

# Sociological Focus

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North Central Sociological Association Presidential  
Address: The Community College  
Conundrum: Pitfalls and Possibilities of  
Professional Sociological Associations

*Katherine R. Rowell*

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Reflections on Teaching: North Central  
Sociological Association 2010 John F.  
Schnabel Lecture: Letting Go: Overcoming  
Fear, Ego, and Other Barriers to Effective  
Teaching and Learning

*Melinda Messineo*

---

A Symbolic Interaction Approach to Cigarette  
Smoking: Smoking Frequency and the  
Desire to Quit Smoking

*Donald C. Reitzes, Lara DePadilla, Claire E. Sterk,  
and Kirk W. Elifson*

---

Collective Memory Anchors: Collective Identity  
and Continuity in Social Movements

*Timothy B. Gongaware*

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Adolescent Independence across Immigrant  
Generations: Age and Ethnic Variations

*Hayley A. Hamilton*

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Exploitation in Contemporary Capitalism: An  
Empirical Analysis of the Case of Taiwan

*Jeng Liu, Arthur Sakamoto, and Kuo-Hsien Su*



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North Central Sociological Association Presidential  
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*Katherine R. Rowell* 167

---

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Association 2010 John F. Schnabel Lecture:  
Letting Go: Overcoming Fear, Ego, and Other  
Barriers to Effective Teaching and Learning  
*Melinda Messineo* 185

---

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Desire to Quit Smoking  
*Donald C. Reitzes, Lara DePadilla,  
Claire E. Sterk, and Kirk W. Elifson* 193

---

Collective Memory Anchors: Collective Identity  
and Continuity in Social Movements  
*Timothy B. Gongaware* 214

---

Adolescent Independence across Immigrant  
Generations: Age and Ethnic Variations  
*Hayley A. Hamilton* 240

---

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Empirical Analysis of the Case of Taiwan  
*Jeng Liu, Arthur Sakamoto, and Kuo-Hsien Su* 259

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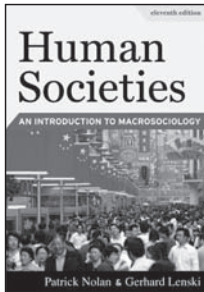


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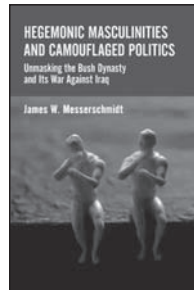
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# North Central Sociological Association Presidential Address The Community College Conundrum: Pitfalls and Possibilities of Professional Sociological Associations

*Katherine R. Rowell\**  
Sinclair Community College

*This presidential address examines the “community college conundrum” within our discipline. Although it is reported that 44 percent of first-time undergraduate students attend community colleges, community college faculty are underrepresented in the American Sociological Association (ASA) and within our regional associations. This lack of participation has two roots: (1) our disciplinary lack of interest in studying community college education as a unit of analysis; and (2) the failure by sociologists to understand community college education as a social justice concern. Data for this study include an assessment of membership and participation in our disciplinary associations, content analysis of the journal Teaching Sociology, and a review of ASA syllabi sets. Findings reveal a common theme: community college sociologists are ignored and afforded a marginal status—a “less than” status—within our discipline. Recommendations include calling on the ASA and all sociologists to recognize the importance of community colleges in doing the work of “public sociology.”*

In presidential addresses to professional associations, presidents usually take time to explain how and why they chose their topic. I must be honest and say I did not select my topic—of necessity, it selected me. I believe I am the first community college sociologist to serve as president of the North Central Sociological Association (NSCA) and may be one of the few community college sociologists to serve as a president of *any* professional sociological association. Despite the honor bestowed upon me, I am

\*Communications about this article should be sent to Katherine R. Rowell, Sinclair Community College, 444 West Third Street, Dayton, Ohio 45402. E-mail: [katherine.rowell@sinclair.edu](mailto:katherine.rowell@sinclair.edu). I am grateful to Alan McEvoy, Northern Michigan University, for his editorial guidance in completing this article. I would also like to thank Linda Schock, Lisa O'Hearn, Robert Wells, Colleen Lim, Mohsen Khani, and Debra Wenger for their assistance with the research. This article would not have been possible without the support of the North Central Sociological Association as well as the assistance of the Pacific Sociological Association, Midwest Sociological Society, the American Sociological Association, and various other regional associations that sent me information. Finally, I would like to thank the following colleagues, friends, and family for their support over the past two years as I worked to finish this presentation: Debra Swanson, Tom Huguley, Dona Fletcher, Susan Warner, Carol Jenkins, Kurt Rowell, John Rowell, and Jack Rowell.

deeply troubled by the relative absence of community college involvement within our professional sociological associations. In this address, I shall shed light on this puzzling lack of participation and make recommendations to reverse the negative consequences of what I call the “community college conundrum.”

I admit that over the past two years in thinking about this address, I felt more than the normal amount of pressure for an academic presentation. The reason is simple. Community college faculty occupy a marginal position—a “less than” status—in the eyes of many professional sociologists and within the American Sociological Association (ASA) itself. Because I represent so many colleagues whose voices remain silent, I feel an overwhelming pressure to explain myself—to explain “us”—to the professional sociological community.

I did not take lightly my decision to run for president of this association. I understood that some within NCSA would view the election of a community college faculty as president to be a judgment of the decline of the organization. I recently attended a professional workshop where a sociology faculty member from our region gave a presentation. He is not active in our association and works at a nonresearch institution. Over lunch, I invited him to submit a paper to the joint meetings this year. He said, “Well, I would not want to present at a conference for community college faculty.” This and other such encounters over the past year made me question whether I should have agreed to serve as president of NCSA. The implication that community college faculty are “less than” continues to haunt me. To what extent does this pejorative view create a self-fulfilling prophecy? To what extent is the lack of participation by community college sociologists in our disciplinary associations a function of differential treatment?

Over the years, I have heard many colleagues share stories of being stereotyped and labeled when trying to participate in our disciplinary associations. These stories also are prevalent in the research literature. The time is ripe to examine sociologically the pitfalls and possibilities of more deeply engaging community college faculty within our discipline. It is time to open the doors for all community college sociologists to continue doing the work of “public sociology.”

The current state of “public sociology” in higher education demands stronger inclusion of community college sociologists and their students. According to the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC 2010), there are currently 1,177 independent community colleges in the United States. Enrollment in 2009 was 11.7 million students; 36 percent of students enrolled in community colleges across the United States are minorities, and 39 percent are first-generation college students. Community college students constitute 44 percent of all first-time freshman students (AACC 2010). In other words, 44 percent of all freshman students in the United States are likely taking sociology at a community college. The conclusion is clear: Community college sociologists carry substantial responsibility for the recruitment and socialization of new members within our discipline.

This increase in community college enrollment in part reflects a declining economy and the rising costs of higher education. David Levinson (2005), sociologist and president of Norwalk Community College, notes that community colleges increas-

ingly function as sites for public interaction and civic engagement. On July 14, 2009, President Obama announced a \$12 billion community college initiative designed to boost graduation rates, improve facilities, and develop new technology. In the summer of 2009, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation announced \$16.5 million in grants to 15 community colleges to expand groundbreaking remedial education programs. In addition, many experts say that strengthening community colleges is the key to dramatically boosting the college completion rates of low-income students and persons of color. Sadly, this cause seems to have escaped the attention of our professional associations.

A growing number of our doctoral graduates in the United States report having some type of community college background. The National Science Foundation reported 20 percent (one in five) doctoral recipients in 2008 attended a community college at some point in his or her educational career. For minority doctoral recipients, the proportion was higher. For example, 39 percent of Native American doctoral recipients and 24 percent of Hispanic doctoral recipients had some education at a community college. Fundamentally, the lack of community college faculty participation in our disciplinary associations is related to concerns about diversity and inclusion. Thus, the role community colleges play in undergraduate and graduate education demands support and research.

## HISTORICAL GLANCE WITHIN OUR DISCIPLINE

From its inception, the ASA has struggled with what it means to be a professional disciplinary association. In 1959, Talcott Parsons argued that the major role of the ASA should be twofold: the sharing of members' research and the training of graduate students. Parsons pointedly rejected the training of undergraduate students, because most are unlikely to become professional sociologists (Simpson and Simpson 1994:261). He never asked where graduate students come from, if not from the pool of undergraduate students. I think Talcott Parsons would be surprised to know how many doctoral recipients have some undergraduate preparation in community colleges.

Community college educators comprise only 4 percent of ASA members. To understand why community college sociologists are not participating in our disciplinary associations, it is important to consider the historical backdrop that has led us to this dismal state. In many ways, the history of community colleges in the United States and the growth of the ASA have a similar trajectory. In 1960, community colleges became a national network with the opening of 457 new institutions—more than the total number before that decade. A year prior to this, the American Sociological Society was renamed the American Sociological Association and by 1972, there were four times as many ASA members as there had been 22 years earlier (Simpson and Simpson 1994).

Educational expansion in the aftermath of World War II and the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s led to the growth of the membership of the ASA as well as community colleges. Simpson and Simpson (1994) note a new pressure was added to

the ASA in the late 1960s with caucuses of women and African Americans demanding more power and participation: "The caucuses of these members challenged the association to adapt their collective interests on the grounds of social justice. The association, composed as it is of persons whose predominant values are with underdogs and who champion social justice in the society, voted on new goals and charges for itself to become more open, to represent the societal minorities among its members" (Simpson and Simpson 1994:263). Ironically, these same values of championing social justice do not seem to include community colleges within our discipline.

Simpson and Simpson note that baby boomers swelled the demand for higher education, thus increasing enrollments in two-year community colleges. Yet they see this development negatively, as pressuring our discipline to define undergraduate sociology as a "consumer" item (Simpson and Simpson 1994:264). Rather than see the growth of community colleges as a social justice issue, the authors define it as a "market" issue.

By implication, the "marketing" of community college education is seen as the marketing of an inferior product—a "less than" education. Our disciplinary concern for social justice is undermined if we fail to grasp the pivotal role community colleges play in reaching out to the disenfranchised. Thus the continued competition for students in the market of higher education blinds many sociologists to understanding the importance of connecting the community college to issues of social justice in our communities and in our discipline.

The literature suggests community college participation at the ASA level has always been minimal. In the early days of the establishment of the journal *Teaching Sociology*, there were two articles written about teaching at a community college. In 1977, Nancy Stein, Normandale Community College, wrote the first article in *Teaching Sociology* that addressed issues of teaching at a community college. I found the article disheartening. She identified a status hierarchy within the disciplinary associations of sociology and stated, "the consequence of this status hierarchy is that by predictable default those whose professional activities stress teaching are often viewed as marginal, untouchable members of their profession. . . . To help the untouchables maintain professional identity as sociologists and keep them within boundaries of sociology is less important to the profession as a whole" (Stein 1977:22).

Twenty-five years later, in 2002, the final report of the ASA on articulation noted that community college faculty are still viewed in a negative light by faculty from four-year institutions (Zingraff 2002). As Stein had explained earlier: "Such a view not only overlooks the importance of undergraduate education but may ultimately affect the discipline as a whole, since it is increasingly the 'untouchable sociologists' in the nonexalted institutions that are teaching the largest number of students" (Stein 1977:22). Stein concluded by hypothesizing that one reason community college faculty "stay away" from the ASA is that they perceive "*NO ONE CARES IF THEY COME*" (Stein 1977:28). This remains a sentiment that I still hear echoed by community college sociologists.

In 1982, Albert McCormick, Macon Junior College, published his article "Two-Year College Instructors and the Sociology Profession" in *Teaching Sociology*. He asked

why community college sociologists are not involved in the activities of the discipline, particularly those that focus on instructional issues (McCormick 1982:112). He conducted a survey of 100 community college faculty representing 72 institutions. The survey noted that the majority of respondents did not have a doctorate (McCormick 1982). Does this carry the implication that “real” sociologists have a doctorate, and those who teach sociology without a PhD are “less than”? In citing research literature at the time, he indicates three major possibilities for instructors’ disengagement:

1. Community college faculty are isolated and alienated from the profession.
2. They are professionally reclusive.
3. They are uninterested in a profession that seems uninterested in the unique needs of two-year college instructors (McCormick 1982:112).

His research concluded that community college faculty are not as isolated as had been thought and that most were active in professional organizations, but that those professional organizations were less likely to be discipline-focused. He also found that the degree of identification with the discipline was low, and most had not completed the traditional academic training of a sociologist (McCormick 1982). Respondents noted that institutional structures limit participation by not rewarding involvement. A key finding was the overall dissatisfaction with professional sociological associations, and 13 percent noted that they were treated like second-class citizens when they did attend (McCormick 1982:119). In his conclusion, McCormick suggests that we develop a roaming workshop for community college faculty, a clearinghouse for teaching materials, and the promotion of faculty exchanges with four-year institutions.

Since 1982, there is only one other article written specifically about community colleges and published in *Teaching Sociology*. Ed Kain and associates (2007) used content analysis to examine community college catalogs to explore the sociological curriculum. Kain notes that despite the growth in the scope of community colleges, little systematic attention has been focused on sociology at the two-year institution. He also found that ASA research briefs do not reference community colleges (Kain 2007:350).

I examined the 36 research briefs currently available on the ASA website, searching for the words “community college” and could find no references. Equally significant, neither did the reports on teaching loads, adjunct faculty, or the 2005 ASA membership report mention community colleges (ASA 2010).

Arguably, there has yet to be a true academic discussion about teaching at a community college within our disciplinary journals and reports. It would also seem that sociologists do not even view the “community college” as a unit of analysis. Using JSTOR, I did a quick search comparing the words “community college” to the words “high school” in both the *American Sociological Review* (ASR, since 1937) and the *American Journal of Sociology* (AJS, since 1895). The words “high school” appear 1,445 times in ASR, while the words “community college” appear only 67 times. In AJS, there were 59 “hits” for the words “community college” and 1,607 for the words “high school.” One might expect to find a difference when examining the sociology of education literature, but the finding is the same. In a search of the journal *Sociology*

*of Education* (since 1963), there were only 72 “hits” for “community college” and over 1,935 hits for the words “high school.” The inescapable conclusion is that we are not even researching community colleges within our discipline, let alone including them in our profession.

In 1999, the ASA appointed a task force on articulation between two-year and four-year institutions. The task force report notes that “as sociologists, we have many reasons to be interested in the programs at [community colleges] where 44 percent of all undergraduate students are enrolled” (Zingraff 2002:9). This report further states that “students who have been historically underrepresented in higher education rely extensively on community colleges as their conduit to four-year universities, realizing thereby a social justice agenda that sociologists generally embrace. . . . To the extent that sociology faculty and programs at community colleges thrive, so will the public’s recognition of sociology grow” (Zingraff 2002:9). Although this report calls for viewing community colleges within the context of social justice issues in sociology, it appears this recommendation has yet to be adopted in our discipline.

Within the ASA, the Section on Teaching and Learning has made perhaps the most significant efforts to include community college faculty. For example, this section does require the chair be elected from within the ranks of community college members every third year and has awarded the Hans O. Mauksch Award for Distinguished Contributions to Undergraduate Sociology to at least three community college sociologists. Although these efforts are commendable, given the small numbers of community college faculty who join the ASA, the Section on Teaching and Learning does not appear to be a strong enough enticement for community college faculty to consider joining.

At the regional level, the attention to community colleges also seems to be unsystematic and difficult to study, since data are not collected. Many regional associations do have community college representatives serving on councils. I know our regional association has made attempts to expand community college membership. Two previous NCSA presidents, Bruce Keith (2007) and Jay Howard (2007), mention the lack of participation by community colleges in regional associations in their presidential addresses, and both note the need to figure out this “community college conundrum” (Howard 2007; Keith 2004). This lack of interest in understanding teaching and learning at a community college and the overall lack of interest in community colleges as a unit of analysis suggest a “hidden face” of elitism that is counter to the best traditions of our discipline.

## LOOKING OUTSIDE OUR DISCIPLINE

It is no surprise that the increase in the number of community college students corresponds to the increase in community college faculty. This includes the employment of part-time faculty. About 20 percent of all higher education faculty work full time at 1,100 public community colleges, and 44 percent of all part-time higher education faculty teach at community colleges (Zingraff 2002; American Association of

Community Colleges 2010). If full-time and part-time faculty are aggregated, approximately one-third of the American higher education professorate teach at community colleges. The largest growth was in the number of part-timers, which increased by 53 percent from a little more than 11,000 in 1973, to 135,500 in 1992 (Cohen and Brawer 1996). This increase has not translated to more participation in disciplinary associations.

Lack of interest in examining this issue in disciplinary associations is not unique to sociology. Many discipline-focused associations, however, have a more current literature on the subject. For example, the discipline of education has explored this lack of participation. There is one basic assertion throughout this literature: Community college professors are “different” from university faculty, and, thus, are presumed to be uninterested in professional engagement in the discipline. The “differences” pointed out in this literature continue to stereotype community college faculty as being “less than.”

Authors McGrath and Spear further fuel the negative stereotype by harshly asserting that community college faculty are a lost cause. They write, “Since the institutional and social forces weakening the intellectual culture among community colleges are unlikely to lose their influence in the near future . . . realistically little can be done to reengage faculty in their original disciplinary communities” (McGrath and Spear 1991:154). The common thread is to question the intellectual integrity of community college faculty and to blame them for lack of participation, rather than blame the organizational structures of the profession. McGrath and Spear even suggest that community college faculty have an “inferiority complex” (McGrath and Spear 1991:154).

In his book, *A Profile of the Community College Professorate: 1975–2000*, Outcalt notes these stereotypes of community college faculty are problematic. He further notes “community college faculty are often viewed as also-rans, would-be university professors who could not get a real job at a university. Worse yet, most of their instructors are part-timers who do not even have both feet in the academic world” (Outcalt 2002:3).

Often cited explanations of why community college faculty do not participate in disciplinary specific associations include speculations that part-time faculty, and those faculty without doctoral degrees, are not interested in disciplinary associations. Outcalt (2002) found full-time faculty are more likely to be connected to a discipline-specific association compared to part-time faculty. He also found community college faculty with doctorate degrees were slightly more likely to be involved in a discipline-specific association compared to those with master’s degrees. Although he found differences in levels of participation, his research reveals one very important finding: the majority of community college faculty surveyed (regardless of degree or work status) *want* to be more connected to their disciplinary associations. He also found the majority of community college faculty surveyed viewed university faculty as a good source of advice on teaching, and they noted that much of the ideas in their discipline were generated from universities. The implication? Community college faculty fail to participate

in disciplinary associations not because they are uninterested, but because they do not have the support from either their institutions or their disciplinary associations.

Outcalt also found that contrary to popular belief, community college faculty are connected to at least one professional association, the majority not discipline-specific. In fact, 75 percent of full-time faculty and 50 percent of part-time faculty were members of one professional association, such as the AAUP and/or community college-specific associations. A significant number (46.4 percent) reported belonging to a discipline-specific association (Outcalt 2002).

Clearly, we need more opportunities within our discipline for community college faculty and university faculty to connect. We must give sociological consideration to two things—the organizational context of the community college and the lack of support to engage in discipline-specific professional associations. Snyder and Spreitzer (1984:159) note:

The process of maintaining one's identity as a good teacher is heavily conditioned by the organizational context and the crucial contingencies of an academic career. A faculty in a research one institution is different from a faculty in a social science division at a community college. A college instructor with a 15-hour teaching load is different from a professor with two graduate seminars.

A theme many have noted is that community college faculty are often isolated (Cohen and Brawer 1977; Outcalt 2002). I would also argue that with the growth of distance learning at community colleges there will be more isolation in the future for many faculty. The organizational climate and context faced by community college faculty impact their opportunities to participate in disciplinary associations. Unfortunately, until disciplinary associations generate a stronger interest in the community college conundrum, I do not see the organizational context changing.

Overall, the literature shows the majority of community college faculty want to be involved in disciplinary associations. However, much of the literature points out only the problems and rarely discusses possibilities. Although written in 1983, there is one author who did take a holistic look at the question that I am addressing today and much of what he said applies to my address today. Donald Schmeltkopf, president of the Community College Humanities Association, wrote an article entitled "Professional Status and Community College Faculty: The Role of Associations." The Community College Humanities Association (CCHA), founded in 1979, is the only national organization of its kind for humanities faculty and administrators in two-year colleges. The following list is Schmeltkopf's summary of what the literature suggests are the reasons for lack of participation by community college faculty in disciplinary associations (1983:79–87).

- Many community college faculty do not view themselves as participants in activities that extend beyond the classroom, and they accept no responsibility for the profession itself.
- Advancement in community colleges is not based on connection to profession, and it is not competitive.
- There is a lack of administrative support within community colleges for serious,

independent, professional activity on the part of faculty (many community colleges have no sabbatical system, no tenure system, or little budget dedicated to such matters).

- There is no encouragement to publish (he argues that this robs community college faculty of connection to discipline).
- The leadership of professional organizations is from those at the university level, and community college faculty are rarely involved in leadership at the higher level.
- Community college faculty may or may not be interested in traditional discipline associations, but it is clear that professional associations are not particularly interested in attracting community college faculty as members. Professional associations are developed around the culture of the university. Add to this the notion of the pecking order, and a community college faculty member needs to be extraordinarily dedicated to the discipline to want to participate.
- Liberal arts enrollment has declined in community colleges.
- There is a lack of professional identity among community college faculty. They have no clear identity in higher education.

Community college faculty are diverse and have diverse needs, though their needs have yet to be fully examined. Presently, the literature on the “community college conundrum” is dated and, in many ways, inconclusive. We need to ask ourselves how the ASA and regional associations can mitigate the organizational context faced by many community college sociologists. For now, I suggest two central concerns over which we have some control:

1. The inability to understand community colleges within the context of social justice issues is truly disappointing, especially given their role in reaching out to the disenfranchised, and explains much of the community college conundrum.
2. The overall lack of interest in understanding teaching and learning at community colleges, and even research on community colleges as a unit of analysis within our discipline, constitutes an oversight we can no longer accept.

## METHODOLOGY

Because we do not know much about community college participation in our discipline, I chose to examine those who do participate in an attempt to understand the types and levels of their involvement. First, I sought to gather data on community college faculty membership in the ASA, regional associations, and other related associations such as the Society for the Study of Social Problems and Society for Women in Sociology. My next step was to examine the participation of community college faculty in sociology conferences. By examining nine years (2000–2008) of the ASA annual meeting programs, nine years of the Pacific Sociological Association (PSA) annual meeting programs, seven years (2002–2008) of the NCSA annual meeting programs, and four years (2001–2002; 2007–2008) of the Midwest Sociological

Society's (MSS's) annual meeting programs, I conducted a content analysis of each program for participation by community college faculty. I coded their participation as research oriented, teaching oriented, or other professional oriented. I also conducted a content analysis of *Teaching Sociology* by examining articles either written by community college sociologists or about community college sociologists. Finally, I completed a limited examination of the teaching resource guides published by ASA to examine participation by community college faculty.

## FINDINGS

### *Community College Membership*

Obtaining membership data proved to be more difficult than I anticipated. Most data are based on the level of the professor's position: part-time, retired, assistant, associate, and full. In order to run an analysis to examine community college membership, associations would have to examine institutional affiliations, perhaps in the address field of a membership form. None of the numbers obtained could be considered official, and all were sent to me via email.

The ASA reported the following numbers for 2006–2008. In 2006, there were 293 community college members out of 7,472 (3.9 percent) total members; in 2007, 336 out of 7,915 (4.2 percent) total members, and in 2008, 314 members out of 7,605 (4.1 percent) total members.

The executive officer of Sociologists for Women in Society ran an analysis of the word "community" in their data base and came up with ten possible community college faculty members at the national level based on address data. The Eastern Sociological Association (ESA) also ran an analysis using institutional affiliation. They had 96 names in their membership base with a total membership between 900 and 1,200. The PSA reported somewhere around 25 each year, and the NCSA reported somewhere around 12 each year. Basically, we know that community college membership is low. The need to gather these data in a more systematic way is obvious.

### *Professional Association Involvement*

In an effort to understand the level and types of participation, I examined annual meeting programs from ASA, PSA, MSS, and NCSA. In coding participation, I noted each one of a community college institutional affiliation showing up on a program for an annual meeting; I focused on number of activities on the program with a community college name associated with it. For the purposes of this address, I placed participation into three categories (Table 1):

1. *Research*—presented a paper on research not related to teaching,<sup>1</sup>
2. *Teaching*—presented a paper related to teaching (including the scholarship of teaching and learning); and
3. *Professional*—served as a panelist, discussant, organizer, or committee members.

Table 1. Community College Participation in Sociological Annual Meetings

Category	ASA	PSA	NCSA	MSS	TOTAL
	(2000–2008)	(2000–2008)	(2002–2008)	(2001–2002, 2007–2008)	
Research	84	45	29	49	207
Teaching	75	63	33	32	203
Professional	64	96	58	35	253
TOTAL	223	204	120	116	663

*Midwest Sociological Society 2001–2002 and 2007–2008 results.* In examining the four years of programs from the MSS, there were 116 instances of a community college's being listed on the program. Of these, 49 were research based, 32 were teaching based, and 35 were professional activities. The MSS does include committee membership in their program, though not all associations do this. In 2007, there was a joint meeting with the NCSA; I coded participation this year by institution and state. Thus, participants in the MSS region were coded MSS, and those living in the NSCA region were coded NSCA.

*Pacific Sociological Association 2000–2008 results.* The PSA may have the highest numbers of community college participation of any regional association examined. There was a total of 204 instances of community college listings on the program, with 45 research focused, 63 teaching focused, and 96 professional focused (62 of the 96 community college faculty listed on the program were listed as serving as organizers, discussants, and presiders). This type of participation was not noted in any other regional association.

*North Central Sociological Association 2002–2008 results.* The NCSA had 120 instances of community college participation listed on the programs: 29 were research, 33 teaching, and 58 were professional. It should be noted that 48 of the 120 instances of community college participation were attributed to two individuals.

*American Sociological Association 2000–2008 results.* There were 223 instances of community college participation in the programs—slightly more than the number for the PSA for the same number of years. There were 84 research sessions, 75 teaching, and 64 professional-oriented activities. Within the ASA, the majority of professional instances were activities such as workshops and panels about transfers with two-year schools, working at a community college, applied sociology, and topics specific to community colleges. As a percentage of the total sessions, community college presentations were fewer than 4 percent, and they mirrored the membership percentages of the ASA.

In further examination of the data, I noticed that some names appeared more than one time on many programs. I then coded the data by community college faculty

names. Of the 663 instances of community college participation on all the programs combined, 207 instances represented 16 individuals. On further examination, 87 of the 663 instances of community college participation were three individuals. In other words, not only is community college participation low, it is even more minimal than the 663 instances suggest with 13 percent of participation by only 3 individuals and 31 percent by 16 individuals.

Despite the minimal levels of both membership and participation in professional meetings by community college faculty, these data suggest teaching is not the only reason why community college faculty participate. In fact, this analysis suggests community college faculty who participate in annual meetings are also interested and involved in research and professional activities. Other researchers have noted a similar finding (Palmer 2002; Zappia 1999). Schmeltkopf (1983) noted that those community college faculty who do participate must be extraordinarily committed to the discipline.

### *Teaching Sociology Analysis*

A content analysis (using JSTOR) of articles in *Teaching Sociology* from 1973–2007 shows less involvement by community college faculty in comparison to both the membership data and annual meeting participation. From 1973–2007, the words “community college” show up 317 times in *Teaching Sociology*. I checked for the words “two-year institution” and only three articles came up, and all three were included in the original community college search. Of the 317 “hits” for the words “community college” within *Teaching Sociology*, only 41 were peer reviewed articles. Those remaining occurred in the errata notes, front materials, back materials, and reviews. Of the 41 articles, 18 had multiple authors. Of the 18 multiple author articles, only six were solely community-college authored. The remaining 12 were co-authored by community college faculty with faculty from a four-year institution.

It is disheartening to note that only 12 articles in *Teaching Sociology* were written in a partnership between two-year and four-year faculty. There is very little interaction between community college and university faculty in publishing on teaching and learning. With increased interest in the scholarship of teaching and learning (SOTL) within sociology, it is increasingly evident this is one area where partnerships between four-year and two-year faculty should form.

Of the remaining 23 community college articles, only 13 were written solely by community college faculty. As with the content analysis of annual meeting programs, I checked for names that appeared most frequently. As with the data above, 65 of the 317 (20 percent) of the “hits” for “community college” within *Teaching Sociology* were associated with only four community college faculty.

### *American Sociological Syllabus Sets*

Over the years, my department has purchased syllabi sets on topics of interest to the courses we offer. In examining the 21 my department has in our library, none included a community college editor. In 1998, there was one edited document called “Teaching Sociology at Small Institutions.” Although not edited by community col-

lege faculty, it did include an article about teaching at a community college. Grauerholz and Gibson in their analysis of ASA syllabi sets from 481 courses confirm that there is little community college participation: “Arguably [the sets] are among the best in the discipline written by conscientious teachers and selected by editors for inclusion in the resource manuals. Most of the syllabi in the study were submitted by instructors at doctoral/research universities and for courses that are substantive and solely undergraduate” (Grauerholz and Gibson 2006:11).

Given the stereotypical attitudes about community college faculty, I wonder how difficult it is to be chosen to have materials included in ASA guides and in the ASA digital library project (ASA 2009). I also wonder how many community college faculty would even bother to try to do this. Do we even know what the rejection rate has been for community college submitted syllabi?

### *Possibilities*

The data examined for this address indicate one fact: community college participation is not happening at the regional or national levels, it is not happening in our academic journals, and it is not occurring in the development of our teaching materials. As a discipline, it is time to ask ourselves just how much we care about sociology at community colleges?

I shall offer six recommendations toward solving the conundrum of the lack of participation of community college faculty in our discipline. My recommendations are based on the literature, the research I conducted for this project, my own experiences, and something I would like to call sociological “common sense.” Regardless of the somewhat lackadaisical approaches by our discipline, I am still hopeful that this conundrum can be solved. I am not ready to jump ship and suggest community college sociologists need to form their own discipline-specific association, but I certainly can understand why some may think otherwise.

*Recommendation 1: Notice and care.* Our discipline should avoid sending mixed messages about community college participation within our professional associations, both regionally and nationally. In professional meetings where the lack of community college membership is noted, the response has been “ASA can’t be all things to all people.” I have heard this statement many times in my years of participation. The first recommendation toward inclusion requires members of the ASA to decide whether we genuinely care about community college students and faculty.

There are pockets of caring within regional associations and the Section on Teaching and Learning within the ASA, yet there is no systematic effort at the national level to recruit community college members or even understand their plight as professionals. We do not even collect data or write reports on the topic within our discipline, let alone actively attract members!

My research suggests there are community college faculty who, despite the obstacles, have managed to be active in our disciplinary associations and who deeply care about the discipline of sociology. It is evident that those of us who have high levels of activity within our discipline may not be representative of those who are not participating, and

thus we may not be the best group to speak on behalf of community college sociologists. The ASA needs to hear from them directly. Extending a welcoming message of care is the first step.

*Recommendation 2: Task force and research.* The ASA membership should call for a task force to examine the community college conundrum. Although there has been some disconnect between ASA and regional associations in recent years, it is important for the ASA to involve regional associations because they may be the place where this connection can best be made for community college sociologists. Jay Howard, in his presidential address to this association in 2007, calls on our associations to avoid being paternalistic toward community college faculty members: “We need to ensure that these colleagues feel welcome and respected within our regional associations so that we can benefit from each other. It will take a concerted, intentional effort to invite and involve these faculty members; since our associations have been focused so heavily on research in the past, many community college faculty members may not perceive the annual meeting program as having anything for them” (Howard 2007:262).

As part of this task force, we need data on what is happening at community colleges in our discipline. We need to survey both full-time and part-time sociologists within the community colleges to understand their needs and how the discipline might better serve them. We need to stop depending on anecdotal advice and suggestions from current community college members. We need to use our disciplinary theories and methods to understand this issue.

*Recommendation 3: Examine other disciplinary associations.* A third recommendation is to explore how other disciplinary associations include and assist community college faculty. The American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians in 1994 formed a task force and conducted a survey of community college faculty within history across the United States. Zappia (1999) wrote in the findings of this report, “It is not surprising that community college history teaching is now a topic of more professional focus. After all, many if not most Americans who take a college level history course do so at a community college. Nevertheless, community college historians have often labored in isolation from the professions mainstream. It sometimes seems as though community colleges exist in a world entirely separate from the rest of higher education.” In this report, community college faculty asked for more freely available teaching resources and small grants to conduct research. Interestingly this report also found something similar to previously noted research in this address—*community college faculty are interested in research as well as teaching and learning.*

Both the American Chemistry Association and the American Psychological Association have taken extensive steps to involve community college faculty; their work deserves to be examined. I think this examination should include exploring membership categories and benefits, as well as revisiting the cost of teaching sources we have available on teaching and learning. Many disciplinary associations have a

community college faculty membership that includes “free access to teaching resources” (syllabi sets should be freely available). As a matter of social justice, does charging for teaching resources make sense in a time when increasing numbers of faculty teaching sociology in the United States are working for part-time wages without benefits?

*Recommendation 4: Four-year/two-year partnerships.* The fourth step requires neither a major task force report of the American Sociological Association nor does it call on the ASA “to be all things to all people.” Instead, it requires sociologists at four-year institutions to reach out to community college faculty to work together in areas of research, especially in scholarship related to teaching and learning. We can learn from what other organizations do to encourage four-year/two-year partnerships such as the National Science Foundation and the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR). I suggest we continue to look for ways to connect community colleges to four-year institutions. We all teach undergraduate students and we have so much to learn from one another. Although I have called on the ASA to examine this issue via a task force, I also challenge faculty at four-year institutions to question their assumptions about those who teach at community colleges.

*Recommendation 5: Increasing systems of professional socialization in sociology.* The fifth recommendation embraces the development of more intentional and systematic methods of socializing new members to our discipline. Regardless of whether we teach at two-year or four-year institution, we share a common purpose—to educate students in the core principles of sociology. Connecting students to the discipline needs to start at the undergraduate level and continue through all levels of graduate school. Undergraduate students from both two-year and four-year institutions should be encouraged to participate in our disciplinary associations early and often. As part of this professional socialization, we need to understand that the master’s degree may be a terminal degree for many sociologists. This terminal degree often leads to instructional responsibilities at a community college. Our discipline needs to offer more “preparing future faculty” opportunities and courses in teaching methods for those in master’s degree programs.

Regardless of educational degrees and institutional boundaries, we all play a role in teaching our discipline. Throughout the literature, many continue to suggest the absence of a PhD may be a reason for lack of involvement in discipline specific associations. I believe this disconnect is not a function of the lack of interest by those without doctorate degrees. Rather, it is the intellectual elitism displayed by those at four-year and graduate institutions who may treat community college faculty as “less than” because they perceive they have “only” a master’s degree. As implied in “public sociology,” it is time we all embrace the teaching mission of the discipline.

*Recommendation 6: Recognize the community college issue as a social justice concern.* The sixth and most important recommendation is for sociologists truly to recognize “community college” as a social justice concern worthy of being a unit of analysis in

research. I would be remiss if I failed to note that some of this community college conundrum is caused, in part, by the continued market competition for students in the United States. It is time that sociologists recognize this issue as one related to social justice and rally around this topic. Rather than complain about the students and faculty at a community college being inferior, we must recognize that much of this pretense and posturing is due to living in a society where lack of educational capital, educational segregation, racism, sexism, and classism have led to the social movement of community colleges.

Many sociologists at four-year institutions embrace a very narrow view of community college students and faculty. We often are accused of having less rigor in our courses and much of this blame is placed on overreliance on part-time faculty. There is research, however, to suggest that the use of part-time faculty is becoming just as prevalent in universities, where they account for 40 percent of those teaching courses. They are often underlaborers who subsidize the research and salaries of permanent faculty, so they can do research (Burawoy 2004).

Furthermore, although community colleges are educating approximately 44 percent of the undergraduate students in the United States, they receive less than one-third the level of federal support per full-time equivalent student (\$790) that public four-year colleges receive (\$2,600). They also have correspondingly poorer outcomes and lower retention and graduate rates (Vaughan 2006). Burawoy (2004) adds that concentration of research and professionalism in the upper reaches of the university system is made possible in part by the overburdening of our teaching institutions, the four-year and two-year colleges. The configuration of sociologies in these institutions is analogous to that in poorly resourced parts of the world (Burawoy 2004:282). In a sense the “academic proletariat” is facilitating the work of the “academic elite.” By rethinking the community college conundrum, our discipline can become more inclusive, embracing not just the rhetoric but the reality of equity and justice.<sup>2</sup>

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## NOTES

1. Although I recognize the scholarship of teaching and learning as research, I included this type in the teaching category in order to understand to what extent community college faculty are engaged in research that is *not* related to teaching.
2. Completing my address at times was so painful that I often thought about changing topics. It was very difficult to discover that much of what I am saying today was said by Nancy Stein in 1977. I hope my presidential address will have an impact. Our discipline can no longer ignore the need of community college faculty and their students. Although the focus of my address has been on community colleges, it is related to a much bigger issue within our discipline: it is time the discipline of sociology recognizes teaching as equally important to our discipline as research. I know much of what I have discussed about community college faculty could be applied to those at predominantly teaching institutions. In adapting Burawoy's line, I would like to conclude by stating, "As Teachers We Are All Potentially Public Sociologists" (Burawoy 2004).

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# Reflections on Teaching: North Central Sociological Association 2010 John F. Schnabel Lecture Letting Go: Overcoming Fear, Ego, and Other Barriers to Effective Teaching and Learning

*Melinda Messineo\**  
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*This keynote address by the 2009 John F. Schnabel award winner, Melinda Messineo, discusses how fear and ego, as experienced by both faculty and students, greatly impact the learning environment. Using the sociology of emotions literature, Messineo illustrates how changes made by faculty can positively impact the classroom experience.*

My sincerest thanks to the selection committee, to those who nominated me, and to my students. You honor and inspire me. It is such a pleasure to be here: It is gorgeous outside, and the energy of everyone here is quite invigorating. The setting is in such contrast to the topic I am presenting on today. A friend asked me why I was talking about such a negative topic, “fear and ego, fear and loathing.” She said, “Things are so tough right now, budget cuts, hiring freezes, continued conflicts. . . . These are frustrating times. You don’t want your presentation to bring everyone down. You want to uplift people. Give them something to be happy about.” She definitely had a point, so I told her, “Maybe you are right. Maybe I should talk about some other issues, something on the brighter side.” She looked relieved and offered me further support: “Exactly. So, what else are you working on?” I responded, “I could talk about pedagogical alignment, curriculum redevelopment, statewide learning outcome assessment, and credit-hour equivalencies from transfer students in the revised core curriculum.” My friend paused, the look of relief replaced by concern, and after a moment she said, “You’re right . . . fear and ego is much more uplifting . . . hopeful even.”

I offer her comments in jest, but I am sensitive to the potentially challenging nature of this presentation. To help alleviate that tension, I want to have us start with an exercise. On your seat you should have received an index card. On that card I would like for you to describe your happy place or an affirming thought. I just taught an interdisciplinary immersive learning class on happiness, and research shows that articulating happy thoughts, writing in gratitude diaries, and similar positive thinking strategies

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are important for experiencing long-term life satisfaction. You want to pick something that makes you feel good and reminds you that things are going to be okay. When you have done that, introduce yourself to someone near you whom you do not know, and, if you are comfortable, share your happy place or affirming thought with that person. [Participants complete card and chat with one another.] Hold on to your card. We will come back to that a bit later.

I was taught that when you give a presentation it is important to remember your audience, what their interests for attending are, and the experiences from which they are coming. I know many members of this audience well, and I am honored and inspired, and, to be quite frank, a bit afraid. After all, this is a room full of either former winners or future winners of this award. In fact, as a point of illustration, I would like a show of hands. Are there former teaching award winners here today? If so, please raise your hand. And future winners, please raise your hand as well. Come on now. How many of you are undergraduates? And graduate students? Pretenure and posttenure faculty members? You are all too humble; you should all be raising your hands as future winners, because I know you are here today because you care about teaching and learning, and you are but one nomination letter away from where I stand. So raise your hands. Excellent. You should all be quite proud of the work you are doing. So as I was saying . . . it is challenging to be in front of this audience, because I know the places of growth you are pursuing and the challenges you are facing may be different from the ones I usually encounter when I work with new or struggling faculty members. The experiences I describe today may not be like yours at all. But my hope is that these comments will be meaningful for everyone here or possibly give you some ideas of how to respond to a colleague who might find himself or herself in these situations.

Teaching is, of course, a challenging profession and in higher education it represents just one area of three that demand our attention. Typically when we initially approach teaching, we are concerned about content. We ask ourselves questions like “What will I present? How will I present it?” We may think of projects and assessment. Perhaps we are even guided by learning objectives and master syllabi, but the emphasis is typically on nuts and bolts logistics. The fix for these challenges is often received in the form of tips. There are lots of helpful little tweaks and strategies that help smooth the path and address those many planning concerns we face. You know the types of concerns; we have all tackled them at one time or another. There are numerous questions that get asked and what I have learned over the years is that they often are code for concerns that faculty members have but cannot, or are not sure how to, articulate.

Think of your typical teaching and learning workshop. The concerns sound something like this:

1. “My students won’t read, they can’t write, they are completely distracted by technology.”
2. “These student-centered collaborative, interactive models won’t work for me. I have content to cover; my class is the first in the methods sequence. I need to get through the material.”

3. “There is this student in my class who is a pain in the neck. He asks irrelevant questions, disrupts class, and he won’t take notes. He just looks at me as if to say ‘impress me.’”
4. “I gave them a study guide, a review session, and extended office hours. No one came, and they still complain about my tests being ‘tricky.’ I don’t get it.”

Have you heard these complaints? Have you perhaps even uttered these complaints? Kind of stressful, don’t you think? Let’s all think of our happy places for a second. [Hold up note card.] Okay . . . that helps. And there are tips, fixes we can offer for each of these concerns, but it always feels like there is something about the classroom environment that makes tips insufficient. The challenge to developing truly effective pedagogy is to move away from the logistics (which are important and need to be in place), and to attend to the more challenging task of figuring out which things are the things truly bothering us—that we can actually change—and then finding ways to fix them. Let’s look at each of these areas of concern and think about what else is being said.

Let’s look at that first one, a line of comment that I don’t hear quite as often: “My students won’t read, they can’t write, they are completely distracted by technology.” Here is an alternative: “My classes lack energy, I can’t get anyone to talk. None of the assignments come back with very much depth. I can’t seem to get their attention. I can’t connect with them. I don’t understand this generation. I feel irrelevant.”

How about the second one: “These student-centered collaborative, interactive models won’t work for me. I have content to cover, my class is the first in the methods sequence. I need to get through the material.” And the alternative: “There is so much to cover, and it is a new prep, so it all seems important. I am afraid that I won’t be able to get through the material. What if people find out that I didn’t get through the social movements chapter? Can people tell that I am bored and tired of my classes? Have I been at this too long? Should I go into administration?”

And the third one: “There is this student in my class who is a pain in the neck. He asks irrelevant questions, disrupts class, and he won’t take notes—just looks at me as if to say ‘impress me.’” Alternative: “I am worried that I will lose control of the class. I have lost them. What if others agree? How do I look to others? Do I look as incompetent as I feel?”

And the last one: “I gave them a study guide, a review session, and extended office hours. No one came, and they still complain about my tests being ‘tricky.’” Here is the alternative: “I make all of these resources available and students don’t take advantage of them. It doesn’t matter what I do; I keep giving and giving and nothing seems to make a difference. Am I stupid, some kind of idiot, to keep trying?”

Ouch . . . right? Need a little happy place? [Holds up card again.] These may not be all of the possible subtexts that are going on. I suspect these may be filtered by my own gender role socialization. But in the faculty development workshops I have participated in and facilitated, I see a consistent pattern of frustration, often focused at students. We express frustrations with their lacking high school educations, their lack of motivation, the communication gaps, and all of this is sometimes placed within a challenging, sometimes hostile, work environment.

But there is another perspective to consider as well. How are our students experiencing these same encounters? Perhaps students' comments would look something like this:

1. "My classes lack energy; no one talks. None of the assignments come back graded very in-depth. I can't seem to get their attention. I can't connect with them. I don't understand this generation. I feel irrelevant."
2. "There is so much to learn and it all seems important. I am afraid that I won't be able to get through the material. What if people find out that I didn't read the social movements chapter? Can people tell that I am bored and tired of my classes? Have I been at this too long? Should I go into business administration?"
3. "I am worried that I will lose control. I feel lost. What if others agree? How do I look to others? Do I look as incompetent as I feel?"
4. "It doesn't matter what I do; I keep giving and giving and nothing seems to make a difference. Am I stupid, some kind of idiot, to keep trying?"

So our students are facing similar or perhaps related frustrations, but when we dig a bit deeper we see that these complaints and frustrations are often standing proxy on both sides of the lectern for our fears and our frustrated expectations. Understandably, our responses are complicated, being both impeded and facilitated by the fragility and impenetrability of our egos.

So what do I mean when I say "ego"? In that perfect academic sense, too much and not nearly enough. "Ego" in this context will refer to the self that we manage and negotiate in the social environment. Responding to basic desires and social expectations, we seek affirmation and struggle with insecurity. It is a continuum of sorts. On one end, we are insecure, self-doubting, fragile, and on the other, we are on top of the world. In some ways teaching is the ultimate ego boost. In class, we might think to ourselves, "Look at these people paying attention to me . . . laughing at my jokes. I am competent!" I remember the first class I taught. I was so nervous—I started lecturing, and I was shocked to see the students writing things down, the things I was saying. I wanted to say, "Don't write that down. I could be wrong." But thankfully, over time, we feel great. We feel like we are teaching and that the students are learning.

And fear, we know what fear is as well. It is that tightening in the chest, the pause, the panic, the barrier that keeps us from moving on, and, ironically, it can also be the jolt that keeps us trying. Anyone who has navigated the tenure process knows how motivating and paralyzing fear can be, and it is with us in the classroom long after the class is prepped.

So ego and fear can serve as motivators as well as barriers, and, of course, there is interaction between the two. As the scenarios above suggest, the classroom, virtual as well as face-to-face, is where the encounters occur and where the challenges arise. We protect our fragile egos by deflecting the negative. We simultaneously take too much credit and blame for what is going on in the classroom. But when it comes right down to it, many of our frustrations are linked to our acting out of fear, because we want to protect our fragile selves. When we don't take chances, we are not so much lazy as

we are afraid. We are afraid of failure, afraid of wasting time, afraid of losing face, afraid of being wrong. A better word in this context is probably “pride.” Our pride keeps us from admitting we made a mistake, that we simply did not do our best. Have you ever had this experience? “You know there is that one lecture that I keep meaning to rework and for some reason it doesn’t get better just sitting there on my flash-drive. Each semester it comes up again, and for some reason it falls flat every time.” Pride keeps us from moving forward.

So I believe that there is value in recognizing that while, at first, undesirable behaviors may appear to be laziness or inability, they may, in fact, be fear and ego getting in the way—and not just from the student’s perspective. When we find ourselves getting a little too frustrated with a student’s behavior we should ask “Is it really the student?” Or is it our pride getting in the way or maybe our reaction is a response to fear? Perhaps it is both. When students are surfing the web in class, it is, in fact, rude at some level. But am I bothered more by the fact they aren’t paying attention or by the fact that in the big picture it may not really matter that they aren’t?

So what do we do about this? How do we understand and mediate how our fear and ego get in the way of teaching and learning? Partly we simply need to be aware. Increased awareness, reflection, sensitivity, and empathy are the starting points to recognizing how fear and ego impact our teaching and learning. In addition to these responses, I believe that we can make valuable use of the contributions from the sociology of emotions literature to give us answers to these questions.

This presentation will focus on three of the areas that make up the sociology of emotions literature (Roberts and Smith 2002; Turner and Stets 2006): (1) dramaturgical analysis; (2) interaction ritual; and (3) power and status.

*Dramaturgical theories* tell us that our actions in the classroom are directed by cultural scripts. We abide by feeling rules to avoid breaches, and we work hard to repair division when needed. Students as subordinates in this context need to do the larger portion of emotion work. Gestalt theory teaches us that we work toward cognitive consistency and congruence, so both parties expect that there will be scripts that are followed consistently. Teachers and students have expectations about the specific roles we need to play in order for the performance to be successful.

*Interaction ritual theories* explain how the classroom environment is a point of ritual or a point of encounter where individuals gather in proximate space, greet each other in stereotyped ritual ways to raise the transient emotions that, in turn, create a shared mood and focus of attention (see also Durkheim [1912] 1995 and Goffman 1959). The synchronization of bodies and talk create a collective effervescence, which is followed by rising levels of positive emotional energy (Collins 2004). If participants are constrained within an interaction ritual where they experience little power, there is negative emotional energy, which results in fear, anxiety, shame, and guilt. In contrast, positive experiences build one’s sense of self (Summer-Effler 2002).

*Power and status theories* tell us that when individuals have or gain power they experience satisfaction, confidence, and security. However, when they lose power, they experience anxiety, fear, and shame (Turner and Stets 2006). Lovaglia and Houser

(1996) explain how when higher status individuals experience the positive emotions afforded to them by their status, they express positive emotions to those in lower positions. As a result, they often allow them to have more influence in the group, thus reducing the gap between those higher and lower in the hierarchy. When we feel our position is based on our abilities, we are more open to those below us in the hierarchy. However, if we feel our position is somehow simply a result of luck or things beyond our control, we are more likely to feel anxiety, guilt, and fear. We then become defensive and resist influence by lower-ranking persons, thus sustaining the gap. In contrast, lower-status individuals will often try to reduce the position and power of those above them in order to reduce status differences. One can easily apply this to the classroom environment. Faculty who feel threatened will often try to emphasize and expand the hierarchical nature of the classroom environment as a form of protection, while similarly threatened students will work to challenge the hierarchy (Turner and Stets 2006).

So, what do these theories teach us about fear and ego? Specifically, symbols, power, and expectations in the classroom matter. The greater the power differentials, the greater the potential for problems. But what does this mean in practice? Classrooms are not simply points of fact or places of content delivery. Classes are sites where encounters occur and selves are created, supported, challenged, and revealed. Through dramaturgical analysis, we learn that there are scripts, and when we deviate from those scripts, students do not know their roles, and they experience anxiety. Take, for example, student resistance to interactive classroom strategies. They have learned a specific script and they know their role. Changing the script without guidance has the potential to create conflict. Greater transparency about what we are doing and why we are doing it, basically removing the barrier between some of the front and back stage behavior, will help students understand their part. Also, we need to clarify to ourselves that our role is that of ally. We are on the same side. We are a cast working together to pull off this performance.

Interaction ritual theory helps us understand why it works when it is working. You know that wonderful feeling you get when you reach “flow” and everyone is on the same page and things are going great (Csíkszentmihályi 1988). Interactional ritual theory gives us the elements to make these successful interactions happen—bring people together, create a shared focus, encourage the collective effervescence, and support positive energy.

Interaction ritual theory and power and status theories tell us that we need to reduce hierarchy and increase student power. When we are in a good place, we willingly reduce the status gap. When we feel threatened, we are resistant to input from the group. So part of our job is to figure out ways to help students affirm our status, and that happens when we feel as if we are effective. We feel competent and effective when students are learning and successful. How can we increase our feelings of effectiveness and increase their chances for success? We need to set clear goals, helping students succeed by providing them clear expectations, giving formative assessment feedback on their development and ownership opportunities in the work they pro-

duce. How do we reduce hierarchy? Provide opportunities for student input. Make our students teachers, make our students the experts.

Finally, we need to move away from the need for deference and compliance and more toward contexts of respect. I say that not intending to diminish our expertise, our hard work, or our experience. These traits are all meaningful and valuable and worthy of respect. I think instead we need to acknowledge that we may have other reasons for our behavior in the classroom (see Bellas 1999). Academia is a challenging field full of opportunities for fear and ego. We find that behind the closed doors of the classroom we can take back some of the control we have lost in the other areas of our professional lives. I am reminded of a quote from Parker Palmer (1998:20):

Academics often suffer the pain of dismemberment. On the surface, this is the pain of people who thought they were joining a community of scholars but find themselves in distant, competitive, and uncaring relationships with colleagues and students. Deeper down, this pain is more spiritual than sociological: it comes from being disconnected from our own truth, from the passions that took us into teaching, from the heart that is the source of all good work. . . . If we have lost the heart to teach, how can we take heart again? How can we remember who we are, for our own sake and the sake of those we serve?

Despite the obstacles, we are quite fortunate to have this as our life's work. We have the chance to interact with, shape the lives of, and be shaped by new people every term. I believe that we can have richer and deeper experiences if we can let go of the fear and ego that keep barriers between us.

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# A Symbolic Interaction Approach to Cigarette Smoking: Smoking Frequency and the Desire to Quit Smoking

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*This study applies a symbolic interaction perspective to the investigation of smoking frequency and a person's desire to quit smoking cigarettes. Data derived from 485 Atlanta-area adult smokers provide a diverse, community-based sample of married and single men and women, aged 18 to 70 years old, with a range of income, education, and occupational experiences. Multiple regression was used to analyze the data in order to explore the influence of social demographic characteristics, social interaction, subjective assessments of health, self-conceptions, and smoker identity on smoking frequency and quitting smoking. The findings were that (1) the relationship with a nonsmoker and hiding smoking negatively impacted smoking frequency, whereas perceiving positive consequences from smoking has a positive effect on smoking frequency; and (2) perceiving positive consequences of smoking was negatively related to the desire to quit smoking, whereas a negative smoker identity has a positive influence on the desire to quit. Taken as a whole, the symbolic interaction-inspired variables exerted strong and independent effects on both smoking frequency and quitting smoking. Future smoking interventions should focus on meanings and perceived consequences of smoking in general, and on the smoker identity in the development of campaigns to encourage quitting cigarette smoking.*

Cigarette smoking is widely recognized as the leading cause of preventable death among adults in the United States (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2008), creating serious illness among an estimated 8.6 million people, costing \$167 billion in annual health-related losses, killing approximately 438,000 Americans each

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year, and resulting in around 5 million deaths worldwide (Frieden and Blakeman 2005). Therefore, it is not surprising that cigarette smoking has been a critical public health issue throughout the second half of the twentieth century. The publication of the Surgeon General's Report on Smoking and Health (U.S. Dept. of Health and Human Services 1964) is viewed as a landmark document and triggered extensive scientific research, policy making, and public debates. An emerging literature has focused on the influence of social demographic characteristics, including variations in age, occupational status, social class, education, income, and race/ethnicity on smoking frequency and cessation (Barbeau, Krieger, and Soobader 2004; Isaacs and Schroeder 2004; Kandel et al. 2004). There have also been studies that have applied a social ecological framework that explores social contexts, including interpersonal, organizational, neighborhood, and societal factors that may influence smoking behaviors (Ahern et al. 2000; Poland et al. 2006).

Another research direction has explored individual-level factors and psychological processes such as the implications of physical dependence on smoking relapses (Kenford et al. 2002), the relationship between alcohol consumption and smoking patterns (McClure et al. 2002), and the influence of negative affective status and depression on smoking (Wetter et al. 2000). More recently, psychological research has explored the ways that smokers rationalize their smoking and develop self-exempting beliefs about smoking (Oakes et al. 2004); the meaning of smoking, including cigarettes as a symbol of control and as a means of self-medicating illness (Lawn, Pols, and Barber 2002); and the self-images and ideal images of smokers (Amos et al. 1997).

From a sociological perspective, in general, and a social psychological perspective, in specific, a major weakness of past studies of cigarette smoking has been the absence of a comprehensive perspective that integrates both social background and social interactional factors with individual-level and self-concept factors. A more complete understanding of the dynamics of smoking requires recognizing both the social background and interactional context that may encourage (or inhibit) smoking and the personal and social psychological meanings that motivate (or discourage) smoking.

We propose to address this weakness of past smoking studies by applying symbolic interaction theory (Blumer 1969; Stryker 1980) to enable us to better understand frequency of cigarette smoking and the intention to quit smoking. Although symbolic interaction theory has been used to study a variety of socially approved and stigmatized identities—from identities as workers, women, and Americans to identities as homeless, drug users, and drug dealers to identities as physically disabled (Goffman 1963; Lee and Craft 2002; Owens 2003)—the theory has not been invoked to explore the smoker identity or smoking behaviors. One of our goals is to extend the scope of symbolic interaction theory by applying the theory to a new identity (smoker identity), sets of behaviors (smoking frequency), and anticipated plans (quitting smoking). To empirically pursue our investigation, we studied 485 Atlanta-area adult smokers to provide a diverse, community-based sample of married and single men and women, aged 18 to 70 years old, with a range of income, education, and occupational experiences. Multiple regression will be used to analyze the data in order to explore the relationship of a set of social demographic and social interaction factors, subjective assessments of

smoking variables, self-conceptions and the smoker identity to smoking frequency and quitting smoking. We also are interested in using our theoretical foundation and empirical study to suggest a new direction for both better understanding smoking behavior and the programmatic implications of smoking meanings, self-concept, and smoker identity for prevention and intervention programs.

## THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND RESEARCH EXPECTATIONS

Symbolic interaction theory as a comprehensive sociological theory recognizes that both social structural and personal factors influence behavior (Anderson 1994). Individuals are influenced in their thoughts and actions by social forces and processes, shared meanings and symbols, and by individual agency and self-motives (Mead 1934).

### *Social Background and Interactional Factors*

A key assumption of symbolic interaction theory is that individuals are influenced by both macrolevel social institutions, organizations, and social structures and by intermediate, mesolevel social settings where definitions of the situation are negotiated (LaRossa and Reitzes 1993). Stryker (1980) argued that social structure provides the opportunities and social, economic, and cultural resources that lead to patterned regularities in behavior. He noted (1980:70), in particular, the significance of age, class, and ethnicity as social structural factors. Epidemiological and public health research has focused on similar factors. Findings suggest that cigarette consumption increases with age, at least up until middle age, that men smoke more than women, whites more than members of racial/ethnic minority groups, and people with a low socioeconomic status more than those who are more affluent (Barbeau et al. 2004; Isaacs and Schroeder 2004; Kandel et al. 2004). Serving in the military has been associated with higher rates of smoking compared to the civilian population (Klevens et al. 1995). Being married may provide the social integration and ties that discourage risky behaviors, including smoking (Gibbons and Gerrard 1995). We expect that sets of these factors will influence both smoking frequency and plans to quit smoking.

Goffman (1959) focused on patterned regularities in social encounters and smaller settings. He proposed that individuals actively negotiate with others and within the broader context of the shared social meanings of roles and behaviors in social settings. In terms of smoking, ties with a significant other who smokes may influence both the opportunities to smoke and the extent to which smoking is perceived as an inappropriate behavior. Although a significant other is a person to whom the individual attributes importance and who, therefore, may influence behavior (Rosenberg 1979), individuals are also influenced by the scope or breadth of social networks. In the case of smoking, the more friends that a person has who smoke, the more likely that peer acceptance and greater opportunities to smoke will increase smoking frequency. Finally, Goffman (1959) notes the importance of selectively engaging in self-presentation to preserve and

protect one's self-esteem and to encourage positive regard from significant others. So, self-presentation would include hiding smoking from significant others who disapprove of the behavior. We expect that having a significant other who smokes, more friends who smoke, and hiding smoking from others who disapprove of smoking are all strategies that would increase smoking frequency and discourage plans to quit smoking.

### *Meanings and Perceived Consequences of Smoking*

One of the most important insights of symbolic interaction theory, as stated by Herbert Blumer (1969:5), is that "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them." While acknowledging that behavior is influenced by a host of unconscious, biogenetic, sociocultural, and economic sources, symbolic interactionists recognize that individuals are also influenced by the meanings they assign to objects and actions. In short, meanings matter. Zerubavel (1997) argued that cognitive processes, including symbolization, provide taken-for-granted assumptions about transition and change, and that they enable individuals to organize their social world into continuous and discrete units of time and space. In other words, cigarette smoking is assumed to be influenced by the cognitive and affective meanings that define and shape the way a person understands what it means to engage in the act of smoking.

Oakes et al. (2004) introduced a very suggestive line of inquiry when they explored the rationalizations used by smokers to explain and justify their continued smoking. They identified four sets of self-exempting beliefs: smokers (1) think they have some personal immunity to the health effects of smoking; (2) do not believe the medical evidence about smoking and disease; (3) believe that smoking dangers are normal and that life generally is risky and dangerous; and (4) enjoy smoking and think that the satisfaction of smoking is worth the risk. Hence, there is a set of meanings and beliefs that provide the interpretive context and cognitive frame of reference for defining smoking as a positive behavior. For example, smokers may believe that smoking is affectively desirable and enhances social interactions by increasing their instrumental competence. Such meanings highlight the short-term satisfaction of smoking, while implicitly distancing the immediate act of smoking from its future health risks. Conversely, cognitively linking smoking with health concerns and negative physical feelings may also influence smoking behaviors and plans. Therefore, we expect that highlighting the positive consequences of smoking will increase smoking frequency and reduce interest in quitting smoking, while recognizing health concerns and negative physical feeling with smoking will reduce smoking behaviors and encourage plans to quit smoking.

### *Self-conceptions and the Smoker Identity*

Another hallmark of symbolic interaction theory is its recognition, derived from seminal works by George Herbert Mead (1934) and Charles Horton Cooley (1902), that individuals are not born with a sense of self. Self-conceptions are developed through social interaction, and once formed, provide individuals with intrinsic, independent, self-derived motives for behavior and action. Both global or general self-conceptions

and more specific or situated self-meanings, that is, identities, have been articulated in symbolic interaction theory (Owens 2003). Beginning with the former, "self" refers to shared meanings about a person as a social object (Burke 2004). Symbolic interaction theory proposes that individuals are motivated, in part, to preserve, protect, and enhance their self-conceptions (Gecas and Burke 1995).

Over the course of the past twenty-five years, two motives, self-esteem and self-efficacy, have received the most attention by symbolic interactions (Stets and Burke 2003). Self-esteem is a global self-conception that focuses on a sense of self-worth, a positive self-assessment or evaluation. An extensive research literature reveals that self-esteem is a strong motive that encourages individuals to strive to achieve approval and acceptance from others, especially valued or significant others (Gecas and Burke 1995; Rosenberg 1979). Self-efficacy is a second global self-conception that refers to a desire to view oneself as a causal agent, as competent, and as effectively potent (Gecas 1986). As a motive, self-efficacy provides an intrinsic or self-derived desire that encourages individuals to succeed in social roles and situations (Gecas and Burke 1995).

Self-esteem and self-efficacy are two global self-conceptions that may influence smoking behaviors and plans. Individuals with higher and more positive self-esteem may perceive cigarette smoking and its negative connotation as inconsistent with their desire to maintain and enhance their sense of self-worth. Thus, self-esteem may reduce smoking frequency by tempering the short-term desires to smoke with long-term motives to view oneself in a positive manner. In addition, high self-esteem may motivate smokers to consider quitting smoking. The impact of efficacy on smoking frequency is less clear. On one hand, similar to self-esteem, self-efficacy may discourage smoking. Smoking may be viewed as a form of dependency, and a desire for self-control and mastery may encourage smokers to break the habit and quit smoking. On the other hand, Lawn et al. (2002) found that for smokers, cigarettes provided a sense of safety, reassurance, and predictability; thus, the desire to increase self-efficacy may encourage smoking and discourage interest in quitting.

Symbolic interaction theory maintains that individuals do not just create a general sense of self; they also create identities, self-meanings in social roles (Stryker 1980). Thus, symbolic interaction theory proposes that individuals create a sense of self or personhood in their roles and the desire to maintain these situated self-meanings is an independent motive that encourages consistent and supporting behaviors. Most identity theory and research has focused on positive identities, socially valued identities such as parental identities, work and occupational identities, and identities in volunteer organizations and institutions (Burke 2004). However, Goffman (1963) in his classic study introduced the notion of stigma and stigmatized identities to cover self-meaning in deviant occupations and roles. One of his insights was that a stigma is not an attribute in and of itself, but a shared social meaning, an identity, that emerges in contrast and comparison to the normative and being "normal" (Kaufman and Johnson 2004). Goffman cautioned that a person labeled as stigmatized in one role or situation may be viewed as normal in other situations. Thus, cigarette smokers may be stigmatized when they are seen smoking or when someone smells tobacco on their clothes, but not in other situations. Cigarette smokers may engage in strategies to

minimize the negative repercussion of a stigmatized identity, such as secrecy, concealing their smoking from others, withdrawal, avoiding interactions with nonsmokers and seeking out contact with smokers, or “preventive telling” (Lee and Craft 2002). Indeed, the disapproval of smoking by family and friends has demonstrated associations with smoker-related stigma among smokers and former smokers (Stuber, Galea, and Link 2008).

Goffman’s perspective on stigma also suggests that the more negatively a person views him/herself as a smoker, the more the stigmatized identity will prevent the initiation of smoking, and, among those who smoke, will encourage them to quit. Stuber et al. (2008) provided support for the link between negative views of self and a stigmatized identity by finding an association between a belief among smokers and former smokers that weak character is a cause of smoking and smoker-related stigma. However, we need to be aware that cigarette smoking may not necessarily lead to a lowered sense of self-esteem and self-worth. In other words, stigma or spoiled identities may be managed.

In summary, symbolic interaction theory provides the foundation for our study. First, as a sociological theory, symbolic interaction theory recognizes that both variations in age, class, ethnicity, and other structural elements create different economic and social opportunities and constraints on the behavior of individuals; variations in social interactions and network ties create additional social motives for behaviors (Stryker 1980). Thus, in line with past demographic studies, a symbolic interaction approach recognizes that there may be age, gender, and educational and occupational variations in smoking behaviors. In addition, social network ties with smokers, significant others who smoke, and a willingness to conceal smoking from disapproving others also influence smoking frequency and plans to quit smoking. Second, symbolic interaction theory assumes that individuals experience the world indirectly through their shared social meanings, and social meanings influence behaviors (Blumer 1969; Zerubavel 1997). For cigarette smokers, this implies that their understanding of the anticipated consequences of their smoking influences their smoking behaviors. Third, it is assumed that individuals are motivated to maintain their self-conceptions and identity meanings (Burke 2004). Thus, smoking is not just a result of social opportunities or peer pressure, but also the desire of a person to maintain a general sense of self-regard or self-worth as well as a specific identity as a smoker.

## DATA AND METHODS

### *Data*

The data presented in this study were collected in Atlanta, Georgia, between September 2004 and July 2007 as part of the Persistent Smokers Project (PSP), a five-year cross-sectional study among current cigarette smokers with the aim of better understanding their reasons for and meanings attached to cigarette smoking. Ultimately, such findings are essential to the development of targeted risk reduction

interventions. We note that it is a community-based sample, as opposed to the more common samples derived from clinical and other institutional settings. To be eligible, the participants had to be 18 years or older, reside in the Atlanta metropolitan area, have smoked at least 100 cigarettes in their lifetimes, which is consistent with the National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) classification (CDC 2002) as “ever smoked,” and currently have smoked in the last week, which is consistent with the NHIS classification (CDC 2002) as “current smoker.”

Participant selection involved purposive sampling. Using a short form, potential study participants were actively recruited and screened in the setting where they were found, such as near office buildings or other work locations, at restaurants and other social entertainment settings, in parks, and in other public settings. Passive recruitment involved posting flyers in local venues, such as stores, restaurants, and community centers. Interested individuals who called the project phone line listed on the flyers initially were screened over the phone using the same short form as used in the active recruitment. Two-thirds of the respondents were actively recruited into the study, with the remaining one-third identified through passive recruitment. We did not identify any significant difference in the sample characteristics based on the recruitment strategy.

Once a person was identified as eligible, the staff member described the study and time required to participate. The most common reason for ineligibility was having smoked an insufficient number of cigarettes to qualify, which included having smoked fewer than 100 cigarettes ever, and not having smoked in the last week prior to the interview. The interviews took place at a mutually convenient location, such as one of the project offices, the respondent's home, a local restaurant or coffee shop, or at community centers. Additional information was provided about the nature of the study, the time required, and the informed consent and other confidentiality procedures. The questionnaire contained items covering the respondent's social demographic characteristics, smoking behaviors, attitudes, and opinions, as well as items about alcohol and other drugs, a health inventory, and self and identity scales. Respondents gave verbal consent prior to participating. Institutional Review Board approval was obtained through Emory University and Georgia State University.

The sample for this analysis included 485 smokers. As reported in Table 1, respondents reported a mean age of 36.40 (SD = 12.37). They were 55 percent white, 45 percent in a current relationship; 43 percent were female, and 31 percent were employed in professional or managerial occupations. Respondents had a mean total personal income during the past 30 days of approximately \$2,500 (\$30,000 annually), ranging from \$0 to \$18,000 (\$0 to \$216,000 annually) and for the purpose of data analysis we used the square root of the monthly income. Education ranged from 11 to 18 years of schooling. The sample provided a diverse cross-section of Atlanta smokers well suited to allow us to explore our research expectations. Compared to national data reported by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the study sample included more women and was slightly more educated. Otherwise, the sample reflected the characteristics of smokers nationally (CDC 2008).

### *Variables*

In this analysis we are interested in exploring factors that may be related to both current smoking frequency and a person's desire to quit. *Smoking frequency* was derived from an open-ended question that asked respondents, "In an average week, how many cigarettes do you smoke?" Responses range from 20 to 420 cigarettes a week with an average of 104.27, or a few more than 5 packs a week. Our other outcome variable, *Quitting desire*, is a scale based on three items: (1) "How interested are you in quitting smoking?" (responses range from "0" to "10"); (2) "How great is your desire to quit smoking in the next year?" (responses range from "0" to "10"); and (3) "How confident are you that you will quit, and will not be smoking one year from now?" (responses range from "0" to "10") with an alpha reliability score of .82.

Two other factors related to smoking were included in the analysis to control for variation in individual smoking history: the age the participants first had a cigarette and whether the participants had ever tried to quit smoking. *Age first cigarette* was captured with the question "How old were you when you smoked your first cigarette?" *Ever quit* was assessed using the question "How many times have you seriously tried to quit?" Participants who had never tried to quit were coded as "0," and participants who had tried to quit one or more times were coded as "1."

Seven social demographic variables were included to investigate demographic patterns and socioeconomic resources that may be associated with smoking. *Age* was measured with an open-ended question, "How old are you now?" with another question asking about date of birth to verify age. Race was determined by a dichotomous variable, *white*, based on the question, "How would you describe your racial/ethnic background?" *Female* was constructed as a dichotomous variable coded "1" for responses of "female" and "0" for responses of "male." Socioeconomic status was estimated with three variables. Respondent's occupation was ascertained from the question "What kind of work do you do?" *Professional/managerial* was constructed as a dichotomous variable with the categories "professional" and "managerial or administrative" coded "1," and other occupations coded as "0." *Income* was derived from a question that asked, "During the past 30 days, about what was your total personal income from work and all other sources?" Due to violations of normality, we used the square root of income in all analyses. Participants were asked if they had ever been in the armed forces. Responses of "no" were coded "0," "yes, in the past" coded "1," and "yes, currently enrolled" were coded "2." No one in our sample reported being currently enrolled. *Current relationship* was based on a question that asked about "your relationship status right now," with "married or common law married" and "living with a partner" coded as 2; participants who reported being in a steady or casual relationship but not residing with the partner coded as "1"; and "single," "separated," "divorced," and "widowed" coded as "0." *Education* was measured in years of schooling and comes from a question that asks, "What is your highest year in school or grade that you completed?" Responses were categorized as "Less than a high school diploma" or "GED," "Graduated from high school" or "Some vocational/technical school certificate," "Some college" or "Two-year college degree," "Four-year college

degree” or “Some graduate school,” and “Master’s degree” or greater. Relationship status was coded as a dichotomous variable.

Symbolic interaction is interested not only in social background factors, but also interactional factors that may influence behaviors and plans. Therefore, to study smoking frequency and plans to quit, we also include three variables that tap social ties and interactions. *Partner type* was assessed with the question “Are you currently in a relationship with . . .” The responses were “A steady partner who smokes,” “A steady partner who does not smoke,” and “Not in a steady relationship.” *Hiding smoking from anyone* was measured with the question “Are there people from whom you are hiding your cigarette smoking?” Responses of “no” were coded “0” and “yes” coded “1.” *Friends who smoke* was derived from a question that asked “How many of your friends smoke?” with responses of “None” coded “0,” “Some” coded “1,” “Half” coded “2,” “Most” coded “3,” and “All” coded “4.”

Recognizing that meanings matter, we include three variables to tap differences in the way that respondents understand the health risk of smoking, link smoking with negative physical feelings, and perceived positive consequences of smoking. *Health concerns* was measured using the four questions that make up the Health Risks subscale of the Smoking Consequences Questionnaire (Copeland, Brandon, and Quinn 1995): “Smoking is taking years off my life,” “The more I smoke, the more I risk my health,” “By smoking I risk heart disease and lung cancer,” and “Smoking is hazardous to my health.” The scale demonstrated adequate internal consistency as measured by an alpha reliability score (.82). Response categories ranged from Strongly Agree (5) to Strongly Disagree (1), with higher scores indicating more health concern. *Negative physical feelings* was measured by four questions aimed at ascertaining a person’s perception of smoking on their physical health. Items included “Smoking makes me short of breath,” “Smoking makes me feel physically weaker,” “Smoking makes it hard for me to exercise or to play sports,” and “Smoking gives me a cough.” Response categories ranged from Strongly Agree (5) to Strongly Disagree (1) and the alpha reliability score was .79. Higher scores indicate greater negative feelings. *Positive consequences of smoking* contains twelve items adapted, in part, from work by Myers et al. (2003) and Copeland et al. (1995): (1) “When I’m angry, smoking a cigarette calms me down”; (2) “Smoking calms me down when I feel nervous”; (3) “Smoking energizes me”; (4) “Cigarettes can really make me feel good”; (5) “When I am worrying about something, smoking a cigarette is helpful”; (6) “When I’m feeling happy, smoking helps keep that feeling”; (7) “I enjoy parties more when I am smoking”; (8) “I feel more at ease with other people if I have a cigarette”; (9) “It helps in social situations” in response to the statement, “People have given various reasons for why they smoke”; (10) “I am afraid that I will be unable to function if I stop smoking”; (11) “I do better work when I am allowed to smoke”; and (12) “I feel like I am part of a group when I’m around smokers.” Response categories ranged from “Strongly agree” (5) to “Strongly disagree” (1) and the scale alpha reliability score is .80.

Two global self-conceptions may influence smoking frequency and plans to quit smoking. *Self-esteem* is measured with the 10-item self-esteem scale (Rosenberg 1979), which contains statements such as “I feel that I’m a person of worth, at least

on an equal plane with others” and “I take a positive attitude toward myself.” Response categories ranged from “Strongly agree” (5) to “Strongly disagree” (1) and the scale’s alpha reliability score is .86. *Self-efficacy* was derived from seven of the original fourteen items found in Schuessler’s Doubt about Self-Determination Scale (Schuessler 1982): (1) “What happens in life is largely a matter of chance”; (2) “I sometimes feel I have little control over the direction my life is taking”; (3) “For me, one day is no different from another”; (4) “The world is too complicated for me to understand”; (5) “The future is too unsure for a person to plan ahead”; (6) “I find it difficult to be optimistic about anything nowadays”; and (7) “I have little influence over things that happen to me” with items recoded from “1” “Strongly agree” to “5” “Strongly disagree” and an alpha score of .75.

Finally, *negative smoker identity* is a new identity measure based on 6 items: (1) “My smoking makes me respect myself less”; (2) “I look ridiculous while smoking”; (3) “I feel guilty about smoking; (4) “If I was not so weak, I could quit smoking”; (5) “I think people should bash smokers”; and (6) “I hate the way I smell after smoking,” with responses from “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree” coded or recoded to reflect a negative direction and yielding an alpha reliability score for the scale of .72.

### *Analysis Plan*

Past research has extensively explored the addictive consequences of smoking cigarettes (Morrell, Cohen, and al’Absi 2008). We, therefore, are interested in assessing whether the direct relationship between the frequency of smoking and quitting will be reduced when we add social demographic characteristics and interaction variables, meanings and implications smoking factors, and the self-conception and identity variables to the analysis.

Following an examination of descriptive statistics and bivariate associations of study variables, we are interested in investigating two research issues. First, to explore whether our symbolic interaction–inspired variables are related to smoking frequency, we begin with an ordinary least-squared (OLS) regression analysis that includes only the social demographic variables that demonstrated bivariate associations with the outcome at the level of  $p < .10$ . Smoking frequency was square-root transformed to meet the OLS assumptions of normality.

Subsequent regressions include social interaction, physical health perception, and self-conception variables (Models 2, 3, and 4) that demonstrate a trend toward a significant association with smoking frequency. The final analysis (Model 5) added age at first cigarette as an additional control variable.

Next, we are interested in whether our symbolic interaction–inspired variables are independently related to the desire to quit smoking using the same analysis strategy of including variables that demonstrate bivariate associations at the level of  $p < .10$  in nested multivariate regression analyses. For both empirical and conceptual reasons, these regression analyses are limited to participants who planned to quit smoking at some point in the future ( $N = 420$ ). Empirically, the participants who did not intend to quit were left out due to a skip pattern, because the question “How confident are you that you will be able to quit” was not asked of those who indicated they

did not intend to quit. Conceptually, it could not be assumed what answer a person who did not intend to quit would give to that question. The first OLS regression analysis includes social demographic variables. We then add the other symbolic interaction–inspired variables (Models 2, 3, and 4). Finally, we included smoking related variables (Model 5).

## FINDINGS

Descriptions of variable distributions and associations with the outcome variables are presented in Table 1. Nearly 20 percent of the sample reported being in a relationship with someone who did not smoke, and nearly 30 percent reported hiding smoking from anyone. The majority identified one-half or more of their friends as smokers. The mean score for positive consequences of smoking is 39.00 (SD = 6.63), and 64 percent of the respondents had scores above the point midway between the highest and lowest actual scores. The average score for self-esteem is 39.50 (SD = 5.57), with 80 percent of respondents reporting self-esteem scores above the midpoint of the observed range of the scale; self-efficacy reflects an average score of 24.92 (SD = 4.32), with 70 percent of respondents scoring above the midpoint of the observed scale range. The mean score for negative smoker identity is 17.32 (SD = 4.24), with 45 percent of smokers reporting scores below 17, 9 percent at 17, and 46 percent above 17. Relationship with a nonsmoker, hiding smoking from anyone, and self-esteem demonstrate negative associations with smoking frequency, and having friends who smoke and perceiving positive consequences of smoking are positively associated with smoking frequency at the level of  $p < .10$ . Self-esteem, self-efficacy, and negative smoker identity are positively associated with a desire to quit, while having friends who smoke and perceiving positive consequences of smoking are negatively associated at the level of  $p < .10$ . Three cases were determined to be outliers based on responses to the income question (greater than seven standard deviations outside the mean); these were deleted from the analysis. There were minimal missing data on control and study variables and casewise deletion was applied in multivariate analyses.

Examination of bivariate statistics between independent variables confirms the independence and validity of the variables suggested by symbolic interaction theory. As expected, respondents with more friends who smoke and who highlight the positive consequences of smoking smoke more cigarettes and report less of a desire to quit smoking, but these two variables are clearly tapping meanings that are different from each other ( $r = .17$ ). Additionally, having more friends who smoke is negatively associated with being in a relationship with someone who does not smoke ( $r = -.11$ ) and hiding smoking from anyone ( $r = -.13$ ); while positive consequences of smoking are not significantly associated with being in a relationship with someone who does not smoke and was positively associated with hiding smoking from anyone ( $r = .09$ ). Further, there is no statistically significant relationship between positive consequences of smoking and smoker identity and a negative association between friends who smoke and smoker identity ( $r = -.10$ ). The two self-conceptions, self-esteem and self-

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Study Variables

	<i>N</i>	Mean/ Proportion	SD	$\alpha$	Smoking Frequency	Desire to Quit
<i>Sociodemographic characteristics</i>						
Age	482	36.40	12.37		.15**	.09 <sup>+</sup>
White	482	.55			.23***	-.15**
Female	481	.43			-.04	.05
Professional/managerial	480	.31			.11*	.01
Income <sup>a</sup>	478	46.19	19.79		.09*	-.03
Ever in armed forces	482	.09			.10*	-.04
Current relationship	482	.45			-.04	-.01
Education (continuous)	482	16.11	2.78		-.06	-.04
Education <sup>b</sup> (by category)	482				3.43**	2.87*
GED or less than high school	48				136.02	17.83
High school graduate or some vocational	87				99.54	20.92
Vocational, some college, or two-year degree	183				95.72	18.07
Four-year degree or some graduate school	116				107.78	20.06
Graduate degree	48				105.19	17.33
<i>Social interaction</i>						
Partner type <sup>c</sup> (by category)	473				2.63 <sup>+</sup>	.14
Relationship with nonsmoker	83				90.94	19.10
Relationship with smoker	129				109.51	18.69
No relationship	261				105.41	19.17
Hiding smoking from anyone	482	.29			-.18***	.06
Friends who smoke	480	1.94	1.00		.11*	-.20***
<i>Subjective assessment of health</i>						
Health concerns	479	6.60	2.36	.82	.05	.21***
Negative physical feelings	480	13.64	3.29	.79	.13**	.14**
Positive consequences of smoking	476	39.00	6.63	.80	.18***	-.18***
<i>Self-conceptions and identity</i>						
Self-esteem	481	39.50	5.57	.86	-.12**	.13**
Self-efficacy	481	24.92	4.32	.75	.01	.09 <sup>+</sup>
Negative smoker identity	478	17.32	4.24	.72	-.04	.37***
<i>Smoking</i>						
Age first cigarette	482	14.75	4.61		-.14**	.04
Ever quit	475	.81			-.01	.29***
Smoking frequency	482	104.27	69.63		***	-.15**
Quitting desire	420	18.99	7.94	.82		

<sup>a</sup> Square-root transformation of monthly income

<sup>b</sup> F statistic reported

<sup>c</sup> F statistic reported for ANOVA using the square-root transformation of smoking frequency. Means reported are those of smoking frequency.

<sup>+</sup> $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

efficacy, are, as expected, moderately correlated with each other ( $r = .41$ ), but clearly not identical constructs; both variables reflect self-meanings that are substantially different from smoker identity, with only self-esteem revealing a negative association with negative smoking identity ( $r = -.11$ ). Self-efficacy demonstrates an association with being in a relationship with someone who does not smoke ( $r = .10$ ). Hiding smoking is positively associated with negative smoker identity ( $r = .20$ ). Being in a relationship with someone who does not smoke and hiding smoking from someone are not associated.

Finally, we found that smoking frequency was only modestly correlated ( $r = -.15$ ) with an interest in quitting smoking. The low correlation supports our expectation that smoking frequency and quitting plans are different outcomes and suggests that they may be influenced by different factors. As an aside, we were curious whether people who have smoked longer are more likely to smoke more cigarettes, and found that length of time smoking was almost perfectly correlated with age ( $r = .93$ ); thus, age is also a proxy for the number of years that a person has smoked cigarettes and is positively related to smoking frequency.

Regression analyses of study variables and frequency of smoking are presented in Table 2. Model 1 reveals that a higher frequency of cigarette smoking is reported by older smokers, whites, and those who are professionals and managers. Higher levels of education are associated with a lower frequency of smoking, compared to having less than a high school education or a GED. Models 2, 3, and 4 add the other variables. The addition of the social interaction variables, subjective assessments of health, and self-conceptions and smoker identity nearly doubled the proportion of variance explained in frequency of smoking ( $R^2$  of .12 in Model 1 to an  $R^2$  of .23 in Model 4). Beginning with the social interaction variables, being in a relationship with a nonsmoker is associated with a decrease in smoking frequency, as is hiding smoking from anyone. Turning to the subjective assessment variables, negative physical feeling associated with smoking is associated with greater smoking frequency, as is perceiving positive consequences of smoking, controlling for the social demographic variables. We next consider the relationship between self-conceptions and smoking frequency.

The relationship between self-esteem and smoking frequency does not reach statistical significance. Self-efficacy did not approach significance during bivariate testing and, therefore, was not included in multiple regression analyses. Finally, we included age of first cigarette to control for smoking history. Although greater age at the time of first cigarette is associated with a decrease in smoking frequency, the inclusion of this variable did not substantively alter findings related to the theoretical variables.

Our second research interest is to explore factors that may be related to a desire to quit smoking (see Table 3). Whereas smoking frequency deals with current and past influences on the present, a desire to quit smoking focuses on the future and how the present and past affect intentions and plans for the future. We begin in Model 1 with the social demographic variables and the analysis reveals that only being white demonstrates a negative association with a desire to quit ( $p < .01$ ). Models 2, 3, and 4 include the rest of the symbolic interaction–inspired variables, and we find that the

Table 2. Regression Models Predicting Smoking Frequency<sup>a</sup> with Sociodemographic Characteristics, Implications for Health, and Symbolic Interaction Variables ( $N = 450$ )

	Model 1 $\beta$	Model 2 $\beta$	Model 3 $\beta$	Model 4 $\beta$	Model 5 $\beta$
<i>Sociodemographic characteristics</i>					
Age	.15** (.04)	.14** (.04)	.14** (.04)	.13** (.04)	.14** (.04)
White	.30*** (2.00)	.31*** (2.05)	.29*** (1.89)	.28*** (1.86)	.27*** (1.79)
Professional/managerial	.10+ (.73)	.12* (.85)	.10* (.75)	.11* (.76)	.10* (.73)
<i>Education (reference: GED or less than high school)</i>					
High school graduate or some vocational	-.15* (-1.28)	-.13* (-1.12)	-.13* (-1.12)	-.12+ (-1.06)	-.12+ (-.98)
Vocational, some college, or two-year degree	-.30*** (-2.03)	-.26*** (-1.79)	-.27*** (-1.82)	-.26** (-1.74)	-.24** (-1.60)
Four-year degree or some graduate school	-.26** (-2.00)	-.19** (-1.50)	-.20** (-1.57)	-.19** (-1.50)	-.18* (-1.36)
Graduate degree	-.24*** (-2.71)	-.19** (-2.19)	-.19** (-2.21)	-.19** (-2.16)	-.17** (-1.97)
Income <sup>a</sup>	.01 (.00)	.04* (.01)	.05 (.01)	.06 (.01)	.05 (.01)
Ever in armed forces	.08+ (.91)	.10* (1.12)	.11* (1.22)	.11* (1.24)	.11* (1.24)
<i>Social interaction</i>					
Relationship with nonsmoker <sup>b</sup>		-.14** (-1.17)	-.12** -1.01	-.12* (-1.00)	-.13** (-1.08)
Relationship with smoker <sup>b</sup>		-.00 (-.02)	-.00 (-.01)	.00 (.01)	.00 (.01)
Hiding smoking from anyone		-.18*** (-1.30)	-.20*** (-1.46)	-.20*** (-1.48)	-.19*** (-1.41)
Friends who smoke		.12* (.38)	.08+ (.26)	.08+ (.25)	.07 (.22)
<i>Subjective assessments of health</i>					
Negative physical feelings			.10* (.10)	.10* (.10)	.09* (.09)
Positive consequences of smoking			.19*** (.10)	.18*** (.09)	.18*** (.09)
<i>Self-conceptions and identity</i>					
Self-esteem				-.05 (-.03)	-.06 (-.03)
<i>Smoking</i>					
Age first cigarette					-.09* (-.07)
Adjusted $R^2$	.12	.18	.23	.23	.24

<sup>a</sup>Square-root transformed.<sup>b</sup>Reference is "no relationship."+ $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 3. Regression Models Predicting Desire to Quit with Smoking Frequency, Sociodemographic Characteristics, Implications for Health, and Symbolic Interaction Variables ( $N = 399$ )<sup>a</sup>

	Model 1 $\beta$	Model 2 $\beta$	Model 3 $\beta$	Model 4 $\beta$	Model 5 $\beta$
<i>Sociodemographic characteristics</i>					
Age	.04 (.02)	.02 (.01)	.02 (.01)	-.02 (-.01)	-.03 (-.02)
White	-.16** (-2.49)	-.15** (-2.39)	-.20*** (-3.08)	-.17** (-2.70)	-.15** (-2.42)
<i>Education (reference: GED or less than high school)</i>					
High school graduate or some vocational	.12 (2.40)	.10 (2.13)	.06 (1.15)	.04 (.73)	.04 (.78)
Vocational, some college, or two-year degree	.02 (.25)	-.01 (-.19)	-.00 (-.04)	-.05 (-.80)	-.05 (-.88)
Four-year degree or some graduate school	.15 <sup>+</sup> (2.63)	.09 (1.59)	.10 (1.88)	.05 (.85)	.05 (.81)
Graduate degree	.04 (1.00)	.01 (.24)	-.02 (-.63)	-.02 (-.64)	-.01 (-.33)
<i>Social interaction</i>					
Friends who smoke		-.17** (-1.35)	-.14** (-1.07)	-.10* (-.79)	-.09* (-.73)
<i>Subjective assessments of health</i>					
Health concerns			.20*** (.69)	.10* (.35)	.10* (.33)
Negative physical feelings			.11* (.27)	.03 (.07)	.06 (.14)
Positive consequences of smoking			-.16** (-.19)	-.16** (-.19)	-.15** (-.18)
<i>Self-conceptions and identity</i>					
Self-esteem				.09 <sup>+</sup> (.13)	.05 (.07)
Self-efficacy				.07 (.13)	.08 (.15)
Negative smoker identity				.33*** (.65)	.29*** (.58)
<i>Smoking</i>					
Ever quit					.23*** (5.11)
Smoking frequency <sup>b</sup>					-.11* (-.26)
Adjusted $R^2$	.04	.06	.13	.22	.28

<sup>a</sup>Analysis excludes participants who indicated that they did not intend to quit smoking.

<sup>b</sup>Square root transformed.

\* $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$

Note: Alternative model was tested with the square root of the outcome variable to ascertain that modest deviations from normality did not have a substantive impact on results.

proportion of variance that is explained by the equation increased from an  $R^2$  of .04 in Model 1 to .22 in Model 4. Having health concerns about smoking increases plans to quit smoking and conversely, having more friends who smoke and perceptions of the positive consequences of smoking decrease the desire to quit smoking. By far, the strongest relationship is between plans to quit smoking and a negative smoker identity (beta = .33,  $p < .001$ ). Model 5 controls for the smoking characteristics of having ever quit and smoking frequency, and it finds that among smokers who reported planning to quit sometime in the future, those who have previously quit reflect more desire to quit smoking. In contrast, smokers who report a higher frequency of smoking tend to reflect less desire to cease smoking. Inclusion of these variables explained an additional 6 percent of the proportion of variance in desire to quit smoking.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study, we apply a symbolic interaction perspective to the investigation of smoking frequency and a person's plans to quit smoking cigarettes. We propose, in addition to social demographic characteristics, that social interaction, subjective assessments of health, and self-conceptions and identities influence the frequency of cigarette smoking and the desire to quit smoking.

Symbolic interaction theory shared with past investigations the recognition that social forces influence smoking behaviors. We found that older smokers tend to smoke more and cigarette smoking is more prevalent among whites, a finding that is consistent with recent population-based surveys (CDC 2002; 2008). Less expected is the positive correlation between being a professional/manager and smoking frequency, and the positive effect of this occupational category on smoking frequency. Past studies reported that professionals are less likely to smoke (Barbeau et al. 2004). In this study, we do not compare smokers to nonsmokers, but rather frequency of smoking among smokers. Our findings suggest that professionals smoke more than people from other occupations, which may reflect their greater job pressures and occupation-related stress.

The theory also recognizes that while individuals are influenced by others in social situations, they also selectively choose situations and others who support their behaviors. Both of these processes appear to influence smoking. Being in an intimate relationship with a nonsmoker has a negative impact on smoking frequency and hiding smoking from someone may reduce smoking, perhaps because hidden places may not always be available. We expected that smokers manage their stigmatized identity in part by selectively interacting with others who also smoke and found that most smokers create friendship networks with other smokers, but that having friends who smoke did not influence smoking frequency. Beyond investigating the impact of being in an intimate relationship with a nonsmoker and assessing the number of friends who smoke, future research may benefit by also investigating the impact of additional significant others, such as close personal friends, family members, admired teachers, and

colleagues. In other words, a more comprehensive set of significant others whose opinions and regard a smoker truly values may be helpful in better assessing the impact of social ties on smoking behaviors and plans.

More than many other perspectives, symbolic interaction theory recognizes that meanings matter. We found that many of our smokers, roughly half, report a score for positive consequences of smoking that was above the median. This suggests that most of these smokers generally do attribute at least some positive outcomes to their smoking, despite all the information about the negative health consequences of smoking. Individuals who perceive more positive consequences from their smoking are more likely to report a higher frequency of smoking and less likely to desire to quit smoking. Thus, attributing positive meanings to smoking not only encourages short-term outcomes, such as smoking frequency, but also longer-term consequences, such as not desiring to quit smoking.

Symbolic interaction theory is probably best known for its recognition that self-conceptions and identities influence behaviors and plans. The negative smoking identity variable was specially constructed for this study, and we found that, far from holding very negative smoker identity meanings, most smokers are moderate in their self-assessment as smokers. The smoker identity refers to self-meanings associated with engaging in a stigmatized activity and reflects some divergent social processes. On one hand, most people tend to view themselves very positively in their situated identities (Burke 2004). Yet, the mean negative smoker identity score was near the midpoint in the scale. So, unlike nonstigmatized identities, these are moderate self-assessments despite increased social disapproval for smoking. Previous research among smokers and former smokers has also demonstrated a lack of association between exposure to smoke-free air laws and perceived smoking-related stigma (Stuber et al. 2008). The next step in this research agenda would be a qualitative study and interviews with smokers to probe how they manage to protect themselves from negative meanings associated with smoking. Goffman's (1963) general framework and Lee and Craft's (2002) summary of strategies used to minimize the negative repercussions of a stigmatized identity would provide a useful starting point for this investigation.

The smoker identity appears to be independent of friends who smoke and positive consequences of smoking. The finding that the smoker identity is not related to self-efficacy and is only slightly negatively associated with self-esteem also supports the expectation derived from Goffman (1963) that individuals are able to manage their stigmatized identities through a variety of strategies that enable them to preserve and protect their overall self-conceptions. Similarly, it is somewhat surprising that the smoker identity is not related to smoking frequency. There does not even appear to be a zero-order correlation between smoking frequency and smoker identity. Negative images of self as a smoker may help nonsmokers resist initiating the smoking habit or may be associated with an increase in the desire to stop smoking, but do not appear to discourage the frequency of smoking by established smokers. In this sense, the smoker identity may influence the decision to smoke or not to smoke, but not the frequency of smoking. The test would be a cross-sectional comparison between smokers, nonsmokers, and former smokers on the meaning and identity implications of

smoking. Further, a longitudinal study of smoking trajectories and the impact of a smoker identity on becoming (or resisting becoming) a smoker would provide an even better data set for investigating the impact of the smoker identity on smoking behaviors.

The smoking identity is related to the desire to quit smoking. Quitting would be a consistent consequence of a negative self-image as a smoker; not surprisingly, the smoking identity is more strongly related to plans to quit than even smoking frequency. Among the other variables, the attribution of positive consequences to smoking and having friends who smoke are negatively related to plans to quit smoking. Additionally, self-esteem and self-efficacy are not significantly associated with the desire to quit smoking in multivariate analyses. One interpretation of the findings is that a desire to maintain and enhance one's sense of self-worth may motivate and encourage giving up an unhealthy and potentially socially discouraged and stigmatizing behavior. However, it is not as critical as a negative smoker identity to the desire to quit smoking.

Although the frequency of smoking and the desire to quit smoking cigarettes are different processes, positive consequences of smoking are related to each outcome. Future research would benefit by both comparing smokers to nonsmokers, in part to investigate whether meaning and identity may distinguish smokers from nonsmokers. In addition, longitudinal studies beginning in adolescence would be helpful in discerning the social and identity processes that contribute to the onset of smoking and the establishment of the social and identity supports that maintain smoking.

Finally, future smoking interventions need to focus on the meanings associated with smoking and the consequences of smoking. First, smoking intervention campaigns would benefit by directly challenging the perceived positive consequences of smoking held by many smokers. Questioning whether smoking actually is an effective strategy for reducing stress and creating energy may help undermine the cognitive screens that smokers use to create barriers that reflect messages about the negative health consequences of smoking (Oakes et al. 2004).

Second, a promising direction for smoking interventions would be to highlight smoking cessation as a strategy for reducing the negative self-meanings associated with being a smoker. A campaign around the theme that quitting would alleviate guilt about smoking or feeling uneasy about being seen smoking by others may make the point. Similarly, quitting smoking may be tied to other salient identities. Appeals that link quitting smoking to being a more effective and successful parent, a more responsible and considerate friend or colleague may highlight the broader identity-supporting consequences of stopping smoking. The key is to demonstrate the identity benefits and rewards of stopping smoking.

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# Collective Memory Anchors: Collective Identity and Continuity in Social Movements

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*Drawing on ethnographic data from two social movement organizations, this article highlights the way that remembrances of the past are inserted into present interactions to help maintain a sense of movement continuity. Seeing collective identity and collective memory as intertwined dynamic processes, the article argues that the continuity of a social movement is maintained, in part, when movement members insert narrative commemorations that constrain current collective identity development. The process examined is that of “collective memory anchoring,” in which participants instrumentally and/or contextually bring forward the past during interactions in such a way that the formulation of elements in a movement’s collective identity appears to mirror past formulations. The common constraints of preexisting networks, participants’ shared cultural backgrounds, and a movement’s collective action frames are explored.*

For more than two decades, researchers have suggested that explaining, rather than assuming, movement unity and continuity should be the primary goal for social movement scholars (see, for example, Klandermans 1992; Larana 1994; Melucci 1985; 1988; 1994; Mueller 1994; Taylor and Rupp 1993). In that time, research has contributed to our understandings of collective identity and the various elements on which it draws (see Polletta and Jasper 2001; Snow and McAdam 2000). Unfortunately, while researchers have begun to explore the relation of collective memory and social movements, the specific interactive processes in which participants actively bring the past forward to the present have been left blurred and undifferentiated.

While conducting a participant observation study with two Native American social movement organizations, I had the chance to directly observe interactions in which references to the past impacted elements of the collective identity process. Such interactions were unsurprising given that the bulk of collective memory literature shows how powerful the past can be in the development of present interests (cf. Olick 1999; Ruffins 1997; Schudson 1992; Schwartz 1996; Shils 1981; Spillman 1998). Rather than their influence on new ideas and suggested changes within the movement, what

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interested me was the interactive process that carried forward and inserted unchanged elements of the collective identity and, in doing so, established a line of continuity from past to present. Identified and explored here, then, are instances of *collective memory anchoring* in which the collective identity process interactively draws on a collective memory process linking present interests to the past in such a way that a collective identity element of the present develops in a way that mirrors that past.

## MAINTAINING THE COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Melucci (1995), in identifying a process of collective identity, notes that a social movement is an active creation of interacting individuals. Specifically, the collective identity of that movement is created as members interactively share definitions of their means, their ends, and the environment in which their action takes place, as they activate their shared networks of relationships, and as they contribute emotional investments (see also Melucci 1996). As Futrell and Simi (2004:38) have recently shown, this collective identity process can persist over time by using an infrastructure of free spaces that “establish intergenerational movement ties and build commitments among adherents through symbolic rituals that mark boundaries between activists and their opponents.” These symbolic rituals would draw upon key elements that have been shown to influence collective identity content including networks of individuals, the wider culture from which participants are drawn, and the collective action frames constructed to mobilize others.

The networks of individuals involved with the movement and the networks from which a movement arises are particularly important for collective identity development. As early movement models noted, a network of individuals can provide movements with access to pools of potential participants who have similar perceptions of costs, benefits, and opportunities, similar economic bases, similar access to resources, and common control over resources (Friedman and McAdam 1992; Gamson 1990; Gerlach and Hine 1970; McAdam 1982; 1988; Oberschall 1973; Opp and Gern 1993; Snow, Zurcher, and Eklund-Olson 1980; Tarrow 1998). Other researchers have highlighted the importance of information and symbolic experimentation that is engaged in latent networks both prior to and following the more visible and public activities of a movement (cf. Melucci 1985; 1988; 1995; 1996; Mueller 1994; Staggenborg 1998; Taylor 1989; Taylor and Rupp 1993; Taylor and Whittier 1995; Van Dyke 1998). Such activities have been critical for both collective identity development and its persistence through time.

Also crucial to the ongoing interactions that comprise the collective identity process is the wider culture from which a movement draws participants (cf. Johnston and Klandermans 1995). Providing a base for mobilization and a continuity from early stages, culture provides a common stock of views regarding relationships, vocabularies, activities, world views (Jasper 1997; Swindler 1995; Taylor and Rupp 1993), and “discrete beliefs, images, feelings, values, and categories, as well as bundles of these components” (Jasper 1997:12). These practices and ideas are used in collective

identity to challenge domination in everyday interaction (Taylor and Whittier 1995). Further, the language, rituals, practices, and cultural artifacts used by a movement embody cognitive definitions of ends, means, and fields of action (Melucci 1995).

Finally, where movements are unable, or unwilling, to rely solely on preexisting networks of individuals, or those who share their cultural background, an emerging collective identity can use framing processes to establish a unity and continuity with groups of people and with the culture from which the movement arose (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). The alignment of these frames with those both in and outside a movement requires them to resonate, or “strike a responsive chord” (Snow and Benford 1988:207; see also Jenness 1995; Valocchi 1999), and movements interactively work to develop frame consistency, empirical credibility, communicator credibility, centrality, experiential commensurability, and narrative fidelity in order to establish such resonance (see Benford 1987; Benford and Snow 2000; Snow and Benford 1988). Through the collective identity process a movement develops frames and, through them, articulates a collective identity, the position of the movement within a field of actors, and the role of the movement on the stage of contention (Benford and Hunt 1992; Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994).

In each of the three areas discussed above—networks, culture, and collective action frames—the most obvious common characteristic is the connection each one can establish between present and past experiences. However, although previous research has most certainly explored the importance of sustaining a collective identity over time as well as the elements and sites that make it possible, scholars have yet to identify specific patterns of participant interactions that connect past to present and make the persistence of collective identity elements through time possible. As shown below, the numerous interactions that comprise collective identity involve a collective memory process that brings past experiences with networks, culture, and/or collective action frames into the present discussions that influence interactive development of ends, means, fields of action, activated networks of relations, and emotional investments.

## THE ROLE OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY

Although initially conceptualized as an object (Halbwachs 1950), current research more often treats collective memory as an interactive process. As succinctly stated by Zerubavel (1996: 285), “much of what we remember is actually filtered through a process of interpretation that usually takes place within particular social surroundings” and as members of particular groups. Collective memory, then, is a dialectical interplay in which actors simultaneously use the past to interpret the present and the present to interpret the past (Jedlowski 2001; Olick and Levy 1997; Schwartz 1991a; 1991b; Zelizer 1995). As such, collective memory exists as something in continuous interactive development; as a process of interpretation and reinterpretation through interaction. Viewed in this way, researchers can direct their focus to how collective memory processes are intertwined with other interactive group processes.

Researchers have made progress in developing such studies, but the literature has tended to focus on large-scale events or their overall connections to subsequent events (see, for example, Armstrong and Cragge 2006; Kubal 2009; Olick 1999; Polletta 1998; Schwartz 1982; 1991a; Wagner-Pacifi and Schwartz 1991). Harris (2006), for example, uses opinion surveys to identify a link between civil rights activism and memories of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Scottsboro trial, the Brown decision, and the murder of Emmett Till. Elsewhere, Jansen (2007) examined how the Zapatistas and Sandinistas each invoked, developed, and utilized the images of important historical figures to support their interests and development. Finally, Armstrong and Cragge (2006) highlight the important contextual factors that exist when one event, such as the Stonewall riots, becomes a movement-defining commemoration, while others do not. Although certainly important, focusing attention on the collective memories of these obviously significant events and figures draws attention away from other, perhaps more mundane but no less important, collective identity elements.

Further, while studies such as these provide needed models for identifying and tracing the connections between the past and present of a group, none of them used methods that allowed researchers to examine the specific interactions by which this takes place within the movement. Certainly, examinations of collective memory, such as those above, are vital if we are to understand the specific ways that the past and present are connected and structured. However, there is a benefit in exploring the connections at a microlevel of analysis. As Jedlowski (2001:34) notes, a collective memory's "origin and its reproduction are situated at the level of the communicative practices that shape social life." Similarly, Polletta (1998:139) argues that "narrative is prominent in such interpretive processes because its temporally configurative capacity equips it to integrate past, present, and future events and to align individual and collective identities during periods of change." To more fully understand collective memories and their connection to collective identity, researchers should also analyze in-depth observations of specific interactive practices among participants.

To analyze what are often the trivial and mundane interactions of movement members, I have developed a model elsewhere (see Gongaware 2003) that draws on Turner's notion of *social dramas* (see Turner 1969; 1982) and helps to identify how collective memory practices relate to movement unity. A social drama, in this model, begins with comments from participants that breach group unity by interjecting elements from the movement's past that are unfamiliar to other movement members. Subsequent interactions then engage the collective memory process to reseal that breach. Once the interaction has sealed the breach, participants then act based upon a new definition of the situation; they act with new resources informing the collective identity.

In the model, both the breaching comments as well as the subsequent interactions make use of *narrative commemorations*: "narratives which express links to past experiences and which are exchanged in the everyday interactions of group members" (Gongaware 2003:489). Unlike other commemorations that tend to be formal and

crystallized, narrative commemorations are relatively informal presentations that establish links to the past, and in doing so, are the common, everyday means for maintaining group *unity*, for maintaining that sense of cohesion in time. However, we can also identify how these narrative commemorations help establish group continuity, the sense of consistency in a group's trajectory through time.

As a movement's continuity is established, the past may be drawn upon in many ways and with varying results. As others have noted, movements draw upon the past positions and experiences of group members within a context that molds and can adjust the movement's development (Calhoun 1994; Jasper 1997; Klandermans 1994; Thayer 1997). In other words, recollections of the past can provide continuity as changes occur in a movement by establishing the context for such changes. However, while changes in movement development certainly occur, not all elements change simultaneously, and not all are in a state of constant flux. In the following pages I restrict my analysis to highlight instances where references to the past contribute to the relative stability of an element in a movement's collective identity.

Specifically, *collective memory anchoring* is conceptualized here as an interactive collective memory process in which participants bring the past forward, by means of narrative commemorations, and link it to the formulation of a presently considered collective identity element (a shared mean, end, field of action, activated network, or emotional investment) such that the current development comes to mirror the past formulation. The narrative commemorations are presented in these instances in the form of a metaphor; the current element is referenced as being the same as that from the past. The result of linking the past to the present in the instances examined here is that the collective identity element remains (at least for the time being) the same as past formulations, and another point in the trajectory of that collective identity element through time is established.

## CONTINUOUS COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES

Data for this study come from two years of participant observation with two social movement organizations—a State Indian Education Association (SIEA) and an urban school district's Title IX Parent Advisory Committee (PAC). Although some authors define movements based on their challenging of state actors (e.g., McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001), such an overly restrictive definition would unnecessarily ignore many movements, such as those studied here, that use a variety of means to challenge symbolic codes in fields of action other than those directly related to the state (Goodwin and Jasper 2004; Taylor 2003; Walker, Martin, and McCarthy 2006). Similar to Melucci's (1996) notion of *claimant movement*, the groups studied here used multiple means to challenge symbolic codes and to suggest, support, or advocate for various educational practices in multiple venues.

The SIEA, for example, petitioned school districts and officials to implement curriculum changes, worked with school personnel to develop those changes, organized workshops and conferences to voice and address Native American educational inter-

ests, served as an advocate in various instances for Native American students who experienced some form of discrimination in their school, and voiced their concerns as well as those of other Native American parents to politicians and educators. Operating on a much smaller scale, the Title IX PAC worked as a way for members of the local Native American community to raise challenges and voice concerns to the local school district through formally arranged meetings, special programs for parents and/or students, and, most notably, the direction they gave in utilizing federal Title IX funds.

Interestingly, while the Title IX PAC school district was within the state served by the SIEA, and there were people who officially belonged to both groups, only one person (aside from myself) was consistently involved in both: Hela was a consistent and outspoken member of the Title IX PAC as well as the president of SIEA during the study. Nevertheless, while active membership didn't necessarily overlap, there were similarities between the groups. Specifically, both were primarily composed of women (roughly three-quarters in both cases); consistently drew only 9 to 11 people to formal meetings; drew in parents, grandparents and students; and drew heavily on the Omaha and Winnebago Ho-Chunk tribes.<sup>1</sup>

During the two years that I spent with these groups, I occupied various roles. For the Title IX PAC, I was typically in the role of observer and rarely participated directly in formal meeting conversations. However, I was often involved in informal meetings and conversations, and the group often drew on me to lend a hand at events and programs. The SIEA, on the other hand, quickly noted that both my consistent presence and note-taking could be of use to them. Soon, they asked me to serve as a member of the board of directors and elected me to serve as secretary for the board not long after that. Although very few non-Native Americans served on the Title IX PAC, it was relatively common for the SIEA.

I collected most of the data during the two- to three-hour formal meetings, which each group held monthly. In addition, I had the opportunity to observe and participate at informal gatherings before, after, and between meetings and at various events and programs planned by the groups. During these, I was able to conduct various casual interviews (Lofland and Lofland 1995), or "interviews by comment" (Snow, Zurcher, and Sjoberg 1982) to further flesh out the data. Finally, I conducted formal interviews with five members of each group. All data were compiled and subjected to a rigorous coding process following a grounded theory approach to identify patterns and themes in the interactions of movement participants (Glaser 1992; Glaser and Strauss 1967; Strauss and Corbin 1990).

I drew data from both groups since each provided opportunities for examining the juxtaposition of collective memory and collective identity. In each case, the groups attempted to address educational problems in ways that were consistent with shared notions they developed over time concerning who they were; what they were to do; and how they were to do it. Although each group was distinct, both groups understood themselves as Native American groups fighting at a regional or local level for the interests of young Native Americans, and, thus, for the future of Native Americans as a whole.

### *State Indian Education Association*

Emerging from a latent group of Native Americans, as well as others around the state who were interested in the issues, the SIEA was formed to address issues of Native American education at the state level. Incorporated by 1990, the group has been led by a board of directors that makes decisions based on the perceived directions from its official membership. Although some of the specific titles have changed over time, the group has maintained official positions on the board for people from the fields of elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education; educational administration; and education programs and one each for the major tribes in the state. Theoretically, a board member is to bring information from their particular area, whether tribal or professional, and take information from the SIEA back to that area.

Consistent in comments made by current members was a belief that the yearly ebb and flow of the movement's membership (which at the time of the study numbered 60) was based partly on whether people believed the group had money to accomplish tasks and goals. Although interviews and casual conversations revealed that issues, interests, and passions may have sparked their own participation, many still made reference to the level of resources as one of the important reasons why others may join. As one male member noted during an interview, "People need to see that we have the money to do things so that they'll get involved." Interactive support for this perception came from repeated references to the SIEA's increase in membership when it received money for hosting a National Indian Education Association conference nearly ten years earlier. For example, while contemplating how to bring in members for certain board positions representing different tribes, a member noted, "It's tough to . . . you know we got so many new members after we got the money for putting on that conference."

During this study, however, the operating funds came primarily from membership dues and fund-raisers supported by the membership. The funds allowed the group to host state-level conferences, bring in speakers, host workshops and events, and, most importantly, to give out two to four scholarships ranging from \$500 to \$1,000 each year to Native American college students. Additionally, the funds were used to maintain an office at an Indian Center in the state capital briefly and to hold monthly meetings around the state.

Meetings usually included a meal, a chance to discuss current and planned activities, recent political events, and a chance to bring in professionals and politicians to speak about issues related to Native American education. However, based on their own perception that having funds would increase membership (and thus further increase resources), the group spent much of its time considering ways to increase cash flow. Interactions between group members, conversations with participants, and formal interviews indicated that the group shared a notion that these were the appropriate and necessary goals and activities of the movement.

During the course of the study, the activities planned and carried out by the SIEA, the goals they set, and the ties they established with other organizations followed patterns the movement had established over time, patterns consistent with the estab-

lished collective identity. Meetings always included meals, and they planned future meetings with meals in mind. Often, they developed activities and events in much the same vein as their activities and events of the past. Some activities and discussions were similar to ones in the past with only minor changes, such as organizing for speakers, advocacy for students, or the fund-raisers. Others, however, appeared as direct copies of previous events, such as the awarding of scholarships, the annual meeting, and a Native American College and Career Fair. In essence, although the specific individuals involved may have changed to a certain degree and new ideas were certainly considered and even incorporated, the interactions of movement participants who comprised the collective identity process drew heavily on the movement's past.

### *Title IX Parent Advisory Committee (PAC)*

The Title IX PAC drew on the Native American community of the school district in which it operated, and, in addition, on four school personnel; it was theoretically composed of the parents of all of the Native American students in the district. Through the years, the committee had a variety of incarnations as it worked with money from various sources including Title IV and Johnson-O'Malley funds.<sup>2</sup> Throughout that time, it had gained access to school structures and accomplished its goals by working directly through the school district's office of federal programs. The PAC was set up to include at least six parents from the community, the district's director of federal programs, and various school personnel. The composition of the parents' portion of the group drew on the cultural traditions of familial relationships. As such, the notion of "parent" was loosely defined so that grandparents could be elected to any of the official positions. The PAC made group decisions "official," but direction for these decisions was to be taken from the community.

Since the Title IX PAC was to include "parents" of current schoolchildren, the *potential* for the group to change over the years was fairly high. As students matriculated, moved to another school, dropped out, or graduated there was potential for the parents involved to change. However, in the preceding six years, there had been a fairly consistent core group of people who were either directly or indirectly involved with the activities and efforts of Title IX PAC.

Throughout its history, certain funding sources allowed the group to purchase school supplies and other items, such as tennis shoes and graduation announcements, for the students. Although at some points they had direct control over the group's budget, the district technically controlled the use of Title IX funds during the course of the study, and the parents were officially only advisers in directing use of those funds. In the preceding four years the group had organized activities such as student assessments, honoring ceremonies and "powwows," workshops for students and/or parents, and speakers on various district programs. More important, the group had arranged for the hiring of school personnel whose focus was to be on the success, attendance, and cultural support of Native American children in the district.

Of particular interest during this study were the efforts of parents from the Title IX PAC to reorganize themselves after efforts of the previous year's committee

appeared to fall apart. During this time, participants addressed the very structure and organization of the group as they negotiated appropriate meeting times, sites, and activities. As the group began to (re)coalesce, it worked to plan events, hire new school personnel, and make sure an assessment was done for Native American students. In attempting to strengthen their position, the parents organized to hold workshops to help them understand how to deal with the school system, and they brought in speakers to talk about school programs available in the district. Although some ideas were new to the group, many were anchored in understandings of what the group had done in the past.

## ANCHORING THE PRESENT IN THE PAST

*Collective memory anchoring* appeared in movements studied as an interactive process of constraining a present collective identity development by tying that development directly to elements brought forward from the past via narrative commemorations. Such constraint appears to be a regular occurrence in group interactions, and, by highlighting a direct line to the past, it establishes continuity. In general, as the interactions of movement members proceeded, potential breaches in group continuity that may have led to social dramas were either avoided when collective memory anchoring occurred or were used to reseal a breach after it had occurred.

For example, at the start of group meetings, participants would typically be “brought up to speed” by other members who talked about what happened at previous movement meetings or movement events. Although this helped ensure group unity (see Gongaware 2003), it also helped establish continuity. The information provided in the narrative commemorations made a direct connection between the current interaction and a related event or series of events in the past. Provided in this way, the anchor helps participants avoid a breach in continuity by providing elements from the past that could be used in formulating the current interactions.

What is unique to these instances, and what defines the process explored here, is that when members made the connection of present to past, the result was a constraint on the collective identity process as its content proceeded to mirror the referenced past. In the following pages, I first explore the process by highlighting the two ways in which interactions anchored collective identities in the groups: instrumental as well as contextual. I then explore the more common constraints of networks, culture, and collective action frames that the anchors provided as they arose in the groups studied.

### *The Collective Memory Anchoring Process*

Emerging from the data was an indication that the process of collective memory anchoring took place in two distinct ways. In some cases, it occurred instrumentally as movement participants made the referenced past the specific object of interactive focus. In other cases, the anchoring was contextual as a habitual or customary interjection was made in a conversation that was otherwise focused on the present topic at

hand. In each instance, the subsequent development of a collective identity element mirrored what was provided by the collective memory.

Instrumental anchoring was the most noticeable means for anchoring movement development. The most obvious of these occurred as participants sought out pertinent information from the past, which they indicated they lacked. For example, the Title IX PAC's first meeting of the school year was slated to address the group's goals for the coming year. However, before beginning, Hela, the veteran member of this group who was also president of the SIEA, asked a common question, "Can you give us a little bit of background about what has happened since June?" Although Hela knew the answer, she later told me that she asked to make sure everyone in the room knew what had been going on. Dena, the director of federal programs for the district who served as an ex-officio member of the committee, answered:

We received the grant award notice the 1st of October, although I can't remember the exact date. [A staff member] has been working with the Social Studies curriculum and bringing teachers up to speed. She started visiting the meetings last spring to increase her awareness. We're working with counselors and staff about students that parents have called about. [A teacher] is working at the middle school level.

Here, Dena referenced specific means, ends, and fields of action from the recent past. As the group worked to formulate goals and ideas for the coming year, they drew on the information provided by those narrative commemorations and added others, such as when Maria referenced a ceremony honoring students from the previous year. Indeed, although new ideas were discussed and later pursued, much of the group's planning ended up directly mirroring previous activities, including identifying the goals of working with the social studies programs on curriculum issues, the hiring of a counselor to specifically work with Native American students, and organizing an honoring ceremony for graduating seniors. In posing her question, Hela elicited information about past events and the narrative commemorations provided anchors to the past as the group addressed present shared notions of ends, means, and fields of action.

In general, the collective memory anchors influenced the direction of the interaction by suggesting an activity, supporting a suggestion, taking a stand on an issue, or indicating a concern. For example, when the SIEA was considering what to do at the next national education conference, one member interjected a narrative commemoration of the star quilt raffle at the previous year's conference.

Hela: We should plan what to do for the next national conference.

Tina: The star quilt raffle last year was fantastic, because what happened was that it was a beautiful star quilt and it brought people to our table.

With the narrative commemoration acting as an anchor for the planning, what followed was an exploration, with contributions by all the members present, of the story about who obtained the original quilt, where they got it, if they could get another, and who was going to go get it. Simply put, initially providing the reminder indicated that the currently considered activity was the same as the past activity and indicated

the success and appropriateness of the activity. As such, it anchored the shared notion of movement means to the previous star quilt raffle.

In addition to suggesting directions for a movement, instrumental collective memory anchoring may also serve to redirect a group to follow previously established lines. An excellent example of this came earlier in a school year as the Title IX PAC developed shared notions of group goals and boundaries. At one of the early meetings, members had agreed that, in order to serve Native American students more efficiently and effectively, they would focus on providing programs only for those students who were formally identified by the school district as Native American. The important point expressed by group members was that they did not believe they were responsible for providing programs that helped teachers, since such programs eventually helped all students and should, therefore, be the district's responsibility to fund and develop. However, at the next meeting, Dena noted:

Last time we talked about how the guidelines state that we should serve those who indicated Indian status on the 506 forms first and then the others. We've always believed we should serve all, regardless.

Although acknowledging an apparent desire to focus on specifically identified children, this simple statement provides a narrative commemoration of a shared notion that the Title IX PAC serves all Native American students, regardless of whether they have explicitly identified themselves to the committee through district paperwork. Dena's comment effectively breached the group's newly shared notion via a narrative commemoration that served as an instrumental collective memory anchor to redress that breach.

Even though the group's formal guidelines seemed to support the parent's suggestion to focus on formally identified students, the reminder of past actions and shared notions was apparently more influential. Although the comment was initially met with silence from those present, the parents who at first supported exclusion, came to voice agreement with Dena's narrative commemoration. One parent, Maria, later told me, "We really do have a responsibility for all Native students, we can't leave any out." Proceeding along lines that mirrored shared notions from the past, the activities they then discussed and developed did not draw lines between the formally identified Native American students and others in the district.

Equally important were the contextual collective memory anchors identified in the interactions. Elsewhere, memories have been shown to remain the same contextually; through force of habit, repetition, or custom (Assmann 1995; Halbwachs 1950; Shils 1981). Similarly, participant interactions repeatedly provided certain narrative commemorations and, in doing so, contextually anchored elements of the collective identity. For example, the collective memory of an annual SIEA scholarship award was an important anchor for the group's collective identity, and often came up in conversation. Asked about the future of SIEA, veteran member Tina replied: "I think it will always have a scholarship, maybe smaller, maybe larger." Like Tina, other participants often referenced the scholarship when discussing group means, and the participants were consistently reminded that the group would form a committee to review appli-

cations and award the scholarships every year. In interactions about future plans, movement members made comments such as, “Well, we’ll have to award the scholarships, but I was thinking we might also . . .” Such habitual and informal interjection of the collective memory anchor continuously reproduced shared notions of group activity.

Collective memory anchoring also worked to develop multiple aspects of the collective identity simultaneously. For example, over the years, the Title IX PAC hired staff people who could work with Native American students at the elementary, middle school, and high school levels. Many instances arose where narrative commemorations that referenced this past action influenced collective identity development as it anchored shared cognitive elements (e.g., the means) as well as shared emotional investments. For example, in a meeting to consider possible uses of funds for the next school year, one member made an impassioned plea:

I’m tired of programs with great people and strong identities but who aren’t concerned with education. I’m not saying the culture and tradition aren’t important, but I want someone who knows about education. I don’t want someone working with my child who doesn’t know what college is. So, I’ll take care of culture . . . you take care of education and get my kid through.

In this case, without explicitly presenting a collective memory, the narrative commemoration referenced past actions and stimulated two important elements of the collective identity by drawing on the past. First, the parent’s forceful and emotional inflection prompted others to respond with clapping and voiced agreement. Beginning with this and through the interactions that followed, the parents reproduced the shared emotional investment. Second, the narrative anchored the current decision to use funds for hiring a staff person within the group’s past pattern of doing so. Certainly the active component of the statement suggested a break with the past. However, before doing so, the statement contextually anchored the present conversation in the group’s previous pattern of hiring a staff person with group funds.

In general, collective memory anchoring involves indicating a grounded relation of a present interest to one from the past. Whether provided instrumentally or contextually, the narrative commemoration anchors development of the movement directly to past patterns and appears to constrain that development along the previously established lines thereby maintaining continuity of the group. In the following sections, I consider the three common sources of this constraint/continuity: preexisting networks, wider culture, and collective action frames.

### *Anchoring Constraint of Preexisting Networks*

The SIEA and Title IX PAC both emerged from preexisting networks of individuals, and each provide good examples of how collective memories of preexisting networks can anchor movement identities. Regarding the Title IX PAC, earlier formations worked with federal funds from Title IV of the Indian Education Act of 1972, and Johnson-O’Malley (JOM) funds received from one of the tribes in the state. The current Title IX PAC emerged after the JOM funds had dried up. For its membership,

the group drew on what Melucci (1985) describes as a submerged, or latent, network of individuals. This was particularly evident at the beginning of my study when parents from the previous year's committee organized a "community members only" meeting (i.e., no school personnel allowed) to discuss what they believed had happened in the Title IX program during the previous year and to propose plans for the coming year. It was people at this meeting who emerged to comprise the PAC for the year.

The SIEA had also emerged from a submerged network of individuals. SIEA records indicate that, throughout the 1980s, a group of individuals using the SIEA name met at various points to discuss Title IV programs, the status of Indian education in the state, teacher training, parental involvement, counseling, and the possibility of a statewide annual conference. However, the SIEA first emerged as a visible movement at the end of the 1980s. According to interviewees, individuals made connections with each other through two urban Indian centers and their offices in western parts of the state. The state's Indian Commission then drew on this network to set up a formal meeting where they could formally establish the SIEA, outline a set of by-laws, and elect a board of directors.

Although important to the group's emergence, collective memories of the preexisting and submerged networks serve to anchor the collective identity process. Melucci (1985) argues that in submerged networks, participants experiment with relationships and ideas. These ideas and relationships may then be carried forward via the collective memory anchors. A particularly instructive example came as the Title IX PAC worked to take greater control over the program's development. At the start of the school year, community members and parents began to discuss problems with Title IX efforts in the district, and organized the meeting for community members referred to above. People at that meeting generated ideas and objectives as well as an idea on how to engage the official PAC. A parent later told me, "We decided that we wanted to do more than advise; we want more control if this program is going to help our kids."

The collective memories of this meeting were then instrumentally used to anchor the development of the Title IX PAC actions. Speaking to school personnel at the next PAC meeting, one member stated:

We do have a lot of ideas and needs. One of the things that came out of a meeting we held on Saturday is that we'd like to invite [a regional consultant for Title IX programs] to come up and work with us. We'd be willing to get parents. We'd like him to come in and work on long-range plans and to start generating ideas.

This narrative commemoration instrumentally anchors the Title IX PAC in the relations with which they experimented. The collective identity process then proceeds, containing a shared notion that the parents are more than just advisory to the rest of the Title IX PAC, a notion that is anchored by reference to the community meeting. Additionally, the interaction becomes anchored to the idea of mediation and the heavy hand the parents want to employ.

Maria: We need to rebuild trust. We need to bring in mediation. Set up with time to get parents in and set up a plan for them to discuss and come away to implement.

Jon: I think this is a good idea.

Dena: I will call the Technical Assistance Center to arrange a meeting with [the consultant], but, I'm frustrated, because I've done this before.

Hela: Well . . . do it again.

Dena: And keep doing it?

Hela: Yes . . . every year if necessary.

The narrative commemoration of the community meeting serves to anchor both the suggested mediation and forceful approach of the parents.

Collective memories from preexisting networks also anchor movements contextually. At various times during the study, for example, SIEA members suggested that the practice of rotating meetings to different cities was impractical and unnecessary, given the low turnout and the fact that most people came from one or two cities. However, when the movement had emerged from a latent network of individuals who came from all over the state in the 1980s, it had established a practice (and wrote it into the bylaws) of rotating meeting sites. As a result, the group habitually changed meeting sites each month.

The group sustained this habit primarily through the informal narrative commemorations of early meetings that anchored present activities to the past. Comments at the end of meetings included anchors such as, "Well, as usual, we'll be meeting someplace else next time. I hope everyone can make it." At other times, when the next meeting was being considered, comments such as "Well, we met in [City X] last time and here this time, and, since we rotate . . . let's see . . . the next meeting must be in [City Y]." Such informal references to the past practice served to anchor the current one and maintain the continuity of the movement.

Interestingly, this particular practice stood out to members and, at times, required more instrumental anchoring. Participants, particularly new ones, who asked about the rotation of meeting sites were met with comments like, "Well, we've always done that." More directly, one member commented to a new group officer, "We held the meetings in different places because we were so spread out in the beginning. Now most people at the meetings are from [one of two places]." Either way, both the instrumentally and contextually provided narrative commemorations of activities that arose from previous submerged networks served to anchor the development and shared notions of current group practices.

The preexisting and submerged networks of individuals from which a movement emerges, then, are important sites where ideas, relationships, practices, and other elements are initially developed. Whether influencing the collective identity of a movement instrumentally, or contextually, the narrative commemorations of these developments provide the anchoring links between these sites and the movement. However, the sites drawn on were not always directly related to the movement, but included participants' wider cultural backgrounds.

### *Anchoring Constraint of Culture*

Culture has a powerful influence on the development of a social movement's collective identity as it provides a common stock of relationships, vocabularies, activities, and world views (Jasper 1997; Swindler 1995; Taylor and Rupp 1993). The collective identity process of a movement draws on and responds to the cultures in which the movement is found and from which it emerges (Gamson 1995; Melucci 1995; Taylor and Rupp 1993; Thayer 1997). The work of collective memory anchoring is one way that the collective memory framework brings cultural elements forward.

In the Title IX PAC and the SIEA, the most salient aspect of their collective identities was the belief that they were Native American and fighting for Native American interests.<sup>3</sup> Collective memories of cultural practices and beliefs informed many of the movement meetings, events, and informal gatherings. For example, the movements organized and attended what they called powwows, prepared traditional meals for formal gatherings, offered prayers that mixed English with tribal languages, and held meetings or events at places with significance to the Native American communities involved. Reflecting the underlying values and beliefs of the culture, the presence of various cultural components served as a reminder, a prod to the collective memory, of the movement's past and current relation to a Native American culture. The prod, then, provided a sense of collective identity continuity through its continued presence.

Although the vast majority of cultural practices and ideas discussed above entered the setting contextually (arising out of habit, repetition, and custom), there were instances in which participants instrumentally anchored the movement by reference to cultural elements. Take, for instance, an early meeting of Title IX PAC where a white school staff member invited everyone to get food from the buffet that had been laid out. People eventually started going to the buffet, and two members commented out loud:

Eda: Well, I guess we won't be praying or anything before we eat.

Hela [after the meal]: We really should have prayed before we ate, so I think we should have a moment of silence before we get started.

Although no other direct comments were made at this meeting, the school staff member made a soft apology, and at all subsequent meetings these two women and, more typically, the school staff member ensured that a prayer was offered before meals or at the meetings themselves. The two women, through their comments, anchor the group's activities in cultural traditions of the group members.

In fact, my interviews with group members revealed that many individuals believed that cultural traditions such as offering a prayer before eating or doing business, no matter how varied among group members, was an important unifying force. Speaking about his work with the SIEA, with a school board, and with his tribal council, one member, Jack, commented on the importance of this cultural practice.

Even as a young person, it kind of grinded me initially, "Do we always have to do the prayer, can't we forget the prayer once or twice?" Well, that's youth talking there. And even in the council meetings from time to time we'd miss that. So that was the other real unifying force was that belief. And we all kind of hon-

ored one another by allowing the Native American Church, the Suni beliefs and all those things, kind of sharing those things with one another, and taking the time. It was a big time commitment to do that.

As a unifying force, the ritual of offering a prayer, or at least a moment of silence, was an important part of both Title IX PAC and SIEA meetings. Meetings were called to order and a prayer offered. At more formal community gatherings a male might provide the prayer and include other elements from traditional ceremonies. However, in typical meetings, the president usually asked another Native American individual (male or female) to provide an “invocation.”

Meals were another significant and common part of movement meetings. In the early Title IX PAC interactions, Native American members were quick to point out this important cultural component to the predominantly white school personnel.

Dena: I'll contact the Technical Assistance Center to set up some dates [the consultant] could come.

Maria: At the Indian Center?

Dena: Yes.

Jean: I'll furnish food.

Maria: I think that's very important, as it is a very important part of our traditions.

From this point on, Title IX PAC meetings always included a meal. The SIEA habitually maintained this same practice. At each meeting, the host made sure that some sort of a meal, usually a lunch, was available. The meal's importance for both Title IX PAC and SIEA was explained to me in a phone conversation.

First, you know, we're dealing with a poverty population. Just coming to something like a meeting, people may not come if they have to buy their own lunch, and I'm not saying that's the case with everyone by any means, but it's a factor. So, it's a welcoming gesture. Then it gets real hard, because, of course, we don't have any money either. The second thing is more important, because it's a social thing. You know, the idea of breaking bread together and showing hospitality, that's so important.

Such comments indicate a connection to cultural practices and beliefs. Certainly the practices and ideas have practical and cultural significance that work to unify members of the group around a supratribal ethnic identity (Nagel 1996). However, their importance to the collective identity is that they contextually serve as a reminder in the present of long-standing cultural elements, elements continually carried forward from the past.

There were numerous instances where participants made the importance of continued reliance on traditional means of relations clear to others. Considering a school class designed for Native American students, participants of the Title IX PAC indicate this importance to each other and the white school personnel.

Maria: I think they [the class organizers and teacher] need to be here. We need to set up a professional relationship. It shows respect. We talk about

cultural values, and we need to follow through and use them. And to be here is important.

Nina: I think I can answer some questions about the class.

Maria: I think the principal and teacher should be here to do that.

Nina: When I talked with [the teacher], she did say to encourage you all to come to the meeting [a school meeting to set up the class].

Maria: We'll go there, but we need to invite them here. In Indian country it's done that way. We're an official body sanctioned by the school district, and we need to be treated as such.

Although the parents do not all agree with Maria's suggestion, her contention that the group needs to rely on "cultural values" and that it needs to be treated respectfully was met with nodding heads and voiced agreements. The generally shared notion appeared to be that, if the group and others believe it is a Native American group, it must make use of the Native American values and beliefs expressed in Native American cultural practices. The contextually maintained collective memories work to anchor the collective identity to that culture.

Participants studied here sustained the presentation that they were Native American groups, even when some members were not Native American. Sustaining this identity meant that it needed to bring forward and make use of the rituals, practices, and beliefs that reflected cultural values. Though emerging instrumentally in some instances, such as when other members were perceived as uninformed, the continuity tended to be established contextually by the collective memory anchors. The habits, repetitions, and rituals that comprise part of the collective memory framework contextually establish collective identity continuity.

### *Anchoring Constraint of Collective Action Frames*

Collective action frames are a third major resource drawn on by a group to anchor its current collective identity development. The frames provide audiences, both in and out of a movement, with a way to render events or occurrences meaningful in terms of a movement's notion concerning problems, solutions, and reasons to act (Benford and Hunt 1992; Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994; Snow and Benford 1988). In the ongoing negotiation of collective action frame development, members attend to the consistency, empirical credibility, centrality, experiential commensurability, narrative fidelity, and the credibility of the communicator necessary for the frames to resonate with intended audiences (Benford 1987; Benford and Snow 2000; Snow and Benford 1988). Further, movements connect collective action frames with the "larger belief system or ideology with which the movement seeks to effect some form of alignment" (Snow and Benford 1988:205).

In addition to these external and phenomenological constraints, the collective memories of previously developed collective action frames impose an additional internal constraint on the present negotiation of the frames. At movement meetings, participants proffer collective action frames when they suggest specific problems to address and, at

times, how to address them. Collective memories of previously established collective action frames anchor and constrain considerations of these suggestions.

Participants seem to be aware of the constraint a collective memory anchor can impose. When presenting new diagnoses or prognoses to the group, they display awareness when previous collective action frames forestall the development of new ones. Take, for example, an instructor at one of the state's universities who became involved with the SIEA. She indicated during an interview that she had believed the SIEA worked as an advocate for Native American students and dealt with educational issues relating to Native Americans. Her own goal was to get a curriculum (one she had helped to develop in the 1970s) "into the awareness of this group to see if we could find anybody to update it and work on it," and she felt that this fit well with the SIEA's overall purpose. However, when she attempted to bring this idea to the SIEA, there were other previously developed concerns that kept the group from pursuing it. In the conversation about what issues the group needed to keep focusing on, one member interjected:

It seems to me the prevailing one is the issue of Native American kids in schooling and how tragic it is to see the statistics that show how few graduate and how high the dropout rate is and so on. How to help kids get more engaged with schooling.

The prevailing concerns noted by the member were ones that had come up numerous times before, and as they are referenced again here, they appear to prevent the movement from pursuing the newer idea of updating and disseminating an accurate curriculum.

Suggestions to change collective action frames or include new ones were, at times, met in meetings with narrative commemorations of collective action frames previously established. At an early SIEA meeting, one member had asked that I, as the SIEA secretary, add a discussion of the group's mission statement on the next meeting's agenda. The member told me that she wanted the group to see if changes needed to be made in the problems it addressed and the strategies for addressing those problems. To facilitate the discussion, group members asked that I read the group's official mission statement. As the mission statement contained, in crystallized form, the collective action frames established by the movement early on, the reading served as a reminder of previously established diagnoses and prognoses. More importantly, it prompted a discussion that served to reassert the ability of the current frames to resonate with members of the movement.

As each section of the mission statement was read, members noted activities the group had used in the past to engage the mission. Comments like, "We've set up the listserv and do mailings to get information out," and "We worked with that professor at the university to look at student experiences in schools," and "We give out scholarships and help people find other scholarships" all highlighted elements of the frames' efficacy and resonance. In connecting specific activities to the outlined frames, the narrative commemorations of group activities highlighted the consistency

between beliefs and actions. In providing concrete examples of group efficacy, they highlighted the empirical credibility and experiential commensurability of the frames explored. Finally, in using current as well as past examples, they indicated the continued centrality of the frames.

Constrained to a discussion of the past collective action frames and not on the possibility of new ones, the question of change remained on the table:

Hela: So, do we keep it, change it, throw it out?

Tina: It would be a lot of work for a new one.

[Hela again brought up the scholarships the group has done.]

Walt: We're starting down a road that could take hours. Maybe we should send this to committee.

Jane: I like it the way it is.

Tina: It's important to pull people together, and it needs to be looked at.

Hela: Tina is appointed to chair a committee to review the mission statement and bring drafts of specific suggestions.

The narrative commemoration of the collective action frames (i.e., reading the mission statement) constrained the group's discussion around specific instances of working to meet the various goals of the group and indicated the continued resonance of the collective action frames. Having established a resonance, the narrative commemoration anchored the discussion in past activities, and precluded at least the immediate consideration of change.

Narrative commemorations also anchored the development of movement strategies for addressing the diagnosed problems. Participants who suggested new ideas were met with narrative commemorations of previous ideas that anchored the discussion and directed it toward strategies the movement had previously discussed or used.

Aron: I'm listening to what we've talked about and I keep thinking that we can try to improve education, but kids need to want to learn and that comes from the home.

Hela: We've talked in the past about focusing on preschool and on parenting [veteran members nod].

Aron: Right.

Hela: We should talk about workshops for parents.

The result was an eventual commitment to support or facilitate a workshop on Native American parental leadership in education that movement members had already acknowledged was being developed and offered by a professor at a state university. Although the strategy of focusing on the need for kids to want to learn and the importance of the home was presented as potentially a new idea, the narrative commemoration of previous collective action frames anchored the discussion. In this case, it then put off any immediate possibility for exploring new ideas as the previous ones were considered instead.

Constrained as the collective action frames are by their need to connect with external belief systems and the life worlds of participants and potential participants (Snow

and Benford 1988), past development also constrains current development. The continuity of a movement is maintained as narrative commemorations bring forward the collective action frames of the past, anchor the conversation by indicating continued resonance, and, in doing so, constrain the possible development of new frames. The result of the anchoring is a negotiated development of collective action frames that, in some cases, mirror those developed in the past.

## CONCLUSION

The anchoring effect of collective memories helps a movement's collective identity process maintain a grounded relation between the past and the present. In these cases, the movement members maintained continuity by directly drawing on what is in the movement's past. To do so, they draw on the preexisting networks, culture, and collective action frames that serve as important resources for the collective identity process. Their reproduction ensures that elements of the identity from the past are carried forward to the present.

Collective memories of previously negotiated collective action frames provide an internal constraint on the development of new or adapted frames. Specifically, the work of anchoring a present negotiation of frames in past negotiations focuses attention on the resonance of the past frames. Where resonance of the frames is indicated by collective memory anchors, they are kept in focus, they appear to put off the possibility of change, and the past is reproduced. The collective identity that is informed and expressed by the frames, then, has continuity with the past that is established by the reproduction of the past frames.

Movements also reproduce elements of the culture(s) from which it emerges and in which participants act. The culture that a movement emerges from, works in, and develops heavily influences the movement's collective identity (Gamson 1995; Johnston and Klandermans 1995; Melucci 1995; Swindler 1995; Taylor and Rupp 1993). In so far as a movement is concerned with a collective identity that is connected with a particular culture, or with developing a culture of its own, the work of anchoring maintains the continuity of that collective identity. Narrative commemorations bring forward past practices and the beliefs they express to be reproduced in the present.

Collective memory anchors also allow movements to reproduce patterns established in preexisting networks. Movements emerge from and draw upon networks of individuals who develop ideas and relations. These are brought forward into present collective identity processes and help a movement establish a sense of continuity through time (Melucci 1985; Staggenborg 1998; Taylor 1989; Taylor and Rupp 1993; Taylor and Whittier 1995). Narrative commemorations anchor present movement development to the ideas and relations developed previously in the networks. The continuity of the collective identity is maintained as the work of anchoring connects present development with the sites from which it emerged and from which it draws in participants.

Identifying this collective anchoring process and the various constraints highlights only a small piece of the link between collective identity and collective memory. If the continuity of the collective identity process were simply the direct repetition of past patterns, then movements would never change. However, movements, like all social groups, do change (cf. Taylor 1989), and scholars should take continuity as a multi-layered relation of the present to the past.

To consider this multilayered relation, two areas stand out as the most important to address. First, while the interactions of movement members explored here displayed little dissent, movement members did, at times, challenge narrative commemorations. Exploring these face-to-face collective memory disputes would allow scholars to highlight not only the influence of the past, but potentially how participants may mobilize power to make differential contributions to the collective identity.

Additionally, research should focus on how collective memories provide continuity in the collective identity process while still allowing room for the changes induced by a number of different sources. For example, new members may bring new ideas from other movements or organizations (McAdam 1988), changes in the field of action may force adaptations in movement activities (Tarrow 1998), or master collective action frames may encourage alignment with similar groups in the field of action (Snow and Benford 1988; Taylor and Whittier 1995). Regardless of the cause, how, then, does the structure of the collective memory/identity process provide the space for such changes while still maintaining continuity?

Although not answering the question of how continuity and change occur together, the exploration of the collective memory anchors does allow us to identify one way in which continuity with the past is established. It further helps to illuminate how persistent elements of a movement are interactively carried through to the present. Notably, the narrative commemorations of previously negotiated collective action frames, a wider culture and/or preexisting networks all serve as important resources in the collective identity process. The work of anchoring draws on memories from these areas and the movement's own past experiences. The social movement maintains a sense of continuity in its collective identity, in part, through the reproduction over time of certain collective identity elements such as shared notions about ends, means, fields of action, activation of shared relations, and emotional investments. The narrative commemorations and informally interjected presentations that are used in the collective memory anchoring provide a direct connection between the present and the past and may potentially lead the collective identity process to reproduce these past patterns.

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## NOTES

1. Although primarily Omaha and Winnebago Ho-Chunk, some other tribes were noted in the data as represented in the group. The Title IX PAC included members from the Cheyenne River, Iowei, Navajo, Ponca, Rosebud, and Santee tribes. The SIEA membership included representation from the Cherokee, Cheyenne River, Oglala, Rosebud, and Santee tribes.
2. Title IX of the Improving Americas Schools Act of 1994 replaced Title IV of the Indian Education Act of 1972.
3. In addition to people of non-Native American descent, the movements in this study comprised members of various tribes from both in and out of the state. Members came from the Cheyenne River, Iowei, Navajo, Omaha, Ponca, Rosebud, Santee, and Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) tribes among others. However, the use of cultural practices from one tribe versus those from another did not emerge in the study. Instead, components of the cultural tool kit drawn on in the interactions appeared to come from a general notion of Native American cultural practices reflecting a supratribal ethnic identity as described by Nagel (1996). An additional aid to this was the perceived similarity of many of the cultures involved. Although certainly not uniform, individuals mentioned that similarities existed in the customs in Winnebago, Omaha, Santee, and a few other tribes usually identified as Sioux (e.g., Rosebud, Cheyenne River, Oglala). Many of these tribes have a common language root labeled Lakota and Nakota, which seemed to further a perception of their similarity.

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# Adolescent Independence across Immigrant Generations: Age and Ethnic Variations

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*This study examines differences in the level of independence in decision-making experienced by three generations of immigrants and the moderating effects of age, sex, and ethnicity. Data for this study were obtained from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. Results indicate generally less independence in decision-making among first-generation immigrants relative to their higher-generation counterparts; however, the relationship varies significantly with ethnicity and age. Among Latinos, adolescents' level of independence increases across successive immigrant generations to a much greater degree than among other ethnic groups. Age further contributes to this interaction, with evidence of greater increases in independence with age among first-generation immigrant Latinos. Findings demonstrate that cultural traditions with regard to parenting and adolescent socialization are important not only within ethnic groups but also within immigrant generations.*

Much of an individual's self-concept is formed during the adolescent years (Kwak 2003), and this life stage can be difficult when individuals consider their social environment a barrier to their developmental goals (Meeus et al. 1999). Such barriers may arise as a result of sociocultural changes encountered by immigrants during the process of adapting to a new country and differences in adolescent and parental response to such changes. An important component of change involves parenting behaviors. This study focuses on one aspect of behavior, specifically differences in adolescent independence in decision-making among three immigrant generations of adolescents and the moderating influences of ethnicity, age, and sex.

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Much research has highlighted the propensity for intergenerational conflict in immigrant families (Feldman and Rosenthal 1994; Rumbaut 1994; Waters 1997). Such conflict is often attributed to dissonant acculturation, which is the tendency for adolescents to adapt to a new culture faster than their parents (Kao 1999; Nguyen and Williams 1989; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). There has been far less research focused on other aspects of immigrant family environments, especially adolescents' level of independence in decision-making. The importance of independence is evident in its link to parent-adolescent relationship (Fuligni 1998) and adolescent deviance (Hagan, Simpson, and Gillis 1987; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Adolescent dissatisfaction with parental control of their day-to-day lives with respect to such things as rules about curfew, friends with whom they spend time, and television viewing may lead to conflict (Collins and Russell 1991; Smetana 1988) and a deterioration in parent-adolescent relationship. As such, independence has implications for personal development among adolescents (Kwak 2003) as well as aspects of health and well-being (Crane et al. 2005; Juang, Syed, and Takagi 2007; Phinney and Ong 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). A focus on independence is also a way to gauge the adaptation of immigrant parents and families to an aspect of parenting behavior that reflects the values and socialization intrinsic to individualistic societies. An experience of greater independence among native-born adolescents with foreign-born parents, relative to their foreign-born adolescent peers, would suggest changing dynamics of authority and independence across time and immigrant generations. Given that independence is valued within individualistic societies, such a change could be considered positively in that immigrants appear to be acculturating to American society.

## BACKGROUND

In many Western societies, individual independence is considered a characteristic of a healthy relationship between parents and their adolescent children. In such societies, families are usually smaller and role expectations of families tend to be weaker than in more traditional societies (Bulcroft, Carmody, and Bulcroft 1996). As children enter the adolescent years, they have an increasing desire for independence and become more dissatisfied with parental authority in certain aspects of their lives (Smetana 1988). This emphasis on independence among adolescents is not common in all societies. The difference in what is considered healthy and normative adolescent development is often characterized as one between collectivistic and individualistic societies. In contrast to the more individualistic societies in the West, societies that are more collectivistic, such as those found in much of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, place a higher value on family cohesion and interdependence than on individual independence (Georgas et al. 1997; Hofstede 2001). Greater family loyalty, solidarity, and interdependence within families are expected (Hofstede 2001). In such societies, parental control is viewed very positively (Chao 1994), and adolescents may have less desire to contradict their parents' authority and be less likely to crave independence.

This contrast between societies is a main concern in research on adolescents in immigrant families. Families who immigrate to Western countries from societies that are more collectivistic are often confronted with their desire to maintain cultural norms and values that stress family embeddedness and cohesion, while adapting to the importance of individual independence in an individualistic host society. This challenge may result in a difficult process of adaptation for immigrant families, one that may be particularly evident in parent-adolescent relationships. In addition to the usual life course changes related to development, socialization, and social identity, foreign-born adolescents (first-generation immigrants) are also often confronted with a socio-cultural context that is unfamiliar to their parents. Although foreign-born adolescents often strive to be less conspicuous than other adolescents and to be accepted by their majority peers, their parents often do not share such goals and wish to retain the cultural and family values from their home country (Harris 1999). For immigrant families, there is less congruence between parents' values and those of the majority culture, and, as a result, parents may exert greater direct control over their children (Bulcroft et al. 1996). Such control often means less independence for adolescents.

This is also true to a certain extent in families with native-born children and foreign-born parents (i.e., second-generation immigrant children). Native-born youth with foreign-born parents are often more focused than their foreign-born peers on American society and living a life similar to those of their peers with native-born parents. As such, native-born youth are more likely to view low adolescent independence as unnatural and problematic (Dornbusch 1989; Dornbusch et al. 1987), despite any desire by their foreign-born parents to adhere to family values of the home country. A major difference between foreign-born and native-born adolescents with regard to independence may be adolescents' expectations and parents' acceptance. Native-born adolescents with foreign-born parents are likely to be further along in the acculturation process. Adolescents' commitment to traditional values from a parent's country of birth that may have been the basis for a parent's own early socialization is likely to be low, while their commitment to American values are high, due partly to longer exposure. Parents of native-born youth are likely to recognize this in their adolescents and adapt their parenting behavior. In contrast, foreign-born adolescents may be torn in their commitment to cultural values, with less demand for independence and less willingness by parents to accept less control. This suggests that independence may increase across immigrant generations, with foreign-born adolescents having the least independence, followed by native-born adolescents with foreign-born parents, and lastly by native-born adolescents with native-born parents. Research has indicated some variation in expectations of independence, with foreign-born Chinese American adolescents expecting independence at a much later age than their peers who are native-born with foreign-born parents; and native-born Chinese Americans with foreign-born parents expected autonomy at a later age than European Americans (Feldman and Rosenthal 1994). Age at immigration has been identified as an important factor in research examining the adaptation of immigrant children (Rumbaut 1994). In this study, foreign-born adolescents who have lived in the U.S. for a longer period of time may have greater independence than their peers who are more recent immigrants, since the for-

mer would be further along in the acculturation process. Research on expectations has found that adolescents who immigrated to the U.S. at an earlier age expected independence at an earlier age (Fuligni 1998).

An important consideration in examinations of the relationship between immigrant generation and independence is the potential for racial and ethnic differences. The extent to which independence is valued by parents varies across cultures. Such variation is similar to that between individualistic and collectivistic societies. European American parents are more likely to engage in parenting behaviors that emphasize adolescents' independence, with opportunities provided for input in decision-making within warm and supportive parent-adolescent relationships (Aneshensel 1992; Nagin and Tremblay 2001). This finding reflects the value placed on independence within the majority European-American culture in the U.S. In contrast, Asian, Latino, and African American parents are more likely to engage in parenting behaviors that emphasize parental control and child conformity (Chao 1994; Chao and Tseng 2002; Dornbusch et al. 1985; Steinberg et al. 1991). Commitment, solidarity, respect, and support within families are a way of life in many Asian cultures (Uba 1994) as well as within many Latin American cultures (Chilman 1993). Immigration to a country that values independence does not remove commitment to opposing values. Research has indicated that many Asian and Latin American immigrant families continue to emphasize adolescents' obligations (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995; Zhou and Bankston 1998), and there is evidence that less independence is granted with age during adolescence among Latinos (Bulcroft et al. 1996). Although Asian and Latin American immigrant families, for example, may share similarities based on their minority status and origins within more collectivistic societies, their experiences within the U.S. are different in many ways that are likely to produce differences in rates of acculturation and the adoption of some aspects of the new culture. It has been suggested that independence is less frequently promoted among Chinese parents (Fuligni 1998), a perspective supported by findings that adolescents of Chinese background (in contrast to those of Mexican and Filipino background) expected independence at a later age than adolescents with European backgrounds. Research on race/ethnicity is not consistent about which ethnic group may resist adaptation longer with respect to granting their adolescent children independence; however, research does suggest some race/ethnic variation in the relationship between immigrant generation and independence.

Variations in the relationship between immigrant generation and independence may also be driven by age and sex. Parenting practices have been found to vary with the age and sex of the adolescent (Matsueda and Heimer 1987; Seydlitz 1991). Younger adolescents tend to have less independence than older adolescents (e.g., Bulcroft et al. 1996), and research has indicated that there are cultural differences in the age at which independence is expected (e.g., Feldman and Rosenthal 1994) and granted (Bulcroft et al. 1996). There is also a tendency to grant less independence to females than males (Brook et al. 1984; 1986). This arises from the perception of greater risk to adolescent females (Thomas 1995) and to differences in socialization that encourage boys to be independent and girls to be obedient (Compas, Howell,

Ledoux, et al. 1989). These sex differences are especially evident in the concerns immigrant parents have about their daughters becoming Americanized and the restrictions on adolescent activities with the intent of preventing sexual promiscuity (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 1995; Compas, Howell, Phares, et al. 1989). Such concerns would suggest some variation with immigrant generations because greater acculturation may relax some sex- and age-related stereotypes. Given that there are likely to be variations in the extent to which adolescent age and sex are emphasized across cultures (and the potential for discrepancies in the rate at which groups adapt across generations), this study will further contribute to the literature by examining the interactional influence of immigrant generation, race/ethnicity, and age simultaneously on independence, as well as the interaction of immigrant generation, race/ethnicity, and sex on independence. Empirical research on the nature of such interactions is particularly lacking within the literature.

To summarize, it is hypothesized that independence will increase significantly across immigrant generations, with foreign-born adolescents being the least independent and native-born adolescents with native-born parents being the most independent. This relationship is further hypothesized to vary significantly by race/ethnicity. Third-generation whites are expected to have higher independence. The existing literature, however, makes it difficult to hypothesize whether Latin American adolescents will experience greater differences in independence across immigrant generations than Asian Americans. Variations are also hypothesized by sex, with females expected to experience greater variations by immigrant generation; and by age, with older adolescents having more independence with increasing immigrant generation.

The main focus of the study is on the effect of immigrant generation on adolescent independence and the moderating influence of adolescent race/ethnicity, age, and sex. Several aspects of the family and socioeconomic environment that may confound the relationships of interest are included in the analyses. Specifically, controls are included for current household structure given significant links with immigrant generation (Reardon-Anderson, Capps, and Fix 2002) and family relationships (McLanahan and Sandefur 1994); number of siblings in household given generational differences in numbers of children (Forehand et al. 1988); and socioeconomic status given links with parenting behavior (Dornbusch et al. 1985; McLoyd 1990; Steinberg et al. 1991) and immigrant generation (Forehand and Smith 1986).

## METHODS

This study is based on data from the 1995 wave of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, a school-based study of adolescents in grades 7 through 12 (Bearman, Jones, and Udry 1997). Adolescents were selected through a random sample of all high schools in the U.S. The sample that completed in-home interviews includes oversamples of African Americans with well-educated parents, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and Chinese. The sample for this study was restricted to adolescents ages 12 through 19 with valid sample weights and totaled 18210.

### Measures

The measure of *independence in decision-making* is based on adolescent self-reports and represents whether adolescents are allowed to make their own decisions and rules about: (1) the time they must be home on weekend nights; (2) the people they hang around with; (3) what they wear; (4) how much television they watch; (5) which television programs they watch; (6) what time they go to bed on weeknights; and (7) what they eat. Response choices of 1 (yes) or 0 (no) were summed to form the measure of independence in decision-making. The internal consistency of this measure was moderate, with a Cronbach's alpha of .63. The items used to construct the measure include some aspects of behavioral autonomy but is restricted to independence that adolescents have in their decision-making within the family domain.

*Immigrant generation* status is the main independent measure. It is measured by a set of dummy variables that contrast first-, second-, and third- and higher-generation immigrant youth. Foreign-born adolescents with at least one parent who is also foreign-born are considered first-generation immigrants. U.S.-born adolescents with at least one parent who is foreign-born are considered second-generation immigrants. Approximately 50 percent of second-generation immigrant youth in the sample have only one foreign-born parent, while the other 50 percent have two parents who are foreign-born. Third- and higher-generation immigrant youth are those who are U.S.-born and whose parents are also U.S.-born. This definition of immigrant generation status has been frequently used in studies of immigrant adaptation (e.g., Harker 2001; Harris 1999; Hernandez and Charney 1998; Hogan and Eggebeen 1997; Kao 1999).

Analyses include three moderators. Age is measured in years and is a continuous variable. Sex is a dichotomous measure of male or female. Ethnicity is measured by dummy variables contrasting Latin, Asian, African, and European American respondents. Limited analyses are also conducted using more specific ethnic background variables for Latino and Asian groups. These limited analyses permit a more clear delineation of within-group differences that are often overlooked due to limited sample sizes. Latinos are classified into four more specific Latino designations—Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and other Latinos. The Asian group is divided into three classifications—Chinese, Filipino, and other Asians.

Several control variables are included in analyses. A variable is included for first-generation adolescent's age at arrival in the U.S. Family structure is represented by dummy variables contrasting two-parent, stepparent, one-parent, and no-parent households. Number of siblings is a continuous measure. Parental education represents the highest level of education completed by a parent and is based mostly on parent response. Adolescent responses are used only in the small number of cases where parent responses are missing on education. Household income represents total income before taxes. Missing cases for parental education and household income are handled through multiple imputation with 10 data sets. Dummy variables representing whether case values are imputed/nonimputed are then subsequently added to regression equations used to test the objectives of the study. An additional control

variable assesses the proportion of the neighborhood in poverty and is based on geocodes wherein respondents' addresses were linked to various census tract data (Chantala and Tabor 1999).

### *Analysis*

The association between immigrant status and independence in decision-making is examined through regression analysis. This association is first examined at the bivariate level. The association is then examined after adjusting for sociodemographic variables. The moderating effect of age, sex, and ethnicity are then examined separately through two-way multiplicative interactions with immigrant generation. Three-way interactions are subsequently introduced to examine separately the ability of age and sex to further moderate the interaction effect of ethnicity and immigrant generation. The final analyses collapse broader ethnic backgrounds into smaller categories (e.g., Mexican, Puerto Rican) to examine potential differences within large ethnic groups.

As foreign-born adolescents are the only respondents with valid age at arrival data, this variable is treated as conditionally relevant in regression analyses. Its inclusion allows first-generation adolescents to be compared to their U.S.-born counterparts while simultaneously representing a variable, age at arrival, which is only applicable to foreign-born adolescents. The model is represented by the following equations (Cohen 1968; Ross and Mirowsky 1992):

$$Dep = b_0 + [b_1 + b_2 (A \bar{A}_F)]F + u \quad (1)$$

The change in independence associated with first-generation youth is represented by the expression in the square bracket. Model estimation involves multiplying the results of the square bracket by the dichotomous variable for first-generation ( $F$ ) and entering the  $b_2$  portion of the equation as an independent variable controlling for  $F$  (see Eq. 2).  $A$  represents age at arrival.

$$Dep = b_0 + b_1F + b_2[(A \bar{A}_F)F] + u \quad (2)$$

All analyses are completed using Taylor series methods within Stata to account for the complex survey design (Statacorp 2003). As such, analyses are weighted to account for the unequal probability of selection, and incorporate adjustments for clustering and stratification to produce unbiased variances and standard errors (Chantala and Tabor 1999).<sup>1</sup>

## RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for each immigrant generation as well as for the total sample are outlined in Table 1. Tests of significance between samples indicate that the sample of first-generation youth are older on average than their third-generation counterparts. The proportion of the sample that resides in households with two biological parents is greater among second-generation youth, whereas the proportion of stepparents is greater among the third-generation. Sibling size is significantly lower among the

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Immigrant Generation			Total Sample	
	First	Second	Third	Mean/Prop.	SD
<i>Sample means/proportions</i>					
Age	15.88	15.43	15.40	15.43*	1.81
Parental education	11.61	12.82	13.82	13.62***	2.83
Household income (thousands)	29.78	44.61	46.38	45.58***	47.70
No. of siblings	1.94	1.79	1.34	1.41***	1.23
Gender (female) (%)	53	47	49	49	
Proportion poor (%)	18	14	14	14	
<i>Sample sizes</i>					
<i>Ethnicity/race (No./%)</i>					
Latino	716 (55)	1,235 (46)	1,021 (5)	2,972 (11)	
Asian	537 (34)	580 (16)	220 (1)	1,337 (4)	
African American	78 (4)	159 (6)	3,707 (18)	3,944 (16)	
European American	58 (7)	427 (32)	9,472 (76)	9,957 (69)	
<i>Family structure (No./%)</i>					
Two-parent	835 (60)	1,716 (74)	7,444 (54)	9,995 (56)	
Stepparent	174 (13)	206 (9)	2,536 (17)	2,916 (16)	
One-parent	302 (22)	404 (15)	3,804 (25)	4,510 (24)	
Other parent	78 (5)	75 (2)	636 (4)	789 (4)	
<i>N</i>	1,389	2,401	14,420	18,210	

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

third-generation sample, whereas parental education and household income are lower among the first-generation sample. There are also differences in the distribution of the sample by immigrant generation status across ethnic groups. The numbers of African and European Americans among the first-generation adolescent sample are small relative to that of Asian and Latin Americans. As such, results specific to first-generation African or European Americans should be interpreted with caution.

The first research question focuses on whether there are significant variations in independence in decision-making across immigrant generations. Multiple regression results from this analysis are outlined in Table 2. Model 1 indicates a significant relationship between immigrant generation and independence in decision-making. First-generation youth are less independent than third- and higher-generation (hereafter referred to as third-generation) youth. The results of an adjusted Wald test not reported in the table indicate that first-generation youth are also less independent than second-generation youth ( $F = 6.17, p < .05$ ). Other results from the model indicate that youth who immigrated to the U.S. at a later age, live with large numbers of siblings, reside in high poverty neighborhoods,<sup>2</sup> or are African Americans have less

Table 2. Independence in Decision-Making Regressed on Immigrant Generation and Sociodemographic Characteristics

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
First generation <sup>a</sup>	-.301** (.095)	-.069 (.121)	-.039 (.123)
Second generation <sup>a</sup>	-.109+ (.063)	.021 (.073)	.017 (.073)
Age at arrival <sup>b</sup>	-.051** (.019)	-.053** (.019)	-.049** (.017)
Age (centered)	.327*** (.009)	.327*** (.009)	.334*** (.010)
Female	.037 (.030)	.038 (.030)	.037 (.030)
Stepparent household <sup>c</sup>	.035 (.046)	.032 (.046)	.032 (.046)
One-parent <sup>c</sup>	.281*** (.043)	.277*** (.043)	.278*** (.043)
Other parent <sup>c</sup>	.204* (.080)	.198* (.080)	.201* (.080)
Household income	.104** (.031)	.103** (.031)	.103** (.031)
Parental education	.018** (.007)	.016* (.007)	.016* (.007)
No. of siblings	-.083*** (.013)	-.083*** (.013)	-.081*** (.013)
Proportion poor	-.650** (.214)	-.621** (.211)	-.613** (.210)
Latino <sup>d</sup>	-.121+ (.065)	.023 (.071)	.019 (.070)
Asian <sup>d</sup>	.002 (.092)	-.144 (.106)	-.132 (.105)
African American <sup>d</sup>	-.119* (.057)	-.125* (.056)	-.127* (.056)
<i>Interactions (two-way)</i>			
First-generation x Latino		-.476* (.185)	-.544** (.170)
Second-generation x Latino		-.369* (.147)	-.365* (.144)
First-generation x age			-.129* (.053)
Second-generation x age			.004 (.034)
Latino x age			-.023 (.036)

*continues*

Table 2. Continued

Variable	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<i>Interactions (three-way)</i>			
First-generation x Latino x age			.215** (.076)
Second-generation x Latino x age			-.093 (.070)
Constant	4.673	4.700	4.697
R <sup>2</sup>	.161	.162	.163

<sup>a</sup>The reference group is third- and higher-generation.

<sup>b</sup>Age at arrival is a conditionally relevant variable.

<sup>c</sup>The reference group is two-parent households.

<sup>d</sup>The reference group is European American.

\* $p < .10$ ; \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ ;  $N = 18,210$

Note: Unstandardized coefficients with standard errors in brackets are presented. Bivariate results for immigrant generation and independence are: first-generation ( $b = -.355$ ,  $SE = .123$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and second-generation ( $b = -.230$ ,  $SE = .085$ ,  $p < .01$ ). All models include dummy variable controls for whether or not missing values were imputed for education and income; none were significant.

independence in decision-making. In contrast, youth who are older, reside in one-parent families, and have highly educated parents have more independence.

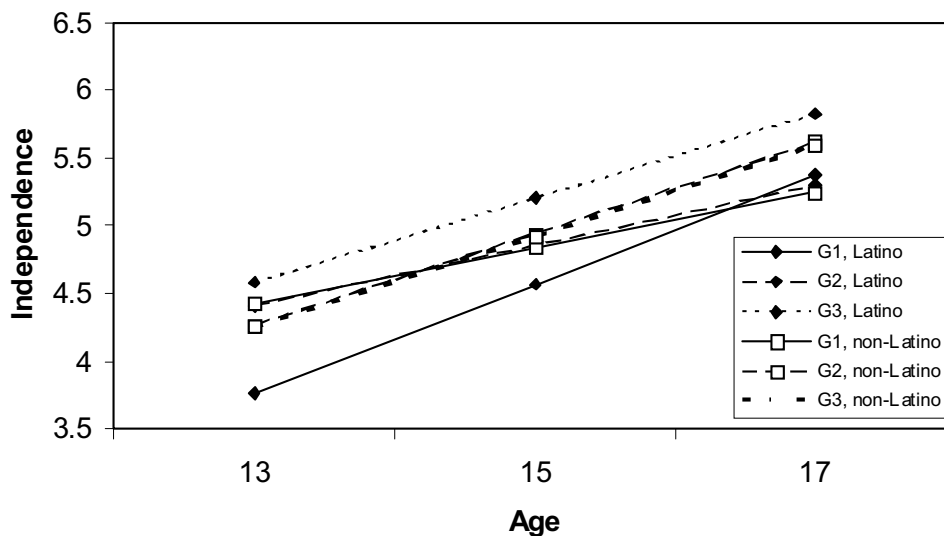
The second research question focuses on whether specific demographic characteristics moderate the association between immigrant generation and independence. Multiplicative two-way interactions between age and immigrant generation, sex and generation, and ethnicity and generation were examined in three separate regression models. Significant results were found only for the immigrant generation by ethnicity interaction model. The second model in Table 2 focuses on Latino/non-Latino comparison within the interaction because analysis of the full ethnicity (Latino, Asian, African American, European) by immigrant generation interaction indicated that “Latino” was the only group both significantly different from the European American reference group and significantly different from another of the ethnic groups. In the full ethnicity by immigrant generation interaction, adjusted Wald tests indicated significantly lower independence among first- and second-generation Latinos relative to their first- and second-generation Asian counterparts, respectively ( $F = 3.60$ ,  $p < .05$ ;  $F = 3.82$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The use of a basic Latino/non-Latino by immigrant generation interaction in Table 2 reduced multiple testing and simplified the presentation of interaction results.

Three-way interactions were used to examine whether age or sex can further moderate the relationship between immigrant generation, ethnicity, and independence. Results indicate that sex does not have a significant effect on the relationship between immigrant generation, ethnicity, and independence. In contrast, findings indicate a significant interaction between immigrant generation, ethnicity, and age as indicated in the third model in Table 2. Thus, earlier findings of less independence among first-generation Latinos appear to be restricted to particular age groups. To further clarify

the importance of age, combinations of immigrant generation and ethnicity are used to graphically illustrate the interaction across select ages in Figure 1. It is evident from the figure that first-generation Latinos appear to have lower independence in early adolescence, but their level of independence is similar to that of others in later adolescence.

The final phase of the analyses focused on examining whether there are distinct differences between subgroups of Latinos and Asians with regard to independence. Regression analyses were conducted with ethnicity more specifically defined in smaller categories for Latinos and Asians—namely, Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, other Latino, Chinese, Filipino, and other Asian. As it is not possible to create subgroups of African American and European American samples from the data set, those variables remain the same in this phase of the analysis. The main effects model indicates only one significant ethnicity effect. African American adolescents have less independence in decision-making than European Americans. These results are presented in the first model in Table 3.<sup>3</sup> The results for the control variables are similar to those in Table 2 and are not presented. Tests of two-way interactions between immigrant generation and these smaller ethnicity categories indicate significant effects for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans (model 2). Interaction effects for Cubans and other Latinos are not significant. Thus, the lower independence of Latino youth, evident in models with large ethnicity categories, appears to be more applicable to Mexican and Puerto Rican youth than youth of other Latino backgrounds.

Figure 1. Association Between Independence and Age by Immigrant Generation and Ethnicity



*Note:* The x-axis reflects the mean of age and points 1 standard deviation (SD) above and below the mean. The y-axis ranges from 1 SD below to 1 SD above the mean level of independence.

Table 3. Independence in Decision-Making Regressed on Immigrant Generation, Sociodemographic Characteristics, and Ethnicity Subgroups

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>
First-generation <sup>a</sup>	-.290** (.092)	-.125 (.117)
Second-generation <sup>a</sup>	-.110 (.062)	-.000 (.067)
<i>Ethnicity<sup>b</sup></i>		
Mexican	-.145 (.088)	.043 (.086)
Cuban	.067 (.113)	-.043 (.116)
Puerto Rican	-.013 (.084)	.058 (.103)
Other Latino	-.183 (.137)	-.286* (.133)
Chinese	.066 (.177)	-.030 (.174)
Filipino	-.087 (.095)	-.199 (.107)
Other Asian	.025 (.136)	-.090 (.139)
African	-.118* (.057)	-.121* (.056)
<i>Interactions</i>		
First-generation x Mexican		-.474* (.201)
Second-generation x Mexican		-.463** (.171)
First-generation x Puerto Rican		-1.396*** (.294)
Second-generation x Puerto Rican		-.081 (.194)
Constant	4.674	4.700
R <sup>2</sup>	.161	.163

<sup>a</sup>The reference group is third- and higher-generation.

<sup>b</sup>The reference group is European American.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

*Note:* Models include all control variables from Table 2, including controls for imputed values. The latter controls were not significant.

Neither main effects nor interaction effects are evident among Asian subgroups. Three-way interactions are not tested for small ethnicity categories due to sample size restrictions.

## DISCUSSION

There are many immigrants residing in individualistic societies who came from more collectivistic societies where interdependence tends to be more valued than independence (Greenfield and Cocking 1994). This is the case for a large proportion of the more recent immigrant population in the U.S. The difference in cultural orientation toward independence versus interdependence has particular implications for socialization and parent-adolescent relationships. An examination of independence in decision-making across three generational groups of immigrants in this study indicates significant variations by ethnicity and age. Immigrant generational differences may reflect the extent to which foreign-born parents and their adolescent children share the desire to maintain traditional values, with foreign-born adolescents more likely to share this value with their parents than are native-born adolescents. The sharing of values may continue through a significant phase of the adaptation process because of the intricate role foreign-born adolescents may have in their parents' adaptation to a new society. Further, the stress of moving to a new country and the challenges of adaptation may increase family cohesion (Rumbaut 1997). There would likely be less agreement between foreign-born parents and their native-born children. To reduce intergenerational conflict in the home arising from differences in the perceived importance of independence and individual autonomy between foreign-born parents and their native-born children, parents may compromise by increasing independence. Findings of less independence among foreign-born youth are especially noteworthy, given that the sample of first-generation youth in the study is older on average than youth of other immigrant generations.

Results support research indicating ethnic variations in independence (e.g., Langley 1994), with the main difference occurring between Latino and non-Latino groups. Less independence among Latino youth may be a reflection of parental country of birth with foreign-born Latino parents maintaining cultural traditions with regard to parenting and greater family orientation to a much greater extent than other foreign-born parents. In Latin America, the emphasis on collectivism and family interdependence is greater than in the U.S. (Phinney, Ong, and Madden 2000). Findings of greater increase in independence with age further suggest that foreign-born Latino youth may be more tied to traditions of interdependence, where level of independence is determined by age and other yardsticks of maturity. The lower independence of Latino youth is particularly significant among Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. This differentiation between smaller Latino groups may be a reflection of more rural or agrarian origins of many Mexican American immigrants (Valenzuela 1999), where the expectations of children may have been different from those of second-generation Mexican Americans or those who have lived in urban centers.

Lower independence among Puerto Ricans may be related to greater circular and return migration among this group (Stier and Tienda 1993), which may preserve traditional norms and values related to adolescent independence to a greater degree. Although the sample permits an examination of only three specific groups of Latinos, it was enough to indicate that Cubans differed in some respects from Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, thus supporting the argument that large ethnic groupings, such as Latino, may sometimes mask the heterogeneity within ethnic populations.

The idea that individuals with more collectivistic cultural backgrounds would be less independent is not entirely supported, given findings that independence among Asians does not significantly differ from that of European Americans.<sup>4</sup> Despite literature indicating that parents of Asian background exert greater control over their children (Chao and Tseng 2002; Feldman and Rosenthal 1994), these results seem to support research suggesting that Asians may value both independence and interdependence (e.g., Chin-Yau and Fu 1990). The findings may also suggest more bicultural tendencies within Asian groups with regard to aspects of adolescent independence. Results may also be due to the measure of independence. There may be other aspects of autonomy or other areas of decision-making that are more important among Asians, which would support arguments of greater parental control among that ethnic group. A measure that focused more on dating, school, and/or activities that are considered more obligatory may have reflected greater differences between Asians and other ethnic groups. Feldman and Rosenthal (1994) found that the largest differences between Hong Kong adolescents and other adolescents in Australia and America were with regard to dating and socializing with peers.

Findings that foreign-born youth who immigrate at a later age have less independence than those who immigrate at a younger age exemplify the importance of age at immigration in discussions of children's adaptation and acculturation. Children who are older at the time of immigration are more likely to accept and continue to live by the traditions of their home country. Further, the level of independence of children who immigrate at an older age may also result from earlier parent-child relationships or family dynamics prior to immigration that continue to influence parenting behavior. Children who immigrate at an older age may also be more enmeshed in the challenges encountered by their parents during the process of adaptation. Such involvement may reduce independence in many respects, as much time is spent in the company of parents, and adolescents' desire for such privileges may be reduced because of greater family obligations. In contrast, those who are younger at arrival are likely to be more eager to adopt the norms of the host country.

There are notable limitations to this study. The measure of independence used in the present study may be limiting in that it may not be broad enough to capture the full extent of differences that exist among immigrants. Attempts to construct multiple measures with these items were unsuccessful, as internal consistency values were reduced to unacceptable levels. Future research should examine whether the association between immigrant generation and independence differs, for example, when the focus is on independence inside versus outside the home. Greater emphasis on dating and curfew may have resulted in findings of significant sex differences across immigrant

generations. Bulcroft and colleagues (1996) found that the effect of sex varied with the measure of independence such that there were few or no sex differences with regard to household rules and weekend curfews, which constitutes most of the items in the measure used in this study, but significant sex differences with regard to being left home alone. Another limitation is the small numbers of first-generation European and African Americans in the sample relative to first-generation Asian and Latin Americans. This requires that results pertaining to first-generation European and African American adolescents be interpreted with caution and suggests the need for replication with a larger sample of individuals from within these groups. Finally, within this study, the potential influence of neighborhood poverty was acknowledged but not explored. As such, this is a path for further research.

Despite the broad contrast of collectivistic versus individualistic societies, it would be unusual for countries or ethnicities to entirely fit either characteristic exclusively. Societies are constantly undergoing changes that often defy a consistent label of one or the other. For example, recent research suggests that norms associated with adolescent independence are changing in China, a traditionally collectivistic country (Zhang and Fuligni 2006). Further, ethnic differences are often a result of complex factors and this is undoubtedly so for independence in decision-making among adolescents. The results of this study suggest that although there are significant variations in independence across immigrant generations between some ethnic groups, for others there are surprising similarities. Although differences are not large statistically, denying adolescents relatively small privileges can become important factors in shaping parent-adolescent relationships, level of adaptation and acculturation, and aspects of well-being. The similarities suggest that the acculturation process may not bring about as much strife between parents and their adolescent children as often expected, at least within certain groups and with regard to any struggle for adolescent independence. These findings underscore the need for greater research on how other aspects of family process differ not only between ethnic groups but also between immigrant generations.

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## NOTES

1. Despite inclusion of a neighborhood poverty variable, multilevel modeling was not used as the survey sample design accounts for clustering within schools, not neighborhoods. As such, the poverty levels of some neighborhoods would be cross-nested across schools restricting the inclusion of those neighborhoods or the use of sample weights in analysis.
2. Additional analysis was conducted with an additional contextual variable—proportion of neighborhood that is the same race/ethnicity as the respondent. The variable was not signifi-

cant and did not add substantively to the existing models. Additional contextual variables were not considered, given the limitations of multilevel modeling in this study.

3. Additional analysis examined generational differences in mean independence for the smaller ethnic groups separately. Significant differences in independence by immigrant generation were evident only for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans within the Latino group, with higher independence in the third generation. There were no differences within Asian categories.

4. Additional analyses examined whether Asian Americans differed in independence according to whether they had one vs. two foreign-born parents. An adjusted Wald test indicated no difference in mean independence among first-generation Asian Americans according to whether an adolescent had one or two foreign-born parents (5.07 vs. 5.05). However, there was a significant difference among second-generation Asian Americans between those with one versus two foreign-born parents (5.46 vs. 4.96),  $F(1, 128) = 4.75$ ,  $p = .031$ . This latter difference disappeared after controlling for sex, age, and family structure.

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# Exploitation in Contemporary Capitalism: An Empirical Analysis of the Case of Taiwan

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*Using data for manufacturing firms in Taiwan, we developed a measure of exploitation and analyzed its prevalence in the labor force. Our results indicated that almost two-thirds of the firms in our sample exploit at least some of their workers. For these firms, the average profit rate is 34 percent, but three-fourths of this figure derives from the expropriated wages of their workers. Female and blue-collar workers are the largest groups that are underpaid relative to their productivity (that is, exploited). Managers, professionals, and workers with seniority are not exploited by our definition because our data showed that these groups are paid according to the market value of their productivity, at least on average. Our analysis demonstrates the feasibility of the empirical investigation of exploitation, which should be further considered in future research.*

Theoretical work has revisited the concept of exploitation (Sorensen 2000; Tilly 1998; Wright 2000; 2002), but no agreement has been reached about any particular approach. In the following, we seek to advance this area of research by developing and empirically investigating a measure of exploitation that is based on market exchanges in regard to the remuneration of labor and capital. Although Weber did not analyze the concept of exploitation per se, our approach is inspired by his approach to the study of socioeconomic inequalities.

At the outset, we stress that our concern is not to critique Marxism, but to formulate and utilize another measure of exploitation that may be viewed as supplemental (i.e., not mutually exclusive) with respect to the Marxist approach. In doing so, our most general objective is simply to spur further research on exploitation by demonstrating that investigating it empirically is entirely feasible, informative, and need not be eschewed by sociologists. An empirical literature on this topic does not exist in contemporary sociology, as apparently no sociologist since Marx has investigated actual data to measure rates of exploitation.

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## DEVELOPING AN ANALYTICAL APPROACH TO STUDYING EXPLOITATION

### *Production and Exploitation in Modern Capitalism*

A basic definition of exploitation is that one is being paid less than the value of what one produces, because someone else obtains the difference without providing adequate compensation for it. The essential idea of the exploitation of workers is the payment of wages that, for a given time period, are less than the value added by those workers, because someone else is benefiting by receiving the differential. This generic definition is broadly applicable to different sociological descriptions of exploitation (Sorensen 2000; Wright 1985; 2000), but no consensus has emerged regarding how to conceptualize the “value of what one produces” (Sakamoto and Liu 2006).

Modern capitalism is characterized by an extensive division of labor and complex production processes. Firms are typically the unit of analysis that hires and remunerates workers, organizes the production of goods, and then sells them with some profit (or loss) accruing to its owners. In contrast to the production systems of preindustrial societies in which an individual worker often produced most of the product that is sold or consumed, an individual worker in contemporary capitalism typically performs only a tiny subset of the total activities that are required in order to realize the sale of the product. Economic value is, therefore, better measured at the level of the firm than at the level of the individual, because the particular activities of an individual worker alone do not yield a salable commodity.

Given this context, we use a factors-of-production methodology to analyze the creation of value at the level of the firm, typically the unit at which sales revenue is realized. This approach is appropriate, because it recognizes the contributions of the various factors of production (i.e., capital, technology, material supplies, energy costs, and the labor of different types of employees, including managers) that are involved in the realization of the sale of the product, which is the most direct indicator of its economic value. The factors-of-production methodology uses data from manufacturing firms to empirically estimate the multivariate relationships between the value created by a given firm and the quantities of the various inputs utilized in the production process that is organized by that firm. The contribution of a given factor of production to the generation of the total value generated by the firm is then discernible as the net effect of that factor of production (i.e., holding constant the effects of the other inputs).

Adopting this methodology, we then operationalize the “value of what one produces” using this traditional economics approach, which defines the marginal revenue product for a factor of production (capital or some type of labor) as representing the value added by that input. We follow the standard statistical framework to derive these measures, which are explained in economics textbooks (e.g., Binger and Hoffman 1988:302) and which are often used in empirical analyses of productivity differentials (Hellerstein, Neumark, and Troske 1999). In the case of a particular type of labor, the marginal revenue product refers to the revenue that is obtained from the

sale of the additional product that is produced as the result of additional hours of that type of labor after taking into account the quantities of the other inputs used in the production process. This approach considers the total value of the output of the firm as a dependent variable that is determined by the quantities of the various factors of production, including capital investments and specific types of labor input. The “value of what is produced by labor,” on a per-unit basis, is then defined as the increment in the total output value that accrues by employing another unit of labor of a particular type, holding constant the other factors of production by way of the multivariate production function (the marginal revenue product for the given type of labor).

As is explained below in the methods section, the marginal revenue product for some factor of production will necessarily depend on the employment levels of other input factors due to interdependencies in production. For example, the marginal revenue product of another blue-collar worker depends upon the level of capital investment, the demographic characteristics of the work force, and the mix of occupations required by the firm. This inherently organizational character of productivity in modern manufacturing is consistent with the general sociological perspective.

We then define exploitation as the underpayment of a particular type of labor relative to its marginal revenue product. That is, when the earnings for a given category of workers is less than their value added (their marginal revenue product), then the difference between these two quantities represents an underpayment that we define as exploitation. Exploitation would not exist (it would be equal to zero) were the earnings for this group of workers equal to its value added (its marginal revenue product). Conversely, some categories of employees (e.g., managers) may actually receive earnings in excess of their marginal revenue products and may, therefore, be defined as exploiters in that they benefit by obtaining some of the excess surplus that is generated by the underpayment (exploitation) of others.

The factors-of-production methodology also similarly defines the marginal revenue product of capital. The latter refers to the revenue that is obtained from the sale of the additional product that is produced as the result of an additional number of dollars invested after taking into account the quantities of the other inputs (types of labor) that are used in the production process. To the extent that the return to capital investment exceeds its marginal revenue product, then this overpayment to the owners of capital may be defined as exploitative, because their profits are excessive relative to the productivity of capital (Thurow 1968).

In adopting this empirical approach to investigating exploitation, we need not make any a priori assumptions about which groups of economic actors (i.e., capitalists or particular categories of workers) may be overpaid relative to their marginal revenue products. Our analysis can *empirically* identify which groups (if any) may receive some of the surplus generated by the exploitation of some types of workers. This empirical approach contrasts with the Marxist view that begins with the theoretical assumption that only capitalists benefit from exploitation and that no groups of employees can ever be exploitative (Wright 1997).

### *The Broader Theoretical Context*

Because our analysis does not a priori rule out the possibility that some groups of employees may be benefiting from exploitation, the following cannot be said to be Marxian in an orthodox sense. Our approach also differs from Marx's because we measure productivity in terms of marginal revenue products rather than surplus values as defined by his labor theory of value (which was, according to Sorensen [2000:1524], "abandoned long ago, even by Marxist economists"). Despite these differences, our general objective of investigating the extent of exploitation in capitalism reflects the continuing influence of Marxist concerns.

Although we recognize that Weber did not conceptualize exploitation, we nonetheless identify our approach as being influenced by his view of "market situation" as affecting one's access to scarce societal resources and "life chances." Weber's emphasis on "market capacity in instrumentally rational exchange relations" means that "Weber's concept of class . . . revolves around market transactions" (Wright 2002:846). Both "market situation" and "life chances" are broadly compatible with aspects of modern microeconomics (Wright 2002:849) from which we borrow the factors-of-production methodology to define a measure of exploitation based on market values (in terms of measuring productivity and earnings). Although exploitation is traditionally viewed as a Marxist concern, our approach is more in keeping with Weberian sociology, because we assume that exploitation reduces the "life chances" of workers and that the underpayment of their earnings typically derives from some aspect of their "market situation."

Standard microeconomic theory assumes that perfect competition results in all types of workers being paid exactly according to their marginal revenue products. Exploitation as we have defined it is assumed to be impossible, because firms are supposed to have zero economic profits in all competitive markets in long-run equilibrium (Binger and Hoffman 1988:324). Although an older economics literature on imperfect competition sometimes considered issues relating to exploitation as we have defined it (Bronfenbrenner 1971; Persky and Tsang 1974; Pigou 1924), modern economists have ignored this topic due to their belief that competitive pressures have become too extensive to allow for any systematic deviation between earnings and marginal revenue products.

By contrast, Weber's understanding of social stratification makes no claims about "perfect competition" because he acknowledges that processes toward market closure typically arise (Weber [1922] 1978:342). The Weberian approach is often characterized as involving the analysis of how institutions promote the interests of various classes and social groups in their efforts to improve their employment circumstances by fostering market closure of various sorts (Collins 1979; Murphy 1988). Similarly, the typical sociological perspective assumes that market imperfections are endemic to the economy due to the underlying role of institutions within which market exchange is embedded (Granovetter 1985).

We view the firm as involving latent class conflict in which capitalists and various groups of workers may all pursue monopolization in order to maintain their employment and possibly increase their wages at the expense of others. We also believe that

processes of market closure may sometimes be pursued across firms, between industries, and along demographic lines. In sum, we recognize that exploitation takes place within the context of an economy that is characterized, in varying degrees, by monopolistic advantages of various sorts.

### *Exploitation and the Weberian View of Class*

In the Weberian tradition, class is an analytical construct that refers to a group of people who share similar economic interests and “market situation” (Weber [1922] 1978:928). However, markets involve a wide variety of goods and services (including capital), so that no particular classification of discrete groupings can be said to be the one true class typology. There is no set of a few categories that adequately describes the class structure for all research purposes, nor is it necessarily the case that the totality of an individual’s economic interests can always be fully captured by reference to only one class. Our approach to understanding class—as being primarily an analytical tool that describes varieties of “market situation” depending upon the purposes of the research—is thus broadly in line with the Weberian tradition.

We operationalize class in a way that is consistent with our research objective of studying broad patterns of exploitation using the information provided by the data that we investigate. First, we generally use the term “capitalists” to refer to those who receive economic remuneration from the ownership of wealth. We next define several classes of workers who typically face different degrees of competitiveness (or “market situation”) that are associated with varying skill levels, work activities, closure processes, and employment or power relations. The first category of employees are professionals. This group typically has high levels of specialized skills that are obtained through formal training that emphasizes rendering an appropriate standard of performance. The employment of professionals is typically regulated by credentials and licensing practices. The second category includes managers and supervisors whose employment is usually more secure due to their having responsibility, authority, and power within the company. Managers and supervisors typically occupy a privileged position within a firm due to their roles in assessing the productivity of others (Sorensen 1994).

The third category is composed of other white-collar workers who sometimes benefit from internal labor markets and firm-specific knowledge or skills. As discussed by Sorensen (1994), white-collar workers are often significantly motivated and rewarded more by the prospect of job promotions than by hourly wage and piece rates. The latter are typically more important to our fourth category, blue-collar employees. Their work activities are less specialized or firm-specific, often entail some manual labor, and are more readily replaceable with workers from external labor markets. Using this simple schema, we obviously could not claim to have defined the one true depiction of the class structure, but this typology is useful, given our research objective of empirically estimating broad patterns of exploitation.

In addition to these four classes of employees, we investigate other differentials—in terms of wages, productivities, and exploitation—based on demographic characteristics, including age (which is correlated with total years of work experience), years

of firm tenure, gender, and residence in a metropolitan area. Exploitation may occur not only along the aforementioned class demarcations but also by the groups defined by these demographic variables. For example, female workers may be systematically exploited, regardless of their category. We investigate the latter issue empirically rather than relegating it to a priori theoretical argumentation (Wright 1985:129–130).

### *Specific Research Objectives*

Given the foregoing theoretical context, our research objectives may now be more specifically reiterated. First, we seek to estimate rates of exploitation for various groups of workers in the manufacturing sector as a whole. As discussed above, this refers to the underpayment of workers that occurs when the earnings for a certain category of workers is less than its productivity as defined in terms of its marginal revenue product. We identify groups of workers based on occupational category, age, gender, metropolitan status, and years of firm tenure. A worker is considered to be exploited to the extent that her/his wage is less than the marginal revenue product for workers of her/his particular group as defined by the above characteristics.

Our second research objective is to estimate the rate of the capitalist exploitation of workers. The type of exploitation refers to the extent that (1) the workers of a particular firm are underpaid, and (2) the profits of that firm are not penalized for the failure to pay workers according to their marginal revenue products. In other words, the capitalist exploitation of workers occurs when workers are exploited and the capitalists for these workers' firms benefit from their workers' underpayment (by continuing to receive competitive or excess profits). By investigating the overpayment of capital and the underpayment of workers within the same firm, our analysis more convincingly establishes a causal relationship between excess profits and the exploitation of workers.

For descriptive purposes, we distinguish between two specific types of the capitalist exploitation of workers. The first is what we refer to as "extractive exploitation," which occurs in firms where workers are paid below their marginal revenue products, but the capitalists are paid above the marginal revenue product of capital. As shown in Table 1, "extractive exploitation" refers to firms where workers are exploited and

Table 1. Types of Capital-Labor Outcomes

Extractive exploitation	Workers are underpaid, and profits are excessive.
Exploitative mismanagement	Workers are underpaid, but profits are adequate.
Failing company	Workers and capitalists are both underpaid.
Greedy management	Workers are paid adequately, but profits are excessive.
Benevolent management	Workers are paid adequately, but profits are inadequate.
Textbook equilibrium	Workers and capitalists are both paid adequately.
Rent sharing	Workers and capitalists are both overpaid.
Paternalistic management	Workers are overpaid, but profits are adequate.
Exploitative workers	Workers are overpaid, but profits are inadequate.

profits are excessive (i.e., above the competitive level as given by the marginal revenue product of capital).

The other type of the capitalist exploitation of workers that we identify is “exploitative mismanagement.” In this case, the profits of the firm are only adequate—they are at the competitive level as given by the marginal product of capital—but the workers are exploited. Although the capitalists of these firms obtain the market level of compensation for themselves, they have failed to ensure that workers are paid according to their marginal revenue products. In this type of the capitalist exploitation of workers, profits are not excessive in terms of the market return to capital investment, but these profits may be viewed as unwarranted, given that they are based on the underpayment of workers.

### *Other Types of Capital-Labor Outcomes*

Other descriptive patterns of capital-labor relations may be identified as well (see Table 1). For example, we define a “failing company” as a firm in which both workers and capitalists are underpaid relative to their respective marginal revenue products. Capitalists may even be yielding substantially negative net losses on their capital investments. In this case, both capitalists and workers share the economic burden brought about by a firm that is not competitive in the market.

When workers are paid according to their marginal revenue products, then workers are not exploited. One example of this type of outcome is “greedy management,” which refers to firms where capitalists earn excess profits (i.e., above the marginal revenue product of capital), but workers are paid according to their marginal revenue products. When workers are paid according to their productivities, but capitalists are underpaid (below the marginal revenue product of capital), then the firm may be described as having “benevolent management.” When both capital and labor are paid according to their productivities, then the firm represents the “textbook equilibrium” (because this scenario is the main assumption in most economics textbooks).

It is also possible that workers may be overpaid. As shown in Table 1, “rent sharing” refers to firms where both capital and labor are overpaid relative to their respective marginal revenue products. “Paternalistic management” represents the case where workers earn more than their productivities, but capital receives its marginal revenue product. “Exploitative workers” is at least a logical possibility that occurs when capitalists earn less than the marginal revenue product of capital, while workers are overpaid.

We recognize that the above categorization of types of capital-labor outcomes represents our own descriptive labels and that their measurement involves ultimately arbitrary cutoffs in terms of operationalizing how much “overpaid” and “underpaid” needs to be in order for a firm to be classified into one category or another. Nonetheless, given the use of generally reasonable cutoff points that we describe below, we emphasize that our approach facilitates the empirical assessment of these outcomes as important phenomena that may be objectively investigated. By contrast, Wright’s (2000) discussion of capitalism assumes that all firms are engaged in “extractive exploitation,” while traditional microeconomics assumes that all firms are in “textbook equilibrium.” Our analysis does not require any a priori characterizations of capital-labor relations

because it empirically investigates the actual distribution of different types of capital-labor outcomes, as summarized in Table 1. Our approach is thereby less bounded by theoretical presuppositions about which there is little agreement.

## THE TAIWANESE CONTEXT

We use data from a sample of manufacturing firms in 1991 in Taiwan. Although not quite as wealthy as it is today, Taiwan in 1991 had already become a modern capitalist society that had achieved a relatively high economic standard of living. In 1991, the population of Taiwan was about 21 million with a per capita gross national product (GNP) of \$9,356 (in terms of 1991 U.S. dollars). The female labor force participation rate was fairly high at 44 percent in 1991, and its total fertility rate was 1.72 (lower than for the U.S.). About half of the labor force had at least a high school education. About two out of three workers resided in nonmetropolitan areas, in part reflecting the congestion of Taiwan's cities, but more fundamentally deriving from the limited supply of nonmountainous terrain in Taiwan's irregularly shaped geography. Approximately 99 percent of the population of Taiwan is Chinese or of Chinese origin (Tsai and Chiu 1991:237).

Manufacturing employed 31 percent of the labor force and was the largest sector in Taiwan in 1991 (*Taiwan Statistical Data Book* 1993). The other large sectors included wholesale, retail, and restaurants (20 percent); social, personal, and community services (14 percent); and agriculture, forestry, and fishing (13 percent). In addition to being the largest portion of the labor force, manufacturing has traditionally been a critical sector for the export-oriented Taiwanese economy.

Historically, Taiwan was a colony of Japan from 1895 to 1945, and Taiwanese society has a Confucian cultural tradition. Unlike Japan, however, Taiwan does not have the custom of "lifetime employment" in the private sector. According to Lin and Horng (1992), over 50 percent of workers in Taiwan's manufacturing industries have work experience in other companies. Relative wage rates are an important factor affecting interfirm mobility (Ho 1984; Lin and Horng 1992). In sum, Taiwan is a newly industrialized country with highly competitive capitalist relations that have pursued an export-oriented development strategy.

## DATA AND METHODS

### *Data*

Our data derive from a random sample of 2,017 manufacturing firms from the 1991 Taiwan Industrial and Commercial Census. We restrict the analysis to manufacturing industries because productivity data are more likely to be valid and reliable for the manufacturing sector than for other sectors where the output is sometimes less intrinsically quantifiable (Tomaskovic-Devey 1988:147). Limiting the study to one sector also reduces the residual influences of technological heterogeneity. Our investigation

is further restricted to firms that have at least 50 employees, because small firms may have systematically different technologies.

A limitation of our data is that they lack information on education. For our research purposes, however, this omission is not critical. First, our model explicitly includes several class categories of workers, and attainment into these categories is highly correlated with educational attainment. Second, our model controls for age and years of firm tenure, which are further correlated with work skills, especially in the primarily blue-collar context of Taiwanese manufacturing firms during the period that we study. Third, we use data that include information on productivity, and so we do not need to use education as an indirect indicator of productivity. Last, we reiterate that our research objective is not concerned with analyzing individual variation in socioeconomic attainment but rather with estimating broad patterns of class differentials between incomes and productivities that are *directly* measured in our data.

### *Specification of the Production Function*

Our statistical approach uses the methods devised by Hellerstein et al. (1999). The statistical model consists of two equations, each of which uses the firm as the unit of analysis. The first equation is the production function that describes how the factor inputs combine to yield the firm's output. The dependent variable for the production function is the value added by the firm ( $V$ ). This refers to the total market value of the products produced by the firm in 1991 minus depreciation and the market value of the input materials used in the production process. The independent variables for the production function include the value of the capital used in the production process ( $K$ ) and a function representing aggregate labor input ( $L$ ). The generic form of the production function is:

$$V = f(K, g[L]) \quad (1)$$

indicating that the value added by the firm is some function of the capital and labor used by the firm.

Aggregate labor input is specified in order to allow for the possibility of productivity differentials between various types of workers. As noted above, we define four classes of employees based on the following occupational categories: (1) professionals; (2) managers and supervisors; (3) other white-collar workers; and (4) blue-collar workers. Aggregate labor input for the firm is then specified as:

$$L = N P_p P_m P_b P_d P_s P_t P_f \quad (2)$$

where  $N$  refers to the total number of the firm's employees;  $P_p$  refers to the percentage of employees in the firm who are professionals;  $P_m$  refers to the percentage of employees in the firm who are managers or supervisors;  $P_b$  refers to the percentage of employees in the firm who are blue-collar workers (with the omitted category being the percentage of employees who are other white-collar workers);  $P_d$  refers to the percentage of employees in the firm who are between the ages of 35 and 54;  $P_s$  refers to the percentage of employees in the firm who are at least 55 years of age (with the omitted category being the percentage of employees who are between the ages of 25 and 34);

$P_t$  refers to the percentage of employees in the firm who have at least five years tenure at the firm (with the omitted category being the percentage of employees who have fewer than five years of tenure at the firm); and  $P_f$  refers to the percentage of employees in the firm who are female (with the omitted category being the percentage of employees who are male). Aggregate labor input is thus represented by the total number of employees in the firm multiplied by the percentages of the work force in the various groups defined in terms of above class categories and demographic characteristics.

Previous results from the economics literature indicate that the production function is better specified as being multiplicative rather than additive (Binger and Hoffman 1988). After substituting equation 2 into equation 1, we specify the following production function:

$$V = A_j K^{(\alpha_1 + \alpha_2 \ln K)} N^{(\theta_1 + \theta_2 \ln N)} P_p^{\varphi_p} P_m^{\varphi_m} P_b^{\varphi_b} P_d^{\varphi_d} P_s^{\varphi_s} P_t^{\varphi_t} P_f^{\varphi_f} \varepsilon \quad (3)$$

where  $\varepsilon$  refers to a random error term.  $A_j$  refers to a set of intercepts that provides a shift parameter for each of ten separate industries including general manufacturing, textiles, paper goods, chemical/oil materials, chemical manufacturing, cement and nonmetals, metals, electronics, transportation manufacturing, and miscellaneous manufacturing (with plastics being the omitted category). The rationale for this set of intercepts is that the social organization and scientific technology used in the production process may vary by industry.

We also include in  $A_j$  a dummy variable to indicate location in a large metropolitan area (Taipei and Kaoshiung) and another dummy variable to indicate medium-sized metropolitan areas (Keelung, Hsinchu, Taichung, Chiayi, and Tainan). The reference group refers to location in any of the smaller cities or in a rural area. These two dummy variables allow for the possibility that there may be some productivity effects associated with the location of a firm in a metropolitan area.

The  $\alpha$ 's,  $\theta$ 's, and  $\varphi$ 's are additional parameters to be estimated in equation 3. We specify the exponents of  $K$  and  $N$  to be variable rather than constant to allow for this additional nonlinearity in the effects of these two factor inputs. In order to obtain a linear equation that can be estimated as a standard statistical model, equation 3 may be expressed in logs:

$$\ln(V) = \delta_j + \alpha_1 \ln(K) + \alpha_2 (\ln K)^2 + \theta_1 \ln(N) + \theta_2 \ln(N)^2 + \varphi_p \ln(P_p) + \varphi_m \ln(P_m) + \varphi_b \ln(P_b) + \varphi_d \ln(P_d) + \varphi_s \ln(P_s) + \varphi_t \ln(P_t) + \varphi_f \ln(P_f) + \mu \quad (4)$$

where  $\ln$  refers to the log function,  $\delta_j = \ln(A_j)$ , and  $\mu = \ln(\varepsilon)$ .

In equation 4, the  $\varphi$  for a particular group of employees may be interpreted as a shift parameter indicating its marginal revenue product relative to the corresponding omitted category (Hellerstein et al. 1999:412). For example,  $\varphi_p$  refers to the net increase in value added that results from employing a higher percentage of professional workers relative to other white-collar workers (the omitted class category). Because of the multiplicative specification of the production function, the  $\varphi$ 's represent partial elasticities. In the case of professional employees,  $\varphi_p$  refers to the percentage increase in the value added by the firm that results from employing proportionately more professional workers rather than other white-collar workers. To

the extent that the estimate of  $\varphi_p$  is not statistically significant, then we would fail to reject the null hypothesis that the value added resulting from employing proportionately more professional workers equals the value added resulting from employing proportionately more (other) white-collar workers.

### *Specification of the Wage Function*

We specify a wage function that is estimated simultaneously with the production function (equation 4). Individual-level wage functions are, of course, well known in the sociological literature that is primarily concerned with analyzing the various sources of individual differences in attainments. Our application differs from this literature, however, in that we estimate a wage function in which the dependent variable refers to the total wage bill paid out to all of the employees of the firm (during 1991 including any bonuses). We specify a wage function in which the unit of analysis is the firm, because our concern is with estimating the varied patterns of exploitation rather than with studying “who gets ahead.”

The wage function that we estimate is:

$$\ln(W) = \gamma_j + \lambda_1 \ln(N) + \lambda_2 (\ln N)^2 + \beta_p \ln(P_p) + \beta_m \ln(P_m) + \beta_b \ln(P_b) + \beta_d \ln(P_d) + \beta_s \ln(P_s) + \beta_r \ln(P_r) + \beta_f \ln(P_f) + \psi \quad (5)$$

where  $W$  refers to the total wage bill paid to all employees of the firm;  $\gamma_j$  refers to the set of intercepts for the different industries and metropolitan areas;  $\lambda$ 's and  $\beta$ 's are additional parameters to be estimated; and  $\psi$  refers to a random error term. The sample size for this regression is 2,017 because the firm is the unit of analysis. The  $\beta$ 's may be interpreted as partial elasticities, because the dependent and independent variables are both expressed as logs. For example,  $\beta_p$  refers approximately to the percent change in the total wage bill for a 1 percent change in the proportion of workers who are professionals (after controlling for the other independent variables in the model).

The rationale for estimating equation 5 is that it provides an appropriate method when estimated together with equation 4 for assessing the extent of the exploitation of workers of different class categories and demographic characteristics. In this statistical model consisting of a production function and a wage function that are estimated simultaneously,  $H_0: \varphi_j = \beta_j$  refers to the null hypothesis that workers of the  $j$ th group (defined in terms of class or demographic characteristics) are paid their marginal revenue product. If we fail to reject this null hypothesis, then we can conclude that the percent change in the marginal revenue product of the  $j$ th group of workers is equal to its percent change in the total wage bill (Hellerstein et al. 1999:427). Accepting this null hypothesis indicates that there is no evidence of exploitation for that  $j$ th group because its associated net change in value added is equally compensated by its associated net change in the total wage bill.

On the other hand, if (for example) the empirical results indicate that  $\varphi_b > \beta_b$  (i.e., the null hypothesis is rejected for blue-collar workers), then this finding would show that blue-collar workers are exploited in that their contribution to the firm's productivity is systematically greater than their wages. The extent of this exploitation in

percentage terms for blue-collar workers is obtained by taking the difference between  $\varphi_b$  and  $\beta_b$ . The statistical significance of the difference is also reported.

Regarding the omitted category of workers, a rate of exploitation could be derived for it based on the estimated parameters for this regression model. We do not carry out these calculations, however, due to space constraints. Furthermore, the substantive interpretation of this rate would be ambiguous, as it would apply to all of the omitted categories equally (young men in the other white-collar category with few years of tenure).

### *Estimating the Extent of the Capitalist Exploitation of Workers*

In order to empirically investigate the capitalist exploitation of workers as described above, we first use equation 4 to estimate the marginal revenue product of capital. After estimating the parameters of the equation, it is converted back to a multiplicative model by exponentiation. The marginal revenue product of capital (*MRPK*) may then be obtained by the corresponding partial derivative of that multiplicative equation with respect to capital (Thurow 1968):

$$MRPK = \frac{\partial V}{\partial K} = \frac{A_j(\alpha_1 + \alpha_2 \ln K) K^{(\alpha_1 + \alpha_2 \ln K - 1)} N^{(\theta_1 + \theta_2 \ln N)} P_p^{\varphi_p} P_m^{\varphi_m} P_b^{\varphi_b} P_d^{\varphi_d} P_s^{\varphi_s}}{P_i^{\varphi_i} P_f^{\varphi_f} \exp(.5s_\mu^2)} \quad (6)$$

indicating that the marginal revenue product of capital depends upon  $A_j$ ,  $\alpha_1$ ,  $\alpha_2$ ,  $\theta_1$ ,  $\theta_2$ , the current level of capital investment, and aggregate labor input including its associated parameters. An additional effect is given by the last term in equation 6 (i.e.,  $\exp(.5s_\mu^2)$ ), which is needed in order to avoid downward transformation bias when converting an estimated log-linear model back to a multiplicative model (Petersen 1999).

Equation 6 is calculated for each of the 2,017 firms in our data by inserting the values of the estimated parameters (from the regression of equation 4) as well as the firm's actual capital investment and aggregate labor input. These calculations provide us with the estimated marginal revenue product of capital for each firm. The rate of excess profit (*EP*) is then computed as the ratio of the firm's actual profit (per dollar of capital invested) to the firm's estimated marginal revenue product of capital:

$$EP = \frac{\pi/K}{MRPK} \quad (7)$$

where  $\pi$  refers to the total profits of the firm and *MRPK* refers to its marginal revenue product of capital. Firms are earning excess profits to the extent that *EP* is greater than unity, while firms are accruing losses to the extent that *EP* is less than unity (Thurow 1968).

Next, we define  $W^{MRPL}$  as the value of the total wage bill of the firm, if its workers were paid according to their marginal revenue products as given by equation 4. Above we described how the difference between the parameters in equations 4 and 5 for a given class of workers can be interpreted as wages that deviate from payment according to the marginal revenue product of that class of workers (which was tested statistically by  $H_0: \varphi_j = \beta_j$ ). By contrast,  $W^{MRPL}$  refers to the firm's wage bill, if it were

to pay its workers exactly according to their marginal revenue products. This value may be computed by taking the exponent of equation 5 after inserting into it the  $\varphi_j$  from equation 4:

$$W^{MRPL} = \exp[\gamma_j + \lambda_1 \ln(N) + \lambda_2 (\ln N)^2 + \varphi_p \ln(P_p) + \varphi_m \ln(P_m) + \varphi_b \ln(P_b) + \varphi_d \ln(P_d) + \varphi_s \ln(P_s) + \varphi_f \ln(P_f) + \varphi_r \ln(P_r)] \exp(.5s_\mu^2) \quad (8)$$

where the last term (i.e.,  $\exp(.5s_\mu^2)$ ) is included so as to correct for downward transformation bias. In practice, we substituted into equation 8 only those  $\varphi_j$  from equation 4 that were statistically different from their corresponding  $\beta_j$  at the .05 level of significance.

For any given firm, the ratio between the actual wage bill ( $W$ ) and the firm's marginal revenue product wage bill ( $W^{MRPL}$ ) indicates the extent to which the firm's workers are paid according to their marginal revenue products. At the level of the firm, we define the rate of employee exploitation as:

$$EE = \frac{W}{W^{MRPL}} \quad (9)$$

which is calculated for each firm.  $EE$  will be greater than unity to the extent that employees are overpaid (relative to their marginal revenue products) but less than unity to the extent that employees are exploited (underpaid relative to their marginal revenue products).

The firm-level exploitation as given by equation 9 represents an average across all of the employees in a particular firm. By contrast, the earlier hypothesis-test approach using the two-equation regression model applies to workers in terms of their class and demographic characteristics and represents an average across all of the firms in the sample. The rationale for equation 9 is that it permits us to analyze the capitalist exploitation of workers (as well as other capital-labor outcomes) at the level of the firm.

As discussed above, for descriptive purposes we define several types of capital-labor outcomes at the level of the firm depending on the profits of their capitalists, the wages of their workers, and the respective marginal revenue products. These different types of capital-labor outcomes are operationalized as follows: "failing company" refers to firms where  $EP < .95$  and  $EE < .95$ ; "benevolent management" refers to firms where  $EP < .95$  and  $.95 \leq EE \leq 1.05$ ; "exploitative workers" refers to firms where  $EP < .95$  and  $EE > 1.05$ ; "exploitative mismanagement" refers to firms where  $.95 \leq EP \leq 1.05$  and  $EE < .95$ ; "textbook equilibrium" refers to firms where  $.95 \leq EP \leq 1.05$  and  $.95 \leq EE \leq 1.05$ ; "paternalistic management" refers to firms where  $.95 \leq EP \leq 1.05$  and  $EE > 1.05$ ; "extractive exploitation" refers to firms where  $EP > 1.05$  and  $EE < .95$ ; "greedy management" refers to firms where  $EP > 1.05$  and  $.95 \leq EE \leq 1.05$ ; and "rent sharing" refers to firms where  $EP > 1.05$  and  $EE > 1.05$ .

We define the capitalist exploitation of workers as including "exploitative mismanagement" and "extractive exploitation." The extent of capitalist exploitation can be more precisely investigated, however, by measuring the degree to which the capitalists' profits are augmented by the exploitation of their workers. In absolute terms,

$(W^{MRPL} - W)$  refers to the underpayment of workers. For firms with “exploitative mismanagement” or “extractive exploitation,” nonextractive profits (i.e.,  $NEP$ ) can be defined as:

$$NEP = \frac{[\pi - (W^{MRPL} - W)]/K}{MRPK} \quad (10)$$

which refers to what profits would have been if capitalists paid wages according to the marginal revenue products of their workers (i.e., if profits had not been augmented by underpaying their workers).  $NEP$  is the “nonextractive” component of the profits of the capitalists for firms with “exploitative mismanagement” or “extractive exploitation.”  $NEP$  may then be compared with  $EP$  (equation 7, which refers to actual profits relative to the marginal revenue product of capital) in order to ascertain what proportion of the capitalists’ profits derives from the exploitation of their workers.

## EMPIRICAL RESULTS

### *Descriptive Statistics*

Table 2 shows the descriptive statistics for the variables. Across the 2,017 manufacturing firms, the mean value added in 1991 was \$187,803 in thousands of Taiwanese dollars. At an exchange rate of 25.75, this implies a mean of about \$7.3 million U.S. dollars (in 1991 prices). There is, however, a large standard deviation in the distribution of value added: \$555,311 (or about \$21.6 million in 1991 U.S. dollars). The value of capital used in production has a mean of \$717,690 in thousands of Taiwanese dollars (or about \$27.9 million in 1991 U.S. dollars), while the number of employees has a mean of 259 and a standard deviation of 430.

Regarding the structure of the work force in the Taiwanese manufacturing sector, Table 2 shows that blue-collar workers are clearly the largest group, as two out of three workers fall into that class (67 percent). About 10 percent are managerial employees while about 8 percent are professional employees. In terms of age, 49 percent of workers are between 31 and 50, while 28 percent of workers have 5 or more years of firm tenure. Half of all employees are female. About 11 percent of workers are in the largest urban areas while another 11 percent are in the medium urban areas. Almost one-fourth of all workers in the manufacturing sector are employed in the electronics industry.

### *Results for the Estimation of the Two-Equation Regression Model*

Table 3 reports the results for the GLS estimation of the two-equation regression model including the value-added equation (column 1) and the total-wage equation (column 2). Column 3 of Table 3 shows the  $p$ -value for the difference between the coefficients for a given independent variable in the value-added equation versus the total-wage equation. In most cases, these differences are not very substantial. Relative to other white-collar workers (the omitted class category), the contribution to the value of the marginal product is 4.1 percent higher for managers and 1.9 percent higher for professionals. Both of these differentials are statistically significant at the

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics ( $n = 2,017$ )

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Dev.</b>
Value added in 1991	187,803.08	555,311.28
Value of capital used in production	717,690.12	1,911,665.88
Total wages paid in 1991	66,383.92	139,062.15
Number of employees	258.86	429.70
Employees in managerial occupation (%)	10.20	6.05
Employees in professional occupation (%)	8.02	9.48
Employees in other white-collar occupation (%)	14.74	9.62
Employees in blue-collar occupation (%)	67.04	17.78
Employees aged 18–30 (%)	43.70	19.73
Employees aged 31–50 (%)	48.55	16.41
Employees aged 51+ (%)	7.74	9.20
Employees with 5+ years of tenure (%)	28.02	21.45
Female employees (%)	49.99	23.04
General manufacturing industry	.04	.20
Textiles industry	.16	.37
Paper goods industry	.07	.26
Chemical/oil materials industry	.02	.15
Chemical manufacturing industry	.02	.15
Plastics industry	.10	.30
Cement/nonmetals industry	.04	.20
Metal industry	.13	.34
Electronics industry	.24	.42
Transportation manufacturing industry	.05	.22
Miscellaneous manufacturing industry	.08	.27
Large urban area	.10	.30
Medium urban area	.11	.31
Other area	.78	.41

*Note:* Value added, value of capital, and total wages are in units of thousands of 1991 Taiwanese dollars.

.05 level. Relative to other white-collar workers, the estimated marginal product of blue-collar workers is only very slightly lower (6 percent), and this is not statistically significant at any conventional level.

Regarding the productivity effects of the age structure of the work force, neither age categories (31–50 and 51 or older) is statistically significant. There is, however, a statistically significant (albeit small) increase in productivity resulting from employing proportionately more employees with at least 5 years of firm tenure (1.5 percent). There is a negative effect of hiring proportionately more females (–11.6 percent) that is statistically significant. This latter finding does not necessarily imply that female workers are inherently less productive than male employees but may stem from gender segregation if female workers tend to be assigned to less productive jobs.

Table 3. GLS Estimates of Value Added and Total Wage for Manufacturing Firms, 1991

	<b>Log of Value Added</b>	<b>Log of Total Wage</b>	<b>P-value</b>
Log of capital	-.1839* (.0696)		
Log of capital <sup>2</sup>	.0258* (.0036)		
Log of number of employees	1.0269* (.1171)	1.1368* (.0814)	.2772
Log of number of employees <sup>2</sup>	-.0184 (.1075)	-.0060 (.0074)	.1865
Log of percentage managerial	.0410* (.0144)	.0549* (.0109)	.2492
Log of percentage professional	.0191* (.0058)	.0170* (.0044)	.6721
Log of percentage blue-collar	-.0059 (.0175)	-.0576* (.0134)	.0090*
Log of percentage aged 31–50	.0017 (.0233)	.0306* (.0178)	.2443
Log of percentage aged 51+	.0091 (.0059)	.0157* (.0045)	.0345*
Log of percentage 5+ years tenure	.01483* (.0058)	.0140* (.0045)	.9457
Log of percentage female	-.1159* (.0205)	-.1703* (.0151)	.0490*
General manufacturing	.0658 (.0566)	-.1620* (.0432)	.0002*
Textiles	.0274 (.0397)	.0439 (.0304)	.6187
Paper goods	-.0556 (.0482)	-.0120 (.0369)	.2759
Chemical/oil materials	.2258* (.0739)	.1015* (.0563)	.6941
Chemical manufacturing	.0896 (.0706)	.0484 (.0541)	.4830
Cement/nonmetals industry	.0008 (.0566)	-.0479 (.0434)	.0309*
Metals	-.0392 (.0438)	-.0236 (.0336)	.6694
Electronics	-.0484 (.0388)	.0120 (.0297)	.3018
Transportation manufacturing	.0467 (.0533)	.0377 (.0409)	.8391

*continues*

Table 3. Continued

	Log of Value Added	Log of Total Wage	P-value
Miscellaneous manufacturing	-.0440 (.0463)	-.0097 (.0355)	.3733
Large urban area	-.0066 (.0322)	.0577* (.0247)	.0165*
Medium urban area	-.0366 (.0314)	.0137 (.0241)	.0548
Intercept	7.8409* (.5297)	5.6529* (.2467)	
R <sup>2</sup>	.8645	.8909	

Note: \*  $p < .05$ . Standard errors in parentheses.  $P$ -values indicate statistical significance of the difference between the estimate in the log value-added equation (column 1) and the estimate in the log total-wage equation (column 2).

As for the estimates of the shift parameters, the only coefficient in the value-added equation that is statistically significant is chemical/oil materials, which has a .2258. This finding indicates that, net of capital and labor inputs, value added is 25.3 percent higher (because  $\exp[.2258] - 1 = 25.3$  percent). The unusually high value added in this industry in part reflects its monopolistic features in Taiwan and elsewhere (see also Tomaskovic-Devey 1988).

Column 2 of Table 3 shows the estimates of the total-wage equation (based on equation 5). At the .05 level of significance, we cannot reject the null hypothesis of the equality between the productivity and wage differentials for managers, professionals, middle-aged workers (ages 31 to 50), and workers with at least 5 years of firm tenure (see column 3 of Table 3). For these groups, the statistical evidence is consistent with the view that their wage differentials reflect their corresponding productivity differentials.

However, blue-collar workers, senior workers, and female workers are three groups for whom the difference between their productivities and their wage differentials is statistically significant. In the case of blue-collar workers, we noted above that the marginal product declines .6 percent when hiring proportionately more blue-collar workers. Column 2 of Table 3 further indicates that hiring more blue-collar workers reduces the firm's wage bill by 5.8 percent. The corresponding difference of 5.2 percent represents the underpayment of the value of the marginal product of blue-collar workers and may be interpreted as their rate of exploitation. Although this is not an extremely large number, blue-collar workers are the largest class in the manufacturing work force (67 percent of all workers as shown in Table 2). The total amount associated with the underpayment of blue-collar workers is, therefore, likely to be substantial.

In the case of senior workers, the results in Table 3 indicate that they are overpaid by about seven-tenths of a percent (.0157 - .0091 = .0066). Though quite small, this figure is statistically significant with a  $p$ -value of .03 as indicated in Table 3. As shown

in Table 2, however, senior workers are only about 8 percent of the employees in our sample. Because senior workers are a small group and because their overpayment is tiny, the total sum of excess wages that is obtained by this group is unlikely to be very large.

Female workers are the other group of employees who are not paid according to their productivity. Although we noted above that female workers have 11.6 percent lower marginal productivity, the results for the total-wage equation in column 2 of Table 3 show that female workers are underpaid by an even greater amount, namely, 17.0 percent. As shown in Table 3, this difference between productivity and wages ( $-17.0$  percent  $- (-11.6$  percent)  $= -5.4$  percent) is statistically at the .05 level. Female workers are thus underpaid by 5.4 percent relative to comparable male workers. Because half of all workers in the manufacturing sector are female, this exploitation is likely to amount to a substantial total sum of expropriated wages.

The coefficient for the general manufacturing industry is not significant in the value-added equation, but the coefficient for this industry is significant in the total-wage equation (column 2 of Table 3). The difference between the coefficients in the value-added and total-wage equations is also statistically significant (column 3 of Table 3). The coefficient of  $-.1620$  in the total-wage equation minus the coefficient of  $.0658$  in the value-added equation implies that workers in the general manufacturing industry are substantially underpaid by 20.4 percent. There is one other industry in which the differential between productivity and wages is statistically significant, namely, cement and nonmetals. For this industry, the coefficient in the value-added equation is  $.0008$ , while the coefficient in the total-wage equation is  $-.0479$ , implying an underpayment of 4.8 percent.

Earlier we noted that the coefficient for the chemical/oil industry in the value-added equation was large and statistically significant. Column 2 of Table 3 shows, however, that workers in this industry receive higher wages. The  $p$ -value in column 3 for the chemical/oil industry indicates that the difference between the coefficients in the productivity and wage equations is not statistically significant. We, therefore, cannot reject the hypothesis that all of the higher value added in this industry is passed on in the form of higher wages to its workers.

There is one statistically significant differential for the metropolitan areas. Workers in Taipei and Kaoshiung receive wages that are 5.8 percent greater, but productivity in these metropolises is actually estimated to be about .7 percent lower. However, the resulting 6.5 percent overpayment may simply reflect the substantially higher costs of living in these areas (especially in regard to housing).

Table 4 shows the distribution of firms by the type of capital-labor outcomes. As described earlier, we refer to "rent-sharing" firms as those in which both workers and capitalists receive above market-level incomes. Table 4 indicates that only 6.8 percent of the firms (employing 7.5 percent of workers) in our sample may be classified as "rent-sharing." On the other hand, the most common type of capital-labor outcome is "extractive exploitation" according to which workers are underpaid by at least 5 percent and capitalists are overpaid by at least 5 percent. The 37.9 percent of firms that fall into the category employ 39.9 percent of workers in the manufacturing sector.

The next most common type is “exploitative mismanagement” (where workers are underpaid but capitalists receive adequate profits), which accounts for another 24.6 percent of firms (or 25.2 percent of workers). “Extractive exploitation” and “exploitative mismanagement” together represent 62.5 percent of firms or 65.1 percent of workers.

This finding that almost two out of every three workers in the manufacturing sector is in an exploitative firm seems consistent with our earlier results regarding exploitation by class, demographic group, and industry. As noted earlier, 67 percent of workers are blue collar whose rate of exploitation is 5.2 percent, while 50 percent of workers are female, and the rate of exploitation is 5.4 percent. Workers are underpaid in the general manufacturing and cement/nonmetals industries. In addition, another 5.1 percent of firms (employing 3.6 percent of workers) are in “failing companies” (see Table 4) where workers are also underpaid.

After “extractive exploitation” and “exploitative mismanagement,” the next most common type of capital-labor outcome in Table 4 is “greedy management,” which represents about 15.6 percent of firms employing 14.1 percent of workers. “Textbook equilibrium” is relatively uncommon and pertains to only 5.1 percent of firms. Not surprisingly, “benevolent management” and “paternalistic management” are relatively rare (.9 percent and 3.7 percent of firms, respectively) while “exploitative workers” is virtually nonexistent (.4 percent).

We acknowledge that these results are based on deviations of 5 percent, which is ultimately an arbitrary threshold level. These findings, therefore, require further scrutiny in future research. Nonetheless, we argue that a cutoff of 5 percent is a reasonable basis for exploratory analysis. All data and methodologies are subject to at least minute inaccuracies, and larger deviations than 5 percent should, therefore, be

Table 4. Distribution of Firms and Workers by Type of Capital-Labor Outcome

	<b>Employee Exploitation Low (&lt;0.95)</b>	<b>Employee Exploitation Medium (0.95–1.05)</b>	<b>Employee Exploitation High (&gt;1.05)</b>
Excess Profit Low (<0.95)	Failing company 5.11% (3.62%)	Benevolent management .89% (1.14%)	Exploitative workers .35% (.30%)
Excess Profit Medium (0.95–1.05)	Exploitative mismanagement 24.61% (25.19%)	Textbook equilibrium 5.11% (5.63%)	Paternalistic management 3.71% (3.62%)
Excess Profit High (>1.05)	Extractive exploitation 37.88% (39.89%)	Greedy management 15.55% (14.09%)	Rent sharing 6.79% (7.53%)

*Note:* Percentages weighted by the number of employees are shown in parentheses.

expected before interpreting them as representing substantive categories. In addition, four of the capital-labor categories are entirely based on open-ended or one-tail deviations of greater than 1.05 or less than .95. Thus, small changes in the threshold may be unlikely to alter our fundamental conclusions about the proportion of cases that are classified as “failing company,” “exploitative workers,” “extractive exploitation” or “rent sharing.”

### *The Capitalist Exploitation of Workers*

Of manufacturing firms in our sample, 62.5 percent engaged in “extractive exploitation” or “exploitative mismanagement.” For these firms, we computed the means of excess profit (equation 7), firm-level exploitation (equation 9), and nonextractive profit (equation 10). The results are shown in Table 5.

Excess profit refers to the actual returns to capital relative to the value of its marginal product. For the 1,260 firms that are engaged in “extractive exploitation” or “exploitative mismanagement,” Table 5 shows that the mean excess profit is 1.3426. This result implies that the capitalists’ rate of return is 34.26 percent for these firms.

The average exploitation in these firms is calculated to be .9227 (see Table 5). Relative to the value of the marginal product, workers are underpaid by 7.73 percent. If this underpayment of workers is deducted from the profits of capitalists in these firms, then nonextractive profit is obtained. As shown in Table 5, nonextractive profit is 1.0841, implying that the capitalists’ rate of return without the exploitation of labor would be only approximately 8.41 percent. Generally speaking, 8.41 percent is a reasonable rate of return given that the rate of inflation in Taiwan in 1991 (for all consumer goods) was 3.6 percent (*Taiwan Statistical Data Book* 1993).

These results indicate that, due to the exploitation of labor, the profits of capitalists increase from 8.41 percent to 34.26 percent. In other words, their profit increases by 34.26 percent – 8.41 percent = 25.85 percent. This 25.85 percent represents about three-quarters of 34.26 percent. More precisely then, in firms that engage in “extractive exploitation” or “exploitative mismanagement,” 75.45 percent of the capitalists’ profits derive from the underpayment of their workers as is shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Statistics on Profits and Exploitation

<b>Rate</b>	<b>Equation</b>	<b>Mean</b>
Excess profit	7	1.3426
Employee exploitation	9	.9227
Nonextractive profit	10	1.0841
Proportion of total profit from exploitation	none	.7545

*Note:* Statistics computed only for firms classified as “extractive exploitation” and “exploitative mismanagement” ( $n = 1,260$ ).

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our estimates of relatively low wage differentials between the working classes are generally consistent with prior studies that find Taiwan to have low levels of income inequality, at least during this general time period (Nielsen and Alderson 1995). Our findings of modest wage differentials are also consistent with the results of Liu and Sakamoto (2005), which uses different data but covers the same decade. Liu and Sakamoto find that paying workers unusually high wages (so-called efficiency wages) does not significantly increase productivity in Taiwanese manufacturing industries, while underpaying workers (creating relative deprivation) substantially reduces it. Liu and Sakamoto suggest that these effects promote greater wage equality in Taiwan.

Whereas Wright's (2000) Marxist view of contemporary capitalism assumes that essentially all private firms engage in "extractive exploitation," our analysis finds that this type of capital-labor outcome represents 37.9 percent of Taiwanese manufacturing firms. Although this percentage is substantial, 37.9 percent is not even a majority. On the other hand, the standard microeconomic assumption is even less accurate as "textbook equilibrium" represents only 5.1 percent of firms.

Although our results do show that exploitation in the manufacturing sector is fairly extensive in that a majority of firms (62.5 percent) are exploitative (engaged in either "extractive exploitation" or "exploitative mismanagement"), we find that "exploitative mismanagement" represents a sizeable component (24.6 percent). When workers are being exploited but their firms' profits are not above the market level, workers may feel less inclined to press for higher wages due to the presumption that their firms lack the "ability to pay." Future research should consider, however, the sensitivity of this distribution of capital-labor outcomes to their measurement in terms of the level of excess profit and employee exploitation.

In regard to our model of the production and total-wage functions for the manufacturing sector as a whole, the findings indicate that the capitalist exploitation of workers is primarily extracted from only certain groups in the labor force who may have less social prestige or bargaining power. Managers, professionals, older workers, and employees with seniority appear to be able to avoid exploitation, but blue-collar workers, female employees, and workers in the general manufacturing industry seem to be the major sources of the expropriated wages that enhance the capitalists' exploitative gain. Whereas Wright (2000) contends that all workers must be exploited in capitalism, our findings suggest that this traditional Marxist solution to the "problem of the middle class" may be too simplistic at least for the Taiwanese manufacturing sector.

Our findings further indicate that women as a demographic group are exploited in the labor force. Net of the class structure, women's wages are systematically less than their productivity. Capitalists should, therefore, be motivated to hire women, and indeed, 50 percent of the workers in our sample are female in an industrial sector that is disproportionately blue collar. Because our measure of total wages does not include fringe benefits, we welcome future research on this topic. We suspect that in the

Taiwanese case, however, this factor might not substantially affect our major conclusions, at least for this sector and period when fringe benefits were generally low.

We reiterate that our investigation has focused on only one type of exploitation. Although fundamentally important, exploitation due to underpayment in the market is just one process that does not preclude the existence of other types of exploitation (Sakamoto and Liu 2006). Nonetheless, this analysis has at least clearly demonstrated the feasibility and significance of the empirical investigation of exploitation. Future research might build upon our analysis to consider better data, alternative measures, and more comprehensive models of exploitative processes.

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## Manuscript Preparation

**Format and Length:** All copy (including cover page, abstract, text, notes, and references) must be typed, double-spaced, on an 8½-by-11-inch page layout. Left and right margins must be at least 1 inch; top and bottom margins must be at least 1½ inches. (Bold and italic attributes should be noted if not apparent in the text.) Papers should be a maximum of 35 pages, including text, notes, references, tables, and figures or illustrations. The title page, abstract, text, notes (if any), references, tables, figures, and illustrations appear, in that order, in separate sections as described below.

1. *Title Page:* Include the full title, the name(s) of author(s), and the institutional affiliation of each author, and a running head. Use an asterisk (\*) to add a footnote to the title to identify the author, with full address, to whom communications about the article should be sent. In the same footnote, provide acknowledgements, credits, grant numbers, and other pertinent information about the article.

2. *Abstract*: Place on a separate page, following the title page, headed by the article title and omitting author identification. The abstract should be in italics.
3. *Text*: Begin text on a new page headed by the title. Omit author identification.
  - a. *Headings and subheadings* in the text organize the content. Generally, three levels of headings are sufficient for an article. Heading styles are shown below (refer to the ASA style manual or an ASA publication for additional examples).

## THIS IS A LEVEL 1 HEADING

Level 1 headings are left justified (or centered) on the page, in capital letters, in type size two points larger than your text.

### *This Is a Level 2 Heading*

Level 2 headings are flush with the left margin, in italics. Capitalize letters at the beginning of words except prepositions, articles, and coordinating conjunctions; use the same type size as your text.

*This is a level 3 heading.* Level 3 headings are in the same type size as your text, run in, in italics, indented at the beginning of the paragraph, and ending with a period. Capitalize only the first letter and proper nouns.

- b. *References in the text* must be listed in the reference section, and all references listed in the reference 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 in 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 the author's name is in the text, follow it with the year of publication in parentheses: Fishbein (1975).
  - If the 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.
  - 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*, 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 first 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 in 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*            Johnson, Jeffrey. 1990. *Selecting Ethnographic Informants*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

*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* 31:277–298.

Robin, Stanley S. and Eric O. Johnson. Forthcoming. “Early Onset Drug Use and the Gateway Phenomenon.” *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 33:157–166.

Yamaguchi, Kazuo and Denise Kandel. 1984a. “Patterns of Drug Use from Adolescence to Young Adulthood: II. Consequences of Progression.” *American Journal of Public Health* 74:668–672.

———. 1984b. “Patterns of Drug Use from Adolescence to Young Adulthood: III. Predictors of Progression.” *American Journal of Public Health* 74:673–681.

*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](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. 136–154 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 provide 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, or provided as high-resolution electronic files; artistic standards must be observed in the production of figures and illustrations.