resolved their disputes mainly through *informal* means. The data suggest that this dispute resolution pattern results from the structure and culture of the homecare industry, rather than from the different organizational structures. Because homecare involves caring for vulnerable clients who would be negatively affected by some disputing strategies—particularly exiting and making formal grievances—managers and employees both worked to avoid these disruptions, limiting the availability of formal dispute resolution by the workers. Moreover, the culture of the industry allowed for sufficiently successful informal dispute resolution that toleration strategies were not necessary.

This use of informal resolution, with little reliance on toleration, exiting, or formal grievances, is unique. Other scholars have found that workers usually employ a variety of dispute resolution strategies (e.g., Dennis, Henriques, and Slaughter 1956; Galanter 1974; Gwartney-Gibbs and Lach 1994b; Hoffmann 2003; Hoffmann 2006; Miller and Sarat 1981; Tjosvold, Morishima, and Belsheim 1999). Even in businesses and industries where *formal* grievances are rare, employees still rely on toleration techniques and quitting—often in addition to informal dispute resolution—to address their workplace problems (e.g., Felstiner, Abel, and Sarat 1980–81; Gwartney-Gibbs and Lach 1992; Hoffmann 2005).

Informal disputes. In the homecare industry, workers in the three different types of homecare businesses preferred to resolve disputes informally rather than through formal grievance procedures (see Table 2). Their statements were remarkably similar. The

Table 2. Dispute Resolution Strategies

	Formal Processing	Informal Processing	Toleration	Exit
Private Homecare	7% (n = 1)	100% (n = 14)	14% (n = 2)	7% (n = 1)
Charity Homecare	20% (n = 2)	90% (n = 9)	20% (n = 2)	20% (n = 2)
Cooperative Homecare	12% (n = 3)	84% (n = 21)	16% (n = 4)	16% (n = 4)

Note: Percentages sum to greater than 100 because the categories are not exclusive; some interviewees mentioned more than one dispute resolution strategy.

confidential identification number for each interviewee is shown in parentheses after each quote below.

As did many workers at all three businesses, this woman from Cooperative Homecare explained that she resolved problems at work informally: “We can all talk. If there’s a problem, it’s not like they’re the big managers over there and you’re just nobody. We can all work things out. You just say what’s going on, or maybe someone talks to you if maybe you’ve done something. It’s not a hard situation. Everyone can talk about things” (122).

Echoing the emphasis on informal dispute processing, a woman at Private Homecare stated that sometimes people forget themselves and one must be patient. This is why, she explained, she always tried to resolve issues informally: “You have to talk. If someone does something or doesn’t do something that they should, you have to remind them. You have to speak up but you have to be patient because everyone has other things going on [outside the job]. You need to talk when there’s a problem” (074).

Similarly, the workers from Charity Homecare spoke about resolving disputes directly and informally: “When there’s a problem, I go [directly and confront the situation]. You can’t just let something happen, you have to come forward. There’s nothing bad about that. And if you’ve done something, they’ll come and talk [directly] with you” (019). Thus, their dispute resolution strategies were remarkably similar. Their workers consistently mentioned informal dispute resolution as the main way to resolve disputes.

In discussing how conflicts were managed, workers often explained that they could resolve issues informally with their supervisors because they enjoyed good relations with them. Homecare workers at all three businesses spoke of feeling well-supported with easy access to their managers. For example, this 55-year-old woman at Cooperative Homecare contrasts how accessible her supervisors are at her present homecare job with those at her previous job in a nursing home:

[Here] you can just come in and have a good chat. You can just go talk to them, just pop in and say, “Oh can I have a word with you, Ellen?” [At my previous

job] you had to knock on the door, wouldn't you? It's more like a distance between you, when you have to go at somebody's office and knock on the door. You'd have to ask him, "Is it convenient?" It's going to be more official rather than just having a little chat. Different from when you just sort of like pop in and have a cup of coffee with somebody (083).

The easy access to her present supervisors made her feel that less formal interactions were more possible than at her previous job.

When describing the process of conflict management, nearly all the homecare workers emphasized that the encouraging and understanding manners of the supervisors contributed to their ability to rely so heavily on informal dispute processing. Research on care work emphasizes the importance of managers' supportiveness in buffering the workloads and emotional demands of caregiving work (Abel and Nelson 1990; Kahn 1993). The nature of care work often demands that workers are accessible to clients emotionally, physically, and intellectually. As discussed more below, this can be very demanding and can create very meaningful relationships between care workers and clients (Marshall, Barnett, Baruch, and Pleck 1991). Kahn reports that care workers perform best when they receive the same level of support and nurturance from the organization as they are expected to provide to clients (1993). Similarly, workers "felt frustrated and angry when superiors inappropriately withheld care" (Kahn 1993:545).

Exit. Exiting was not an option regularly considered by the workers at the three homecare businesses. When they did cite this as an option, it was generally voiced as a last resort. For example, this member of Cooperative Homecare contemplated her hierarchy of options in considering future workplace problems: "I think I'd try and work it out first with the cooperative. If I couldn't get anywhere then, and I just didn't like the situation at all, I don't know whether I would bring [our labor union] into it. If I really felt necessary, I might. The very last option would be to leave. But hopefully that wouldn't happen" (005). At most, 20 percent of the homecare workers at Charity Homecare said they would consider leaving as a response to a dispute; 7 percent at Private Homecare and 12 percent at Cooperative Homecare voiced similar opinions.

Toleration. Describing how they handled their workplace conflicts, homecare workers at all three sites seldom discussed dispute resolution strategies that included toleration (14 percent at Private Homecare, 20 percent at Charity Homecare, 16 percent at Cooperative Homecare), emphasizing their preference for informal dispute processing. Sometimes the strategies of toleration and informal dispute processing merged. An example of this was when a worker disliked an assignment, but no substitute could be found immediately. In situations such as this, the worker often discussed the situation with the manager(s) and reached an agreement to be switched as soon as this was possible (informal resolution), but, until the switch, the worker had to cope with the arrangement temporarily (toleration). In this way, the client received the necessary care, but the care worker's difficulty was also addressed. The following

description by a young woman from Cooperative Homecare offers an example of this situation: “There was one place I particularly didn’t want to go back to. I came in and said to [a worker-manager] I’m not that happy about going there, but [I then agreed that] I’ll do it if you can’t get anyone, because I knew how bad it was to get people, especially on short notice” (111).

Workers at all three businesses emphasized that coping with an unpleasant situation was rarely necessary, because one could usually switch out of such situations easily. For example, a woman at Private Homecare said: “If you are not happy in an assignment, you don’t have to go. [The managers] are very good about that. You want to like where you’re going, otherwise you’re not doing your best, are you? So, if you’re not happy, you can change to a different assignment quite easily” (172). Indeed, the managers of all three businesses emphasized that they made great efforts to quickly move workers out of unpleasant situations, trying to ensure that workers liked their placements. This was done not only out of concern for worker morale, but as a practical matter in order to deliver quality service to the clients.

Formal disputes. As with exiting and toleration, very few homecare workers anticipated using formal procedures to resolve disputes (7 percent at Private Homecare, 20 percent at Charity Homecare, 12 percent at Cooperative Homecare). This reluctance to raise formal disputes stemmed from both the workers’ and managers’ belief that formal disputes were disruptive and adversely affected client care. Such actions, they asserted, divert caregivers’ and managers’ efforts away from their “most important duty”: caring for their clients. Formal dispute resolution options that would severely disrupt care—such as slow-downs, working-to-rule, or striking—were not even mentioned. Other formal options, such as raising formal grievances, were mentioned only as options that they and their coworkers rarely considered. For example, a formal grievance to refuse to visit a specific client for a valid employment reason (e.g., harassment by the client, health concern, overscheduling) would directly disrupt care and so would be seen as putting concern about workplace problems above concern for clients. Nevertheless, at each business workers were aware that the formal procedures were an option. A man at the cooperative homecare business described how he and his coworkers can resolve problems informally, but emphasized that he’s glad the formal procedure is available: “We have a whole formal procedure, but I don’t think anyone’s used it. We can all talk together. We can work things out [informally]. But it’s good to have the formal procedure, just in case” (012). However, the homecare workers in this study were not opposed to formal disputes being raised by other workers in different occupations. Indeed, approximately one-third of the interviewees responded that they had brought a formal grievance, or been part of a grievance, at *previous* jobs.

Industry Effects on Dispute Resolution Strategies

In contrast to literature that implied that the structure and culture of the *organization* would have the greatest impact on workers’ dispute resolution strategies, the data from these homecare businesses suggest that, for this industry, the structure and culture of the *industry* might be more important. Although three differently organized

homecare businesses were studied—a worker cooperative, a charity, and a for-profit private business—all workers expressed similar informal dispute resolution strategies. The combination of several distinctive characteristics of the homecare industry may account for this: (1) the triadic structure, (2) managerial stress of filling shifts, (3) workers' emotional bonds with clients, (4) workers' self-sacrificial loyalty to clients, and (5) the industry culture of procedural justice and moralistic relationships with clients having time-sensitive needs.

Triadic structure of the homecare industry: managers, workers, clients. An important factor in why the industry appears to be more important than the organization in workplace disputes may be the triadic structure of the homecare industry. In the other industries, workplace conflict generally involves two parties, the worker and the manager, or the worker and another worker (see Hoffmann 2001; Tjosvold, Morishima, and Belsheim 1999). But labor issues in the homecare industry involve three parties: the worker, the manager, and the client. Unlike in other industries, in homecare, the managers are concerned about staffing shifts, and the workers are similarly concerned that the clients receive timely and appropriate service. Research on nurses, teachers, and nannies (Abel and Nelson 1990; Grimwood and Popplestone 1993; Marshall, Barnett, Baruch, and Pleck 1991) indicates that managers often exploit workers' concern for their patients, students, and charges to avert disputes from formal processes. With formal grievance options thwarted in this way, homecare workers have only informal means to resolve disputes.

Although other caregiving work, such as that in nursing homes, also has this triangular structure, the triadic relations in the homecare industry are particularly acute. The individual caregiver-client relations in homecare are between individual workers and clients, rather than being diffused across many caregivers and many patients in, for example, nursing home wards. Thus, these homecare worker-client relations may be more intense—creating greater loyalty and stronger bonds between worker and client, as discussed below—and so can be more powerfully exploited.

Managerial stress of filling shifts. Because the homecare industry deals with people with time-sensitive needs, managers and owners face staffing challenges that those in most other industries do not. These staffing pressures compel managers to do whatever they can to ensure that all shifts are adequately filled, including deterring formal grievances and exiting, since these behaviors could leave shifts unstaffed.

When the data on how conflicts are managed in these three homecare businesses are compared with findings from other industries, the pressure on management is even more obvious. Unlike other industries such as the coal industry (Hoffmann 2001), the auto industry (Gruber and Bjorn 1982), and the taxicab driving industry (Hoffmann 2003), should a staffing problem occur at a homecare business, the greatest risk is not lower coal output, fewer cars, or waiting passengers, but bodily, possibly fatal, injury to clients. Elderly or disabled clients might fall trying to do for themselves what a care worker should help them do: bathe, cook, or get out of bed.

These consequences severely intensify the anxiety for managers who risk missed shifts due to labor problems. Even in the similar business of nursing homes, staffing is a less frantic concern, since workers can, and often do, watch additional “beds” if a particular shift is understaffed.

However, homecare workers cannot easily cover coworkers’ missed shifts, since this would involve extensive travel time to the additional clients’ homes—a much more difficult circumstance than supervising another nursing home hallway. As echoed by managers at the other two businesses, the manager at Charity Homecare explained how stressful it is to oversee sufficient staffing.

If it’s moving smoothly—because a lot of the care attendants have regular work they do every day or every week, then it’s [only] a matter of covering those [shifts]. But if somebody goes off sick at quarter to eight in the morning and they should be doing a day’s work, then obviously that’s a real headache to arrange. At the end of the day, you’ve got to cover it, because we’re going in to vulnerable people, often with either a long-term health problem or a disability. It’s not like saying, “Well, I won’t do that paperwork today, but I’ll do it tomorrow.” There’s somebody needs to be got out of bed or put to bed. Can’t leave them to stay in bed all day, can you? It’s got to be done, even if I’ve got to go and do it myself (022).

She emphasized that keeping all shifts covered is vital by adding that she does the work herself in emergencies.

One of the two owner-managers at Private Homecare described a recent situation where a client’s scheduled visit was missed. She, like other managers, feared that such action could result in injury or death.

The thing is, last night, a Mrs. [name] was missed. She was fine. Great. But that person could have died because [she] didn’t have that call. Anything could have happened. That person could have fallen downstairs from the top to the bottom and be dead. It really has to be brought home: it is a big, big responsibility that the staff have. There’s no getting away with it. There’s not many jobs where you are so responsible. To most staff it comes very, very natural. If you’re that type of person that cares enough, everything comes natural (071).

She concluded that the staff was generally capable of this high level of responsibility and caring. Interestingly, this Private Homecare owner emphasized the responsibility of the care workers, not the managers, unlike the Charity Homecare manager’s statement, which focused on her own responsibility. The Private Homecare owner even stated, as did other managers and workers, that these homecare workers were “naturally” suited for this responsibility, because they seemingly *cared enough*.

This view, often shared by both labor and management, that homecare workers were “extra special” because they “cared so much,” could easily be exploited. The combination of intense pressure on management to have perfect staffing and the potential to exploit the caregivers’ ethic of responsibility leads to a high level of emotional

manipulation by management in order to control labor. An important aspect of this emotional manipulation included channeling all disputes to informal methods, specifically avoiding formal grievances and abrupt exiting that could disrupt staffing.

Although this emotional manipulation is not the sole dynamic, managers' capitalizing on workers' emotions to lessen management difficulties may be a key aspect of managing a homecare business, as demonstrated by the businesses in this study. For example, one of the worker-managers at Cooperative Homecare described how she appealed to workers' sense of "the bigger picture" when they wanted more money or better hours.

Much as they might be nice people, they still got their own agenda. As an individual—and [since] it's approaching Christmas—they want money. They got pressures on them financially, 'cause it's not a well-paying job. And they see the wrong circumstances and forget the bigger picture. I try to tell them about the bigger picture. Sometimes it works. Sometimes it doesn't (069).

She explained that if Cooperative Homecare raised the wages it paid, even as a cooperative, they would have to raise the rates they charged, resulting in losing government contracts and becoming too expensive for clients who pay out-of-pocket. By reminding the workers of the importance of their work to their clients, the managers could appeal to their sense of altruism—in the above scenario, to work for less pay, or in other situations, to resolve a dispute informally rather than exiting or bringing a formal grievance.

Workers' emotional bonds with clients. Reminders about the needy clients who depend on their homecare workers deterred formal grievances and exiting, partly because of the strong emotional bonds between worker and client, mentioned by nearly all interviewees. For example, a woman at Private Homecare explained that she feels that developing strong emotional bonds with clients is inevitable: "You're always going to get close to them, at least to some of them. You can't not. You see them often—sometimes you're the main person they see, besides their families, and some don't have any family. So you get real close to them. It becomes the emotional part of the job" (151). While the literature talks about workers in various caring professions (teachers, nannies, and nurses) developing emotional ties to their charges, interviewees asserted that homecare workers developed closer relationships with their clients than workers in hospitals or residential nursing homes. A woman at Charity Homecare explained that close bonding is difficult in hospitals because one cares for so many patients at once: "In the hospital, you don't build up a relationship with a ward with 30 people on it, but here [in homecare] you go to people week in, week out, and you build a rapport. . . . You see them in their homes; you know them" (092). Similarly, in nursing homes, workers interact with many patients, spending less time with each and, subsequently, developing weaker bonds.

Both managers and workers acknowledged that close ties could form between the cared-for and the homecare worker. For example, this woman from Charity Homecare described how fulfilled she felt by working with a little girl with brain tumors:

I've got a little girl that I'm working with. They said she wouldn't walk until maybe she was four or five. She walked at two. They didn't really think she'd get any speech, because she has tumors of the brain, but she's talking. So that's been a big achievement to me, because I've been going to her since she was about six months old, and she's now four . . . so that's really satisfying (027).

Indeed, 80 percent of the workers mentioned the emotional bonds with clients as part of the "good" in their jobs. With these strong and highly valued emotional bonds, few workers were inclined to engage in any behaviors that would jeopardize their clients' welfare, such as filing formal grievances or suddenly exiting.

Workers' self-sacrificial loyalty to clients. These bonds often developed into great loyalty toward clients, in turn, affecting dispute resolution strategies by making some dispute resolution options unappealing or even inconceivable. Illustrating the power of workers' loyalty to clients, a woman at Cooperative Homecare explained that she came to her present company because the client with whom she had been working changed agencies.

What happened was, I was looking after a client in this private agency. And, the client wasn't happy with [that agency], so he joined this homecare agency. Once he transferred over, he wanted to keep me as a carer. I liked this gentleman so much I decided to stay with him and move to [Cooperative Homecare] myself. And, here I am (068).

Echoing this same sentiment but with an opposite situation, a woman at Private Homecare spoke of how she considered quitting and changing to another company where she could make more money, but she wouldn't leave her clients: "Because I started with Private Homecare [as opposed to another company] I've got used to my clients. But really I'm cutting my nose off to spite my face. Because if I swapped over to the other company, I would get loads of work, loads more money" (066).

Not only might loyalty to clients determine where workers were employed, this loyalty often motivated them to do work without pay. A woman at Private Homecare described how she occasionally stays longer than she is paid to visit: "Sometimes I stay beyond my time because you can't say no. You think to yourself, there's a few of them are on their own. They never see anybody. There'll be some that haven't got any family. Just to chat with them keeps 'em going. Probably I feel sorry for them, sometimes" (030). Similarly, a woman at Charity Homecare spoke of making extra visits when some clients could not pay for them.

[Sometimes] somebody needs the service. And, the money isn't there to give it. And, you think, the money shouldn't be involved, when it is. It's the major part of care. But, because like I'm the sort of person that do take things to heart, [it becomes] a problem shared. But you're important anyway, so you have to; that's all (119).

A member of Cooperative Homecare described how she drove a client to the doctor and watched her dog when the client was hospitalized during the homecare worker's off hours: "I looked after her dog. I didn't get paid. She paid us something,

but I didn't expect anything, and I treated her more like a friend. I used to go on my own time and look after her dog and feed him when she was in the hospital. And I used to pick her up from dialysis in my car for no extra cost or anything" (111). For her, it was a point of pride that she did some work for no pay. She felt that this demonstrated that she was a "good person," who was not in the job only for the money.

Loyalty and this ethic of sacrifice also occasionally directly affected workers' consciousness of their rights. The man quoted below had been a miner before being laid off and coming to Charity Homecare. Although he defined himself as a socialist, he said that as a homecare worker, he wouldn't join their union because he didn't want to take part in any formal action.

You see, social services is quite a large organization and has a lot of people working for them and everybody in that industry is represented by [the union]. It's important that you are part of that, but [now], it really wouldn't matter. I mean, if I was in [the union] and they decided, "Right, we're going to have all of our members on strike until we achieve a basic minimum wage of whatever." I mean, I'm not going to go on strike here . . . just wouldn't do it (082).

He emphasized that, although he was usually very much in favor of collective action, he did not believe in it within the homecare industry.

Industry culture of procedural justice and moralistic relationships. The rare mention of toleration in the homecare industry (see Table 2) makes that industry's dispute resolution pattern particularly different from the patterns of most other industries, where workers who did not bring formal disputes either quit or tolerated their problems (Gruber and Bjorn 1982; Gwartney-Gibbs and Lach 1994a; Hoffmann 2006; Mansbridge 1982). In contrast, workers in the homecare businesses gained sufficient satisfaction through informal means so that very few employees felt forced to quit or learn coping skills in order to tolerate problems. Indeed, the data in this study indicate that the homecare industry appears to produce an industry culture that makes informal dispute resolution particularly satisfying for workers, so that toleration, exiting, and formal procedures are not needed. The homecare culture observed in these businesses supports perceptions of procedural justice on the part of management and emphasizes morality over legality.

The literature on procedural justice helps explain this dispute resolution behavior. Tyler and Lind found that people are more flexible in accepting a wider range of distributive justice outcomes if they are treated fairly—"procedural justice" (2000). If the homecare workers felt that their managers were engaged in procedural justice, informal dispute resolution may have provided sufficiently successful dispute resolution to decrease the need for toleration of unresolved disputes. Tyler and Lind assert that a disputant will see treatment as being procedurally just if the disputant (1) trusts the authorities handling the problem ("trust"), (2) feels that she or he is seen by the authorities as having full status in the group ("standing"), and (3) believes that she or he received nondiscriminatory, neutral treatment ("neutrality").

In analyzing how conflicts are managed, my data indicate that all three aspects of procedural justice (“trust,” “standing,” and “neutrality”) were present in the homecare businesses (Tyler and Lind 2000). The workers trusted the managers and cited many instances of managerial fairness, such as when workers described managers putting in their own overtime, sitting with them after the death of a client, or supporting workers faced with unreasonable requests or complaints from clients. People infer trustworthy motives when authorities act with flexible, informal justice, rather than blindly following formal rules (Tyler and Lind 2000). The managers in the homecare businesses were able to communicate their trustworthiness because, according to Tyler and Lind, informal dispute resolution allows the managers to engage in more discretionary actions. This is illustrated by workers speaking of trusting managers to consider extenuating personal circumstances and making necessary allowances unique to the particular situation. The statement from one homecare worker was typical of all: “I trust that if I go to Ellen, she’ll sort it all out” (151).

The workers also felt that they had full standing. Workers at all three businesses spoke of feeling included in the enterprise. The managers were seen as comrades in the homecare effort. In this case, because all three businesses’ managers began as rank-and-file workers in homecare, they easily accorded their workers full status in their shared endeavor of providing quality care. Because of the managers’ practical experience in the field, several workers specifically spoke of the managers as understanding what the workers faced; rather than simply giving unilateral, uninformed orders, managers were seen as valuing workers’ insights and opinions. Additionally, the homecare workers saw the managers’ actions as being neutral and fair. Unlike companies where a frequent complaint of workers was favoritism by the managers/owners (e.g., Burawoy 1979; Hodson 1991; Hoffmann 2004; Paap 2006), I heard no one at any of the homecare businesses express this complaint. The only complaint, albeit indirectly along this theme, was from some male homecare workers. They resented that some female clients would request only women homecare workers, making fewer hours available for male workers. However, none of them blamed the managers for this. Rather, they saw it as the prejudice of personal taste and a result of the demographic of many of the clients: elderly women who were uncomfortable being bathed and dressed by men.

Tyler and Lind emphasize that if people perceive procedural justice, they believe they can obey the authorities’ orders without fear of exploitation, but if authorities seem to act unfairly, obedience is less likely, because the people will fear abuse. When people feel they are fairly treated, they enter “group mode,” in which they are cooperative and establish behavior based on fairness rather than on expected outcomes. In contrast, when they feel poorly treated, they enter “individual mode,” in which they pattern their behavior to maximize short-term outcomes (Tyler and Lind 2000). Because the homecare workers, operating within a group mode, experienced procedural justice from the managers, their primary dispute resolution strategy could be informal dispute resolution, rather than formal grievances, exiting, and toleration skills (Tyler and Lind 2000).

Tjosvold, Morishima, and Belsheim's theory of "cooperative interdependence" also explains the dispute strategies found in the homecare industry by looking at how the structure and culture of the industry reinforces the industry norm of informal dispute resolution (1999). In the homecare industry, a formal grievance is not simply between the individual worker and the manager, but involves the client, too. This substantially changes the nature of any disputes, since any formal action could negatively affect the clients' care. Neither the managers nor the workers wanted this, for their shared goal was quality client care. Tjosvold found that workers with cooperative or aligned goals achieved "cooperative interdependence" and could resolve disputes informally with mutually satisfactory outcomes.

This "cooperative interdependence" is similar to the "moralistic" discourse, rather than the "legalistic" or "therapeutic" discourses, that Merry reports in her study of courts and court mediators (1990). The homecare workers eschewed the "legalistic" approach to dispute resolution, that is, formal grievances, yet directly confronted their problems, unlike the nonconfrontational "therapeutic" perspective. Rather than embracing either legalistic or therapeutic discourses, the homecare workers focused on relationships, obligations, and responsibilities, engaging in a moralistic discourse that resulted in their emphasis on informal dispute resolution.

Homecare workers' moralistic perspective was not accidental. Just as Merry's court mediators actively and intentionally reframed would-be litigants' concerns from a legalistic frame into a moralistic or therapeutic frame, homecare managers try to reframe workers' concerns away from the legalistic and toward the moral in order to avoid formal dispute actions and the subsequent difficulties in scheduling these actions would provoke. Legalistic disputes would be appropriately settled through the quasi-legal forums of formal dispute resolution, which managers want to avoid because they are seen as burdensome, time-consuming, and distracting from their caregiving mission.

In contrast, moralistic problems would be better addressed through informal means. Therefore, homecare managers emphasized the morality of the job, as expressed above by one of the Private Homecare owners. They also tried to refocus workers' concerns onto the business's needs rather than on workers' personal needs, as reflected in the earlier comment from the worker-manager at Cooperative Homecare regarding how she dealt with workers' desire for more money around the holidays. When this reframing is successful—that is, when the workers, too, see their problems in moral terms—they are satisfied with informal dispute resolution, not relying on coping skills, much less exiting or raising formal grievances.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study highlight the importance of examining industry effects when researching workplace dispute resolution. Although some research has found organization effects to have significant impacts on dispute resolution in other industries, in the homecare industry, these data suggest that those effects may not be as substantial as the industry effects. Thus, broadening the research focus beyond the

organization to include industry-level effects further enriches the sociological understanding of dispute resolution dynamics.

The results speak to the power of framing disputes into moralistic discourses. Other studies (e.g., Merry 1990) have shown how moving disputes into moralistic discourses can prevent those disputes from being addressed formally (e.g., brought into court, in the case of Merry's research). The results from the homecare industry demonstrate how similar moralistic framing can prevent workplace issues from being raised as formal actions. While some disputes might be successfully resolved informally, the lack of formal procedures implies that workers' rights might be more easily trampled (e.g., Edelman, Erlanger, and Lande 1993; Silbey and Sarat 1989). This is significant, especially when one considers the many health and safety risks of homecare work. In addition, the risk to vulnerable clients if disputes are not successfully resolved heightens this concern over potentially undermined rights. The "rights talk" of care professionals, such as teachers and nurses, often includes both the workers' needs and the needs of their students and patients (e.g., Grimwood, Popplestone, and Phillipson 1993). If homecare workers are not able to assert their rights through formal grievance processes, then both they and their clients are at greater risk.

The homecare industry data also are linked with procedural justice. The homecare workers perceived their managers as being procedurally just and so were willing to enter a "group mode" (Tyler and Lind 2000) in which they focused more on fairness and the best result for everyone involved, rather than on their own needs and wants. As with the moralistic framing of disputes, entering into a group mode mentality could permit workers' rights to be circumvented under the guise of procedural justice. Indeed, Tyler and Lind (2000) note that it is merely the *perception* of procedural justice by the would-be grievant that affects grievance behavior—not the actual presence of procedural justice. In fact, a degree of false consciousness regarding procedural justice on the part of the workers and managers would still produce a group mode, with all of its cooperation and focus on the needs of others. The acceptance of a wider range of distributive justice could leave workers vulnerable, unable to raise potentially necessary formal grievances. Since homecare grievances could protect workers' and clients' needs, blocked formal grievance avenues could result in harm to both groups.

The data in this study are drawn from only three businesses. Given this limited sample, the findings must be viewed as exploratory and the subsequent conclusions drawn from them somewhat tentative. Additionally, the data might have a suppressed measure of workers who would exit as a strategy for resolving disputes, since some of these workers might have already done so and, therefore, would not have been interviewed as part of this study. Several former employees from each business were interviewed in an attempt to capture this perspective.

Future research might explore these effects in other helping professions that have the possibility of the four conditions present in homecare, such as nannies and social workers, or even more predominantly male occupations, such as parole officers. Additionally, future research might also examine organizations that decouple egalitarian ideology from flattened organizational structure, such as privately owned organizations that allow

the employees to collectively manage aspects of the business or businesses with high levels of participation in employee stock option plans (ESOPs).

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Level 2 headings are flush left, in italic capital/lowercase (all words capped except prepositions, articles, and coordinating conjunctions).

This is a level 3 heading. Level 3 headings are indented, run in to the paragraph following them, and end with a period. Capitalize only the first letter and proper nouns.

- b. *References in the text* must be listed in the references section, and all references listed in the references section must be cited in the text. Cite the last name(s) of the authors and year of publication. Include page references whenever you think that information is necessary. References in text must be listed consistently either in chronological or alphabetical order. Subsequent citations of the same source are cited in the same way as the first, with the exception of a reference with three or more authors (see the example below). Some examples are listed below (refer to recent issues of *Sociological Focus*, the *ASA Style Guide*, or ASA publications for other examples):

- If author's name is in the text, follow it with the year of publication in parentheses: Fishbein (1975).
- If author's name is not in the text, enclose last name and year of publication in parentheses: (Benedict 1938).
- Page citation follows year of publication: Antonovski (1979:142) or (Antonovski 1979:142).
- Give both names of joint authors (Jessor and Jessor 1977); for three authors, list all three last names in the first citation (Jessor, Chase, and Donovan 1980) and in subsequent citations use "et al." (Jessor et al. 1980). For citations with four or more authors, always use the first author's last name followed by "et al."
- For institutional authorship, supply minimum identification from the beginning of the complete citation: (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990:216).
- Separate references in a series with semicolons: (Yamaguchi and Kandel 1984; Johnston 1985; Thompson 1989).
- For unpublished materials: Robin and Robin (forthcoming) or White (unpublished) or Johnston (personal communication).

- c. *Notes in the text* should be numbered consecutively throughout the article with superscript Arabic numerals. If a note is referred to again later in the text, use a parenthetical insertion “(see note 3).”
 - d. *Equations* in the text must be typed. Important equations should be identified by consecutive Arabic numerals in parentheses to the right of the equation. Expressions should be aligned and subscripts and superscript clearly marked. Use notes in the margin to clarify symbols.
 - e. *Notes* are not required in an article; when possible incorporate the information into the text.
 - f. *Statistical terms*: All statistical terms, such as t , n , R^2 , SD , are italicized.
4. *Notes*: If notes cannot be avoided, list the notes in a section titled “Notes” directly following the text. Begin each note with the Arabic numeral with which it is keyed in the text, e.g., “1. This is the first note.” *Sociological Focus* does not use footnotes.
 5. *References*: All references in the text must be listed in the reference section; all references in the reference section must be cited in the text. **Authors are responsible for ensuring that publication information for each reference is complete and correct.** Listed below are guidelines and examples for citations in your reference list (see recent issues of *Sociological Focus*, the *ASA Style Guide*, or ASA publications for further examples):
 - List the references alphabetically by the first author’s last name.
 - The author’s last name should be inverted. In the case of multiple authors, only the first author’s name should be inverted. (e.g., Dryfoos, Joy D., David J. Hawkins, Denise M. Lishner, and Matthew O. Howard). Use first and last names of all authors, unless only initials are given on the cited publication. List all authors in the references: the use of *et al.* is not permitted in the reference section.
 - If your reference list includes more than one item by the same author, list them in order of the year of publication. For listing more than one work by the same author(s) within the same year, distinguish them (in alphabetical order by title of article) by adding the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., to the year (or to forthcoming, unpublished, etc.).
 - If the material listed has been accepted for publication but has not yet been published, use “forthcoming” in place of the date and give the journal or publisher.

Books Dryfoos, Joy D. 1991. *Adolescents at Risk*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Periodicals Johnson, Robert H. and Howard B. Kaplan. 1990. “Stability of Psychological Symptoms: Drug Use Consequences and Intervening Processes.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 31:277–98.

Robin, Stanley S. and Eric O. Johnson. Forthcoming. "Early Onset Drug Use and the Gateway Phenomenon." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 33:157–66.

Yamaguchi, Kazuo and Denise Kandel. 1984a. "Patterns of Drug Use from Adolescence to Young Adulthood: II. Consequences of Progression." *American Journal of Public Health* 74:668–72.

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E-References Roberts, Les, Pascal Ngoy, Colleen Mone, Charles Lubula, Luc Mwezse, Mariana Zantop, and Michael Despines. 2003. "Mortality in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: Results from a Nationwide Survey." International Rescue Committee. Retrieved November 23, 2004 (http://intranet.theirc.org/docs/drc_mortality_iii_full.pdf).

Collections Greenspan, Stanley L. 1986. "Research Strategies to Identify Developmental Vulnerabilities for Drug Abuse." Pp. 136–54 in *Etiology of Drug Abuse: Implications for Prevention*, edited by Carly L. Jones and Robert J. Battjes. Washington, DC: National Institute on Drug Abuse Series. NIDA Research Monograph 56.

6. *Tables*: Number tables consecutively as referenced in the text, and place each on a separate sheet at the end of the paper. Avoid the use of lines between rows in tables. Insert a note in the text indicating the approximate placement of each table, e.g., "[Table 3 about here]." Each table must have a descriptive title and headings for all rows and columns (avoid abbreviations). Gather footnotes to tables at the bottom of the respective tables as "Note(s)" and designate each note as *a*, *b*, *c*, etc., with corresponding designations within and at the bottom of the tables. Asterisks indicate statistical significance ($*p < .05$; $**p < .01$; etc.). All tables should include easily interpreted titles and labels and contain the minimum amount of formatting necessary. Authors are responsible for removing any superfluous lines, boxes, or other formatting prior to publication.
7. *Figures and illustrations* should be numbered in the same way as tables; place each on a separate sheet at the end of the paper. Insert a note in the text indicating the approximate placement of each, e.g., "[Figure 3 about here]." Figures and illustrations submitted with the final draft must be camera-ready, executed in black ink on white paper or vellum; artistic standards must be observed in the production of figures and illustrations.