Great Plains Sociologist

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Great Plains Sociologist

The Great Plains Sociological Association publishes the *Great Plains Sociologist* (GPS) as a general sociological journal. We publish articles of general interest to sociologists in the region and beyond. The organization primarily seeks to serve sociologists from the Great Plains; however, that does not limit material published in the journal by author or subject.

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The official publication of the Great Plains Sociological Association.

Call for Papers

Contact information for submission of articles:

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The Great Plains Sociological Association publishes the *Great Plains Sociologist* (GPS) as a general sociological journal with articles of general interest to sociologists in the region and beyond. Topics should be of interest to a wide audience of sociologists. We are interested in publishing research articles, theoretical essays, teaching and learning research and ideas, book reviews, visual sociology projects, etc.

The Great Plains Sociologist is looking for articles for the following upcoming regular and special issues:

- The GPS regular issue to be published December 2017.
- Special issue on The Bakken to be published in July 2018.
- The GPS regular issue to be published December 2018.

Guidelines for Publication

The following guidelines are for authors who wish to submit work to the GPS for publication.

1. Topics should be of interest to a wide audience of sociologists. This does not imply that a majority must agree with the findings or discussions. Quality of work is the single deciding factor in whether an article is published, not popularity of findings.

2. Manuscripts should be in the range of 15 to 25 journal pages, including tables, charts, etc.

3. GPS will consider many types of manuscripts for publication. We publish traditional research articles that empirically test hypotheses derived from social theory as well as thought pieces explicating ideas, investigating specific topics, and pedagogical articles that focus on teaching techniques or experiences.

4. Save articles submitted for review as Word documents and email to the Editor. Upon acceptance, author(s) must submit full contact information for each contributing author, including a brief biographical sketch.

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5. Email manuscripts to the journal Editor. The Editor will send it to at least two reviewers for comments and recommendations. The journal Editor also reads submissions and has responsibility for the final decision to publish or not. The Editor and reviewers may recommend (1) to accept a manuscript as is, (2) to rewrite and resubmit the manuscript, or (3) to reject it.

6. To preserve anonymity, please attach a cover page to the manuscript that contains authorship, address, and institutional affiliation. The next page should contain the title of the article only. When sent out to reviewers, the Editor will remove and retain the authorship page to assure anonymity. Please omit author citations in the reference page and text.

7. Manuscript format should follow American Sociological Review (ASA) standards, including in-text and bibliographic references.

Index of Articles and Book Reviews

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Editor's Note

I'd like to begin by introducing myself to readers of the *Great Plains Sociologist*. My name is Laura Colmenero-Chilberg. I am a Professor of Sociology at Black Hills State University in Spearfish, SD. I've been involved with the Great Plains Sociological Association and its publication since the 1990's when I was a doctoral student at South Dakota State University. It is with some trepidation I take over responsibility for *GPS* from a series of editors who have produced an outstanding publication primarily showcasing scholars in our region. The most recent of these editors, Gary Goreham, has left behind big shoes to fill, but I'll do my best to maintain the same quality publication as those before me.

New editor, so a bit of a new look too. Keeping to the Great Plains theme, we have just updated the look a little bit. I hope you like the changes, and please feel free to email me with any comments about it, or anything else about the *GPS*, at laura.chilberg@bhsu.edu.

Another new element for *GPS* is the starting of a thematically focused issue during the summer. We will start this next summer with a special issue that will focus on the impact of the Bakken on the region. If you have ideas for themes for these special issues, please let us know!

This issue provides us with some very interesting articles. Boyd Littrell, Larry T. Reynolds, and Rachel Campbell propose "a framework for analyzing the impact of social change on universities" (11) in "Bureaucracy, Demography, and Midwest Sociology." Next up is Ronald Ferguson's investigation of race and identity development in "Mixed Feelings: Identity Development of Biracial People." In the third article presented in this issue, "Understanding the Importance of Leadership in Rural Communities," Owino Jonix, Mariah Bartholomay, and Mitch Calkins develop a better understanding of how leaders emerge, the kinds of activities in which they are involved, and how they address leadership challenges faced in rural communities.

The journal finishes with a series of Book Reviews which examine three current publications that could be used in the classroom: *Assigned: Life with Gender*, *American Taboo: The Forbidden Words, Unspoken Words, and the Secret Morality of Popular Culture*, and *Evicted: Poverty and Property in the American*

City.

As always, we're looking for papers to include in *GPS*. Research articles, pedagogical issues, teaching ideas, visual sociology, and any other kinds of scholarly works focusing on Sociology are invited including letters to the editor!

I hope you enjoy this issue of the *Great Plains Sociologist*.

Laura

Article

Bureaucracy, Demography, and Midwest Sociology

Boyd Littrell, Larry T. Reynolds, Rachel Campbell

ABSTRACT This article proposes a framework for analyzing the impact of social change on universities, using Midwestern states to flesh out the perspective. The framework draws together political, economic and, demographic changes by using the concept of bureaucratic organizations. More specifically, it uses the notions of the internal and the external environments of universities as organizations to examine the impact of societal change upon universities in general and, by extension, on sociologists' knowledge. The internal environment is viewed as the administrative effort to rationalize the external and internal environments with programmatic changes. The central concerns here are financial control and privatization. To examine the external environment, the article includes demographic and economic data as well as the importance of for-profit higher education programs. Efforts to rationalize the university with the external environment have led to greatly increased use of contingent faculty and disturbing, even shocking, levels of student debt. The advantage of the framework lies in its ability to integrate diverse actors in higher education into the context of wider societal forces.

For decades, sociologists and others have warned against an "invasion" of corporate influences into colleges and universities (for example, Duggar 1974). The invasion ranges from hiring corporate executives with no educational experience into the highest posts of university administration down to the hiring of the lowest positions of part-time, adjunct faculty members. These overworked and underpaid employees have proportionately increased during the last two or three decades. These changes and many more are often lumped together as corporate or market influences.

Against this background, the authors address a question with roots deep in the sociology of knowledge: What might sociologists reasonably expect to happen to their own discipline given the sweeping changes wrought by privatization? More specifically, do the corporate influences shape sociological knowledge? To answer these questions, sociologists must devise both conceptual and empirical frameworks. In this article, the authors develop a framework to focus their investigation. In the final section, we provide an empirical illustration of the ideas set out in the first parts of the paper. This is an early step, not a final word, about analyzing the impact of privatization on sociological knowledge.

The first section outlines a methodological framework needed to clarify some of the issues associated with the theme of a "corporate invasion." We use the term "framework," rather than "model," because the latter term is widely used to call attention to the integration of variables and measurement for testing purposes. We are concerned with a methodological inquiry in the sense Mills suggested (1959:58). Methodology seeks to understand the relationship between theory and evidence. In this case, how can concepts and empirical investigations be integrated into a study of the impact of social change on a discipline and the knowledge it produces?

We construct the framework around key ideas from organizational sociology. Organizational sociology provides a basis for a wide view of the internal environment of universities as organizations. Rather than focusing separately on faculty or students or administrators (among others), we address a broader concept, a situation which involves all groups within the university. The coping decisions and action plans developed in response to the internal and external environment are reflexive: by devising action plans to adapt to changes in these environments, the relevant groups reconstitute the university and the kinds of knowledge it produces.

The second section looks toward the external environments of universities as organizations. Social, political, and economic forces create the external environment from the standpoint of university organizations. We present demographic and closely related political and economic data to illustrate important empirical features of universities' external environments. University administrators and policy makers must rationalize the relationship between the external and internal environments, as must other groups within the university. At least two senses of rationalization are involved. First, policy makers and managers must, in the words of W. I. Thomas, "define the situation" (1923:22). They must sense the scope and impact of changes in the external environment on the internal one. The second sense of rationalization requires them to

formulate and implement concrete plans and policies in keeping with external pressures; these policies and plans reflexively reshape the university in great or in small ways.

The third section discusses specifically the future of Midwestern sociology. No predictions are made here. Instead, we explore the constraints and opportunities imposed by university environments. We address the future possibilities of disciplinary organizations and knowledge. The section is an applied work in the sociology of sociology. James McKee observed, "Even good sociological work leaves behind readable tracks of its social origins and the handprint of authorial intent and value" (2000; 2001). By focusing on the Midwest region, we can illustrate the constraints and possibilities of the framework. While we focus there, many of this region's pressing difficulties and concerns are applicable elsewhere.

BUREAUCRACY AND PRIVATIZATION: THE INTERNAL ENVIRONMENT OF UNIVERSITIES

We begin with bureaucracy as our orienting concept. In Max Weber's (1968:956,7) delineation of the ideal type "bureaucracy," he envisioned a method for organizing power to achieve utilitarian ends. He emphasized the importance of specialization and subordination in organizations. Bureaucracy subordinated specialized offices and their full-time incumbents into a hierarchy of control. Records kept in files (now digitized) were essential for controlling large undertakings and the people who undertook them. Bureaucracy sought legitimacy from subordinates and from outsiders by appealing to universal rules and to calculations of efficiency.

THE FINANCIAL CONTROL OF BUREAUCRACY

No one, including the authors, thinks Weber had the last word on bureaucracy. In some respects, the sociological sub-specialty of complex organizations documents the history of refining, re-conceptualizing, and disagreeing with Weber. One important contemporary figure, Fligstein, observed a crucial change he called "the financial control of the corporation" (1990:3-32). He observed that financial managers had ascended to the highest levels of corporations and that financial controls became the technique for subordination and control. Financial control affirms Weber's view of a structure of power, but it alters his view of specialized expertise and the rationale for subordination.

Financial control, employing accounting methods and new (at the time) computing technology, provided a means of making every position in an organization financially accountable to managing authorities. All positions, regardless of expertise, could be evaluated in terms of their position in the cost structure of the organization. Within universities, faculty members whose medium of exchange was status (expertise, knowledge) found this change more than irksome: they rightly saw that knowledge would be subordinated to financial considerations whenever the two came into conflict. Faced with declining state revenues, university managers would have to decide how to reshape their institutions to balance cost and revenue. In the end, if it came to that, financial criteria would become definitive.

A thought experiment illustrates the logic. Think of a language department with degree programs in Arabic, Chinese, German, Farsi, French, Italian, Russian, and Spanish. A suggestion is made to drop Farsi because of limited student interest, low enrollments, and, therefore, little revenue from tuition and fees. Managers asking an economic question would ask "how can we offer Farsi more economically?" Under financialized criteria managers would ask how we can improve the cost structure of the university. They would not have to look far: marketing programs, teacher education programs, or some other program could easily produce higher financial yields than Farsi. Under conditions of financial control and in conflict with the value of knowledge, managers could justify the elimination of Farsi by invoking the utilitarian principle: the greatest good for the greatest number. Unfortunately, this principle invariably sacrifices minorities of all kinds.

In this and in many real situations, the proponents of the traditional university's interest in knowledge could argue that Farsi was part of a rich, world-historic Persian history and culture and that 300 to 400 million contemporary speakers of the language reside in Middle Eastern regions of the world. In the real world, the lack of Farsi programs had national security implications in the aftermath of 9/11. At that time security agencies reportedly urgently sought Farsi speakers to translate intelligence documents which had piled upon on their desks.

As the thought experiment illustrates, when university managers and policy makers face budget shortfalls, as they inevitably do, their choices in realigning programs reshape universities. The introduction of technology, including web-based instruction, across-the-board budget cuts, reallocation of funds to programs, and lower priced labor (adjunct faculty) have all reshaped universities in the recent past.

The case of contingent faculty is noteworthy. The term refers to non-tenure track or limited term contract instructors. Several kinds of contingent teachers work on campuses. Some are technical experts who teach a class; for example, a realtor with a master's degree may teach a real estate course in a business school or an English department may hire several people to teach first-year writing courses. However, contingent faculty members increasingly teach more advanced university courses. One such sociologist (a PhD) refers to herself as a "freeway flier," because she drives from college to college in the area getting together enough courses to make a modest living. She must teach about 1.5 times the number of courses ordinarily considered to be a full-time load in order to earn an income of about one-half the salary of a first-year, tenure-track faculty member. She receives no benefits. While tenure-track instructors are visiting with students or preparing for class, she is driving to the next town to teach another course.

The financial control of university bureaucracies is now a central feature of their internal environments. It also provides a rationale for the closely related development of "privatization," both within state universities and outside of them. Privatization has accelerated in much of the world since the 1960s in part because it appeals to a basic bureaucratic formula for legitimacy: financial efficiency.

PRIVATIZATION

Privatization refers to replacing state-controlled entities with non-state or "private" entities. The rationale of financial control within organizations is invoked as a crucial reason for the transfer of control to private concerns. Here the line between internal and external environments blurs. We have included information about for-profit schools to illustrate the internal operations of those organizations. Admittedly, the for-profits also form an important part of the *external* environment of Midwestern and other universities. Our placement of the discussion here emphasizes the consequences for the internal environment.

Although the state universities in the Midwest continue to be state entities, they must increasingly act as private organizations. State appropriations have been eroding as a fraction of university budgets for many years. For example, tax support now provides just over 10 percent of the University of California's budget (Kirp 2013:13). According to the University of Wisconsin-Madison's publication "Budget in Brief for 2014 – 2015" (2015), state revenues constituted 17 percent of the UWM's revenues. Tuition revenues provided the same 17 percent, as did gifts

and non-federal grants; "auxiliaries," including athletics and medical center revenues, added another 13 percent.

Even these hybrid universities operate in an increasingly privatized system of higher education. In 2006, the U.S. Congress, in the face of industry lobbying, permitted for-profit universities to receive federal funds for higher education. In that year, three such companies received $5.3 billion dollars in federal revenues for 491,670 students on 200 campuses (*New York Times* 2006:17). In 2010, the General Accounting Office (U.S. GAO 2010) reported the total number of students in such schools had risen to 1.8 million. In 2009, "students received more than $4 billion in Pell grants and more than $20 billion in federal loans.

In 2012, the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee (HELP) under chairperson Senator Tom Harkin (U.S. Senate 2012) issued an 800-page report that revealed egregious misconduct by the for-profit higher education industry. Among the misconduct uncovered by the investigation, were outright fraud (advising students to misrepresent financial information) along with gross misrepresentations to students about the value of certification programs, prospective earnings, and debt load. These students are, in turn, defaulting on government guaranteed loans at higher rates.

Stefan Collini's (2014:3) discussion of the privatization of higher education in the United Kingdom draws on the United States' experience. Referring to the HELP report, for example, he wrote, "60 percent of Apollo students[1] dropped out within two years," and that of those who completed their studies, "21 percent defaulted on paying back their loans within three years of finishing." Collini added that Apollo wrongfully received $3 billion in student aid and that 89 percent of its funding came from federal student loans. Had the $3 billion been equally distributed among the 13 Midwestern states to be discussed below, each state would have received just under $231 million dollars. Even spread annually over four years, *each* state would have received a welcome annual share of more than $57 million in student aid.

Two clear consequences follow from the financial control and privatization of universities. First, it means an increasing proportion of adjunct, non-tenure eligible instruction. In 2015, half of the nation's college and university faculty were part-time, non-tenure track instructors (Edmonds 2015:1-3; AAUP 2015). An associate provost at Hamline University in Saint Paul, MN, about the use of adjuncts: "Yeah, it is a way to save money; I don't see any way around that." (*Omaha World Herald* 2014:D3).

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[1] Apollo owns The University of Phoenix.

A second consequence of lowered state support has been rapidly increasing tuition costs and, concomitantly, increasing student debt. To help grasp the situation of student debt quickly, Table 1 presents a summary of the ratio of student debt to average earnings by Midwestern states drawn from a report issued by the U.S. Joint Economic Committee (2013:8).

Remarkably, Missouri with the *lowest* student debt load is still more than half of the average earned income of persons age 30 and under who hold bachelor's degrees. The highest student debt load (Iowa) is more than three-fourths the average income of 30 year holders of bachelor's degrees in that state. In the Midwestern states, the median debt loan is roughly two-thirds (66.5 percent) of the average income of young bachelor's degree holders.

Table 1. Estimated student debt to earnings ratio in selected states and percent of borrowers delinquent for 90 or more days.

States	Debt to Earnings Ratio (annualized)*	% of borrowers 90 days+ delinquent
Illinois	60	13.8
Indiana	72	17.1
Iowa	76	14.3
Kansas	58	14.2
Kentucky	61	16.8
Michigan	71	17.2
Minnesota	69	9.8
Missouri	57	16.5
Nebraska	64	12.6
North Dakota	65	10.4
Ohio	75	17.1
South Dakota	66	9.8
Wisconsin	66	9.4

Source: U.S. Congress Joint Economic Committee, 2013. "The Causes and Consequences of Increasing Student Debt."

To summarize, we have employed the concepts of "financial control" and "privatization" within a bureaucratic context. Both concepts are crucial to any understanding of the internal environment of contemporary university organizations. We have also included them as crucial concepts for understanding

the external environment, as the case of the for-profit universities illustrates. In the next section, we address the external environment relying on 13 Midwestern states to provide a closer look at constraints imposed by the external environment.

Demography is not destiny, but, in most instances, it affects the future in two ways. First, the sheer number of people living in a territory is an important brute fact. Second, it influences our understanding of the present situation and of the future. Here we present demographic data and closely related economic and political data, e.g., income. These data describe important features of the external environment of university organizations.

PRIVATIZATION AND DEMOGRAPHY: THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT OF MIDWESTERN UNIVERSITIES

The authors chose these 13 states to represent the Midwest based on membership in two regional sociological associations: The Midwest Sociological Society (MSS) and The North Central Sociological Association (NCSA). While this choice was arbitrary, most observers would agree that these states represent what most Americans mean when they refer to the Midwest region. It was also a fortuitous choice: three previously published articles with similar concerns have been published (see Ender and Huang 1999; Wilbert 1974; 1975).

The data presented in Table 2 describe basic demographic variables: by population size and by age groups. The states have several similarities. They have fairly stable populations, and the older and younger age groups are similarly distributed. While most of the states experienced more out- than in-migration (net domestic migration), the numbers of domestic migrants are too small to affect total population size.

With two exceptions, since 2000 the largest states have grown slightly faster than the smaller ones. North Dakota and, to a lesser extent, South Dakota, are the exceptions. Caution about the growth of these states is in order. First, an oil boom in North Dakota prompted the greatest growth rate of any state in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). The growth is real, but historically what oil booms give, oil busts take away. Second, part of the growth rate is artificial. The denominator in the rate calculation refers to population size. In part, then, North Dakota's growth is an artifact of a comparatively small population base in the denominator of the rate formula, and this also impacts its close neighbor South Dakota.

The aging population of these states point to future constraints. (U.S. Census 2014). Most people over the age of 65 have left their highest income

years behind. As a result, most people over age 65 will be making smaller tax contributions than they have in the past. Broadly, about five times as many persons over 65 live in these states as persons under 24. That is both good and bad news. The good news is there will be about five taxpayers to help pay for each potential student. The bad news is the tax pool they provide will be smaller.

Disposable income and tax appropriations by state legislatures for higher education are reported in Table 3. Given that state revenues depend heavily, though not exclusively, on taxpayers' contributions to states, the data reported in Table 3 are an important feature of the external environment. The information in the table shows that earners in the 13 states discussed here are close to the national average with relatively small variations.

Table 2. Descriptive demographic characteristics of selected states*

State	Population (in millions)	% < 24 years old (in millions)	% >65 (in millions)	<24 years Total Population (in millions)
Illinois	12.9	1.6	13.9	206,400
Indiana	6.6	1.8	14.3	118,800
Iowa	3.1	.9	15.8	279,000
Kansas	2.9	1.1	14.4	31,000
Kentucky	4.4	1.7	14.8	74,800
Michigan	9.9	2.6	15.4	108,900
Minnesota	5.5	1.4	14.3	77,000
Missouri	6.1	1.6	15.4	97,000
Nebraska	1.9	.5	14.4	9,500
North Dakota	.74	.2	14.2	1,480
Ohio	11.6	3.0	15.5	348,000
South Dakota	.85	.2	15.2	1,700
Wisconsin	5.8	1.5	15.2	87,000

*Source: U.S. Census 2014, as reported on American FactFinder. Downloaded, Nov. 15, 2015.

The first column shows in nominal dollars the disposable income (approximately after-tax income) in the states (U.S. Department of Commerce: 2015). The second column displays state variation around the national average. In general, disposable income among residents of the Midwestern states are near

the national average, though some differences exist. Five states have disposable incomes higher than the national average, while eight states are slightly lower.

Because income taxes constitute an important part of state revenues, we have reported state appropriations for higher education as a percentage of the total state appropriation. As column three shows, this percentage ranged from roughly 3 to 7 percent in 2012. Fluctuations occur from year-to-year because of economic and/or political changes. For example, at the time of this writing, the United States was slowly recovering from a national economic collapse. This played a part in revitalization, and an anti-tax ideology was very strong when these data were collected.

Table 3. Disposable income and state appropriations for higher education

State	Disposable* Income 2014	% of Nat. Disp. Income 2014	% State Approp.** Higher Ed 2012	% Increase Since 1990-91	Average Annual Increase
Illinois	41,889	1.02	2.9	40	3.6
Indiana	35,281	.87	4.2	60	5.5
Iowa	40,254	.98	4	30	2.7
Kansas	40,613	.99	5	64	5.8
Kentucky	33,925	.83	4	60	5.5
Michigan	35,941	.88	2.6	12	1.0
Minnesota	42,221	1.03	3.1	47	4.2
Missouri	37,267	.91	3.2	48	4.0
Nebraska	42,019	1.03	6.7	94	8.5
North Dakota	47,621	1.2	4.7	213	19.3
Ohio	37,800	.93	3.1	37	3.4
South Dakota	42,133	1.04	4	200	18.2
Wisconsin	39,543	.97	3	.9	.08

*Source: Data from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, compiled by NJ Department of Labor and Workforce Development, March 2015. Downloaded from Google, Nov. 15, 2015.
**Source: National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics 2013.* Table 330.30

The fourth column is a summary of the percentage increase in state appropriations for higher education over an 11-year period from 1990 to 2011. The fifth column displays the average annual increase in state appropriations.

Hidden from view is the fact that population size combined with the average disposable income in the states imposes a firm constraint on state legislatures. Illinois, for example, is only very slightly above the national average, but its population of nearly 13 million contributes vastly greater revenue to the state than does a state like Nebraska with an even higher relative income. This observation is an important fact about the external environment of universities in the smaller states.

In Table 4, the states were divided into Small, Medium, and Large states based on population size. We then rank ordered them on the basis of the 11-year increase in tax appropriations. The greatest increase in state appropriations was ranked first with the lowest increase ranked as number 13. By inspection, the results show an inverse relationship between state size and the growth of state appropriations for higher education. Smaller states appropriate proportionately more money to higher education than do larger ones. The two states that are out of the expected order are Iowa, a small state with a small increase, and Wisconsin, a medium-sized state with the lowest increase of all. For reasons not presented here, one suspects economic issues and political ideology are at work. Both North and South Dakota have exceptionally large increases that are probably related to economic growth triggered by the oil boom in North Dakota.

Table 4. Rank ordering of increases in state appropriations by size* of selected states

State	Large	Medium	Small
Illinois	9		
Michigan	12		
Ohio	10		
Indiana		5T	
Minnesota		8	
Missouri		7	
Wisconsin		13	
Iowa			11
Kansas			4
Kentucky			5T
Nebraska			3
North Dakota			1
South Dakota			2

*Source: Data from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis, compiled by NJ Department of Labor and Workforce Development, March 2015. Downloaded from Google, Nov. 15, 2015.
*The states were divided by size on the basis of population: Large States > than 9 million population; Medium States 5 – 8.9 million; Small States < 4.9 million

Most important, however, are the six smallest states and their tax appropriations as a feature of their universities' external environments. With the exception of Iowa, all of the smallest states have had relatively large appropriations paid for by smaller population bases. Even acknowledging other revenues (namely, gambling revenues, federal subsidies under the American Recovery and Reconciliation Act, and taxes other than income taxes) the heavier reliance on state appropriations in smaller states means higher per capita taxes in those states.

It is noteworthy that at the time of this writing, political attacks on "big government" are being waged on anti-tax grounds, especially in the smaller states of the Midwest. For example, Governor Brownback's administration in Kansas is one of the national leaders in this regard, and Governor Walker of Wisconsin (a medium-sized state) has explicitly attacked The University of Wisconsin. How long this will be an effective political position cannot be known, but it is clearly a part of the external environment of Midwestern universities, especially in the smaller states.

A brief summary of our position will bring us to the final concern in this article. We have set out a framework that emphasizes bureaucratic organizations. Universities are such organizations. Within the organizational framework, we have emphasized the growth of financial controls and privatization as part of the internal environment of university bureaucracies. We have presented illustrative data about the role of the external environment of wider social, political, and economic conditions. We stated the commonplace observation that the task of university policymakers and managers is to rationalize the internal and external environments of universities. And, we have said that the specific decisions university managers make reflexively reshape universities. Likewise, adaptations made by such components of university organizations as students, faculty, administrators, and staff members are part of the reflexive process of university change. The final question has to do with how changes in university management shape sociology, including sociological knowledge, in Midwestern universities.

A SOCIOLOGY OF MIDWESTERN SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE

Here we take up an explicit issue about the sociology of knowledge as it relates to the knowledge sociologists produce. Broadly, the sociology of knowledge assumes that knowledge is to a greater or a lesser degree a product

of the social environment in which it was produced. In this section, we apply this perspective to sociology. One should note that the sociology of sociology as a sub-field was vibrant in the 1960's and 1970's (see Krup 1961; Bramson 1961; Stein and Vidic 1963; Horowitz 1968; Gouldner 1970; Halmos 1970; Reynolds and Reynolds 1970; Reynolds and Littrell 2014; Tiryakian 1970; and Schwendinger and Schwendinge 1974; O'Neal 1972). Then it almost disappears as a matter of interest for most sociologists (see Berger 2004; Cole 2001; Keith 2000; 2004; Pfadenhauer 2013; Sica and Turner 2005; Swidler and Arditi 1994; Calhoun 2007; Nichols 2007).

Our concern here is to explore the impact the external and internal environments of university bureaucracies have had on sociological knowledge. At first the question seems impossible to answer. After all, knowledge is a notoriously ambiguous word. From ancient times to C.P. Snow's (1961) two cultures,[2] "knowledge" has been used in different ways and for many different purposes, but our framework recommends the site of organizations as a route to empirical investigation. Because professional associations are organizations that collect sociological knowledge, they provide a space to explore varieties of knowledge.

Programs from the annual meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society (MSS) provide empirical evidence about the kinds of knowledge produced and organized by Midwestern sociologists. Analysis of the subject matter and participants in the programs offer an assemblage of sociological knowledge (Wilbert 1974; 1975).

A review of the kinds of sessions held during the MSS annual meetings are explored here as a means of seeking evidence about the impact of financial control and privatization on sociological knowledge. Table 5 provides illustrative evidence. We examined programs from two annual meetings, 1968 and 2005. We divided the types of sessions into "substantive" and "teaching" sessions based on session titles and the titles of presenters' papers. Substantive sessions refer to common sub-fields within sociology, namely, family, gender and society, juvenile delinquency, crime, and inequality. Round tables and poster sessions were not included.

"Teaching" sessions is shorthand for sessions that emphasize pedagogy and learning even when substantive matters are mentioned. For example, a session "teaching about race," was classified as a teaching session though the

[2] Snow identified the two cultures as the sciences and the humanities and argued that their inability to communicate stood in the way of solving global challenges.

substantive matter of race was mentioned. The emphasis of such sessions was to provide information about ways of presenting sociology. The distinction between substantive and teaching sessions roughly describes two different kinds of knowledge: substantive and pedagogical knowledge, even though they are related.

Table 5. MSS annual meetings sessions, 1968 and 2005

MSS Annual Meeting (Year)	Substantive Sessions (No.)	Percent	Teaching" Sessions (No.)	Percent	Total (No.)	Percent
1968	(21)	95	(1)	5.0	(22)	100
2005	(149)	81.8	(33)	18.2	(181)	100

In both years, the great majority of sessions addressed substantive matters, but by the 2005 meetings, the number of teaching sessions had increased noticeably. In 2005, about three times as many sessions were devoted to teaching matters as those in the meetings of 1968. The 2005 meetings added more kinds of substantive sessions as well. In 2005, such matters as gender and Latino/a concerns were addressed both in sessions devoted exclusively to them and in other substantive sessions, for example, women and crime.

This illustration can neither prove nor disprove broad conclusions about sociological knowledge. However, it does illustrate the possibility of social change affecting knowledge. Table 5 can serve as a guide in the search for relevant data for further inquiry. For example, does the proportionate increase in teaching sessions reflect the increased financial incentives for pedagogical material in universities? Has increased funding for student research and/or travel shaped the kinds of MSS sessions that are organized at the annual meetings?

A second observation involves the review of presenters at the MSS annual meetings. No senior faculty from the Universities of Chicago, Northwestern University, or the University of Wisconsin participated in the 2005 meetings. In 1968, a few senior faculty members from these institutions did so. Moreover, most, if not all the participants from the Universities of Minnesota, Illinois, and Indiana in 2005 were students. Most faculty participants were from state colleges and universities.

A caution about this observation is important. The reference to the missing institutions is not presented as a comment about relative status. Rather,

our framework invites discussion about university organizations and knowledge. Do the changes in presenters at the MSS meetings reflect changes in university specialization? Have the hopes of the Carnegie Commission of the 1960s and 1970s come to fruition? Proposals made then sought to establish research and teaching universities.

Finally, we have focused on the Midwest. Broad social, political, and economic forces drive us toward regional homogenization. Yet regional differences remain, and many similarities haunt different regions (see Ender and Huang 1999). We think this framework should be of use to sociologists who wish to establish cooperative research efforts within and, perhaps, across regions. Michael Hill's (2005) historical and bibliographic work provides an especially good place for Midwesterners and others to begin.

CONCLUSIONS

The authors have proposed a framework for analyzing the relationship between universities as organizations and the kinds of knowledge sociologists produce. We have emphasized the importance of financial controls and privatization and their implications for internal and external university environments. In addition, we have illustrated a way to bridge these conceptual concerns with empirical data. Our concern from the outset was to adumbrate a framework for thought, research, and analysis, and to illustrate the framework with empirical evidence. Our hope is that the framework will be elaborated and refined by others.

Such a framework seems especially important in an era where sociologists face many powerful forces including those that want them to bend to the aims of corporate universities. But sociologists, and not only famous ones, must produce knowledge of the social order in which they live. This may mean multiple bases for research. Professional associations offer one possibility. Advocacy organizations may be another, though they too face pressures that may help or hinder sociological knowledge.

In his deeply reflective personal work *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology,* Alvin Gouldner warned, "Under the banner of sympathy for the underdog, the liberal technologues of sociology have become the market researchers of the Welfare State" (1970:500-501). For a generation unfamiliar with Gouldner, this remark was very much the opposite of a defense of conservatism. He worried that sociologists whose universities were deeply incorporated into the Welfare State would lose their capacity for critical analysis

and reflection. For Gouldner, that fate *was* the coming crisis in Western sociology.

He appealed to sociologists to be aware of the danger, and to develop "a new and heightened self-awareness . . . which would lead them to ask the same kinds of questions about themselves as they do taxicab drivers or doctors." Above all," he added," [W]e must acquire the ingrained habit of viewing our own beliefs as we would those held by others" (Gouldner 1970:25).

We have set out a framework to assist in developing the kind of critical reflection Gouldner sought. Universities have changed enormously: how do they shape our sociological knowledge? The diverse kinds of universities and colleges of the Midwest offer rich potential for diverse analyses, in urban and rural settings, in states large and small, and in states with different economic and political ideologies. Studies large and small and in between can be gathered in this framework.

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Article

Mixed Feelings: Identity Development of Biracial People

Ronald Ferguson, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT Multiracial people traditionally have been categorized as monoracial, thus creating limitations to their identity development (Gibbs 1987; Davis 1991). However, recent societal shifts concerning race have left mixed race individuals with an array of racial identity choices (Huffman 1994; Townsend et al. 2012). To explore such a phenomenon, this study consisted of in-depth interviews with 15 adult Biracial respondents on questions surrounding their experiences as a mixed-race person. The results indicate that Biracial persons come to develop a variety of distinctive racial identities ranging from monoracial to Multiracial. Additionally, the respondents identified three distinct stages in their development of a racial identity including: racial ignorance, racial ambivalence, and racial transcendence. The results of this inquiry affirm perspectives in the literature that Multiracial people continually engage in an iterative process of defining themselves in racial terms via the negotiation of social interaction.

In an era that has seen both the election of a Biracial president and the introduction of a Multiracial designation in the census, there is little argument concerning the paradigm shift regarding race in society. Within this landscape, Multiracial persons are in a unique position as they navigate the concept of race and identity politics (Root 1997). As such, this paper seeks to explore the array of choices Multiracial people make regarding race as well as the process by which they attain such an identity throughout their formative years. While this draws upon earlier efforts related to identity development (Jacob 1992; Huffman 1994; Kerwin et al. 1998), it is a subject that requires further examination as the fluidity related to such processes is often not addressed (Winn and Priest 1993).

The need for continuous inquiry of racial identity formation is evident in the seemingly paradoxical relationship society has with race. We live in a world that, in one dimension, sees race as a social construct and, in another, as something that is biologically significant. For example, the 2000 U.S. Census allows people of Multiracial descent to make a choice, giving 9 million Americans the ability to identify as Multiracial (U.S. Census 2010). However, in a recent case, Rachel Dolezal, a White woman who self-identified as Black, experienced a national backlash and accusations of appropriating an African American identity (Samuels 2015). Regardless of her personal motivations towards such an identity, it is seemingly paradoxical that in a time that some regard race as socially constructed, biological requirements do exist within the broader society. Researchers such as Howard Taylor (2006) suggest that identity politics can exist for people in a world that espouses agency yet still operates under biological frameworks.

The overarching premise of this work is that Multiracial people do not form racial identity in a vacuum (Huffman 1994; Townsend et al. 2012). Biracial people are shaped not only by their personal interests and proclivities, but also by the social interactions they have with the greater society. As Gans (1997) notes, identity development does not occur apart from a group as the symbols and their sources are a "part of culture" (1). It is evident that social interactions continue to shape the identities of Biracial and Multiracial people, who often develop their identity within the margins.

An environment where Multiracial persons have social agency *and* social pressure to make racial identity choices opens many questions regarding identity process. Questions regarding the conditions in which Multiracial people make identity choices, how certain agents of socialization affect the choices that Multiracial persons ultimately make, and many more, are raised when individual aspirations and social imperatives intersect.

Among these questions, one topic emerges as the focus of this inquiry: The identification of stages that Multiracial persons may go through in their development of a racial identity. Such inquiry is both timely and beneficial in that it attempts to uncover both the nature in which Multiracial persons develop a racial "self," as well as the unique coping strategies Multiracial people employ as they navigate the racial system. As stated earlier, racial choice and identification are enveloped in social processes (Gibbs and Hines 1994). As such, it is essential to identify the process by which Multiracial persons decide on a racial identity. This work is offered towards that end.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Starting in the early 20th century, scholars have given much attention to the idea that race is a social construction (Davis 1991; Hall 2001; Taylor 2006). As an extension of this trend, Multiracial identity has been a topic that many have taken notice of more recently (Rockquemore and Brunsma, 2004; Renn 2008; Townsend et al. 2012). Particularly interesting are the eclectic approaches and positions held by those performing such research. According to Huffman (1995), there are three distinct categories under which Biracial literature falls. These three research approaches are problem-based, family-based, and acquisition-based. The current review indicates that these thematic trends in the literature continue.

Much of the early Biracial research was focused on the problems and issues related to being Biracial. Such researchers generally came from counseling studies-based backgrounds that view Biracialism as a phenomenon needing to be "treated." For instance, in a clinical study of 12 Biracial children, Gibbs (1987) proposed that Biracial individuals face unique difficulties and challenges. Specifically, she noted that there is a tendency for Biracial individuals to have trouble identifying with their race because they are forced to identify with a status that is "disadvantaged." Ultimately, Gibbs (1987) concluded that Biracial individuals likely need a multi-faceted strategy of treatment when dealing with such difficult and potentially tragic circumstances (266).

A more recent study of 62 college students by Townsend et al. (2012) proposed that socioeconomic status of the respondent played a significant part in their identity development. The findings of Townsend et al. indicated that having lower social class designation potentially creates scenarios where identity formation for Multiracial persons would result in challenge or duress. In response to these studies, Wilson (1993) strongly cautioned researchers to guard against the urge to focus on Biracial research as problem studies. Wilson maintained that "there is the need for scholars and others interested in mixed race people to approach the subject in a non-pejorative and comprehensive fashion" (Wilson 1993:285).

While acknowledging the many challenges for the parents of Biracial children, other researchers have focused on positive influence that family and friends can provide. According to Rosenblatt et al (1995) Biracial children in his study were living normal, happy lives, although they were frequently confronted by racist experiences and attitudes. Rosenblatt et al. attribute positive relationships with family and peers to be notable influences in the development of racial identity. Ferguson (2004), in his study of 10 interracial couples,

concluded that the families of Multiracial children have a significant role in how mixed-race children develop racial identities. Specifically, Ferguson argues that they negotiate their identities with their parents via conversations, experiences, and social preparations (Ferguson 2004). Kerry Rockquemore and David Brunsma (2002), in their survey of 177 Multiracial persons, found that peer groups and social networks also have a strong influence on the choice Biracial people make vis-à-vis racial identity. More specifically, they found that feelings about Multiracial identity were stronger when one affiliated with certain cross-cultural peer groups than with monoracial ones.

Instead of focusing on specific external factors, other studies have opted to concentrate on identifying the stages in which racial consciousness develops. For example, Jacobs (1992) examined some of the variables associated with racial identity formation in Biracial children. Utilizing a "doll play instrument" with 36 hand-painted dolls each having varied racial characteristics, children were allowed to play with the dolls and then asked a series of questions pertaining to attitudes and preference for their doll choices. Based on the findings, Jacobs concluded that there are three different stages of racial consciousness: experimental stage, internalization stage, and family alignment. These stages suggest that Biracial children move from an identity based mostly on race to an identity that people identify based on social relationships (i.e., family). G. K. Kich (1992) also identified a three-stage identity formation model. After interviewing 15 Biracial people aged 16-60, Kich found that Biracial children struggle through dissonance, a quest for acceptance, and finally general acceptance. The findings in this study were very reminiscent of the findings that were construed through the Jacobs study (1992). It is with this focus that the present study is grounded. More specifically, the focus is on the notion that a process of racial identity development exists and matures as the Biracial persons interact with a social world around them.

METHOD

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

This research study employed an exploratory, inductive approach to identify the process that Biracial people go through in forming their racial identity. Scholars such as Christine Kerwin (1992) assert that the use of an ethnographic methodology is beneficial in the exploration into topics such as

racial identity formation. As such, the qualitative method of a semi-structured, in-depth interview was employed in the study. Several tape-recorded interviews were used to gather data from each respondent. Questions were open ended in nature and took place in a relaxed, neutral atmosphere (i.e., coffee shops). Initial and follow-up interviews ranged anywhere from two hours to six hours. After the interviews, some follow-up "reliability" checks were used as several participants were contacted for clarification and further explanation regarding their responses.

SAMPLING PROCEDURES

For the identification and recruitment of Biracial persons for this study, conventional probability sampling efforts would be "wrought with threats to validity as Multiracial persons are not randomly distributed in the United States" (Root 1992B:183). This consideration, combined with the lack of a comprehensive sampling frame, compelled the researcher to recruit potential respondents through a "snowball" sampling method, whereby existing study participants volunteered informed friends, family, and acquaintances about the study (Seidman 1998). The initial respondent is a Biracial person who heard about the study from a third party and contacted the researcher directly to request admission into the sample. Subsequently, this respondent served as a gatekeeper to other potential recruits, even contacting some directly to inform them of the opportunity to take part in the study. The network of Biracial respondents willing to participate grew very quickly (i.e., within a few weeks). In fact, one of the respondents jokingly suggested that it would be easy to form an email database for all the Multiracial people that she knew. Respondents were added to the sample until adequate data saturation was realized.

Asking people to share about their racial identity can be a private and challenging experience (Gibbs 1992). Therefore, significant efforts were made to ensure an ethical selection and research process. For example, this study went through an extensive review by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of North Dakota, which assessed risks and benefits of the project. Also, respondents were provided a detailed consent form that outlined the goals of the study, along with identified risks and benefits. All respondents were told their participation was voluntary and that they could cancel at any time. Additionally, respondents were given the promise of anonymity throughout the process. As such, all respondents' names were replaced with pseudonyms in the transcripts.

SAMPLE

This study was comprised of 15 Biracial persons from the Midwest interviewed over the course of six months. While no specific number was set initially, examination of the data indicated that saturation had taken effect at 15 respondents, as themes were salient at this sample size. Additionally, several sample delimitations were put in place during the selection process. The respondents involved in the study were under 40 with an age range from 18-39. Age delimitations were put in place as Multiracial persons born before the 1970s may have had drastically different identity development experiences due to "one drop rule" norms surrounding identity development (Davis 1991). Respondents were to be over 18 due to the assumption that a certain amount of progress towards their racial identity had been made by that age.

For this study, "Biracial persons" were limited to people who had one White and one Black parent. It was imperative to delimit the sample to Biracial persons of two racial subgroups, as allowing for other racial and ethnic differences would potentially permit further variation in the sample group. It could be argued that the experience of someone who is Latino and Asian is markedly different than someone who is Black and Native American, for example.

Interestingly, the sample did not report identical identity labels, as eight of the respondents reported a Biracial identity, while seven of the respondents identified as Black. None of the respondents identified as White.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE DEVELOPMENT

To appropriately explore the state of racial identity formation for Biracial persons, a set of interview questions was created. Specifically, each respondent was asked questions concerning their background history, views of race, and how they perceive themselves racially or otherwise. As is the tradition for qualitative research, the questions were informed via the review of literature featuring similar types of inquiry (Kerwin et al. 1993; Seidman 1998; Townsend et al. 2012). Additionally, care was taken to ensure that questions were global in nature to allow for the respondents to have freedom in their ability to respond. The culmination of these efforts resulted in several dozen questions surrounding the topics of racial identity, experience, and formation.

DATA ANALYSIS

The analysis process included the transcribing and coding of the data received from the respondents into thematic categories. As all the interviews were audiotaped, they were fully transcribed into several hundred pages of text.

All completed transcripts were read several times by the researcher. Additionally, steps were taken via the use of a qualitative research analysis tool, *Ethnograph 8.0*, to collapse and refine the categories and coding schemes. While the software does not directly analyze data, it does offer excellent data management and coding tools for use during the analysis process. Ultimately, the interviews were sorted through for themes and patterns regarding the identity and experience. Concerns related to internal validity were mitigated via the use of respondent checks, follow up, and rephrasing. This effort resulted in the assertions regarding identity formation.

RESULTS

While variation in the respondents' respective identities was revealing, the central focus was to assess the process of identity formation for mixed-race persons. As such, the major theme identified is that Biracial persons engage in a process of identity development encompassing three stages: first a stage of *racial ignorance*, followed by a second stage of *racial ambivalence*, and finally a third stage of *racial transcendence*.

STAGE ONE: RACIAL IGNORANCE

The ignorance of race stage occurs early on in the life course. During this time, Biracial children are not fully aware of the context and consequence of a racial heritage. Typically, the Biracial children report the lack of identity to any race or any consequence of being labeled as part of race. As such, the label "ignorance" is used because it is indicative of the lack of awareness the person may have due to their nascent state of their identity development. Most of the Biracial people in this study identified this stage as including their earliest years until they were about 9 to 10 years old. Mackenzie discussed the nonexistence of color in her younger years:

> When I was young I really didn't realize I was really different other than the fact that my skin was darker than my mom's. It didn't really affect me much. I knew my mother looked completely not like me, but it still didn't, even though I wasn't really around Black people that much. Up until then I didn't feel affected by it until I was 9. (Mackenzie, 24 years old)

Donovan briefly summarized what the Biracial experience meant to him as a younger person in the first stage of racial identity formation:

> During 1st grade and then 2nd, 3rd, and 4th [grades] I went to a private school in San Francisco. There were no Black kids in the whole school and that really didn't bother me because, I mean, I was still young and my mother was White so I really didn't notice, you know. I didn't feel out of place there. (Donovan, 23 years old)

Earlier studies suggest that color consciousness may exist among younger children, however it is without the awareness of the consequences regarding race. Similarly, respondents in this study uniformly considered their differences to be a mere matter of fact, without any real distinction. For example, another respondent, Dane, discussed how, as a child, he thought that he looked like everybody else in his life (who were, in fact, White): "I think when I was growing up, I considered myself just like every other White kid on the block and my dad was just a little darker than everyone else" (Dane, 22 years old). In some of the respondent cases, awareness required parental information for even the beginning of a racial identity to bloom. For example, Clark, who is adopted, did not realize that he was Biracial until his parents told him:

> It was when my parents told me, like I asked my parents what color I was and they told me, "You're half Black and half White," was when they first told me and I figured that out. It was around age 10 years old. (Clark, 24 years old)

In all the interviews, social consequence regarding race was rarely, if ever, mentioned in reference to the early years of their lives. If anything, respondents would only concede that they knew their skin was different. In this initial stage, race had little real bearing for the respondent. Some respondents felt it unnecessary to even comment on the experiences under age 6 or 7. This is due, in part, perhaps, to memory recollection and the fact that there are no personal accounts of repercussions for a young child until they came to understand that racial distinctions exist.

STAGE TWO: RACIAL AMBIVALENCE

The second stage of ambivalence includes the years from 9 to later teens. This stage represented a very difficult period for the respondents in this study. The label ambivalence is connected to this stage as it symbolizes the

overwhelming amount of confusion that the respondents reported during this time. All the respondents shared stories of confusion as pressures, frustrations, and identity challenges rose to the surface as the Biracial children entered adolescence. Moreover, respondents reported that some sort of racist incident triggered this stage. During this stage, respondents report being the victims of verbal abuse, mistaken identity, and, at times, intense racism. Mackenzie discussed her first difficult racial experience:

> It didn't affect me until I was 9 when there was this racial incident between me and this little White kid. I had this really nice dirt bike because I was a tomboy. He pushed me off of it and told me a nigger like me shouldn't have a bike like that. That was the first time that I ever experienced that I was way different from other people. (Mackenzie, 24 years old)

For some respondents, life events like a move or change in schools were the catalysts for trigger events. For example, respondent Marco discussed his first racial experience, which occurred after his family moved from an area that was, for the most part, accepting of all cultures to a more racist area:

> Well, when I was in [home country] I was in a multi-cultural community. When I moved to [foreign country], my parents moved to a better town because they did not want me growing up in a bad place. And then I was in a little town that did not know anything about Black people. I think that I am the only mixed or Black person at my high school. So after I came there people started calling me nigger and stuff. I didn't even know what it was. So I found that out after a year or two. (Marco, 26 years old)

Ultimately, the racial experience seemed to have a confounding effect on the lives of Biracial respondents. Jathan remembered the intense racism that forced him to take notice that he was different from everybody else:

> I remember when I was about 6 years old, and I remember when I was walking to the store to get some candy and I saw these two White dudes in a pickup truck and there was a four-way stop sign, and one pointed his head out of the window and said, "Hey little nigger boy, nigger boy, you hear me talking to you nigger boy?" So

> that started at a young age. So that gave me a head start on something.
>
> It was when I was 12 years old is when I really laid the foundation down but I always knew I was different. You know what I am saying? Ever since I was about 12. (Jathan, 26 years old)

For some, this experience occurred earlier and for others it was later. The one common theme for all respondents was that encounters with racism served as a turning point in their lives. Whereas race did not matter much in earlier years, it was important to adjust to a world that imposes such stringent norms on race. Being able to choose, this left the respondents in a state of bewilderment as they attempted to figure out how to live. It is at this time that the Biracial person is challenged to overcome the racial bigotry, commentary, and curiosity that confronts him/her. Although all the respondents reported difficulty during their teen years, those with Black identities tended to discuss the overt challenges, while the Biracial respondents emphasized the confusion. After Jathan, who identifies as Black, had his first brush with racism, the situation even got more difficult for him:

> I used to hate how hard the struggle being mixed was. Back in the days when I was mixed, it was hard. Plus those little kids were so mean; man, they'll say whatever. That was the hard part, dealing with those little comments. (Jathan, 26 years old)

Marco, who also considers himself Black, discussed the intense loneliness that he experienced. Through it all, Marco still has awareness for the situations that confront him:

> In the beginning, I had no friends. People didn't want to associate with me when I first came to [name of town]. People did not want to sit next to me. People didn't want to hang out with me and stuff like that. Like the first years I basically had no friends. I would just stay at home and listen to music and stuff like this. I would mind my own business and not play with other kids and stuff when I was in [foreign country]. In a few years I had some friends that I was really ok with . . . it took them a long time, they went through a learning process. Because it was not necessarily the kids' fault it was just the way they grew up, the way the parents taught them that they didn't want

> anything (inaudible) till they found out themselves. (Marco, 26 years old)

For many, "fitting in" during the stage of ambivalence can be a real challenge. It is especially difficult in the teen years when peer groups are most important. Mackenzie, who considers herself Black, discussed this time where fitting in was extremely important:

> I didn't feel I could fit in until I met some people that I could relate to me as far as people who were mixed or people who were Hispanic or minority anything because I could never wear the hair that was in at that point and time growing up. I had to put on a new (inaudible) because my hair is not the same, and, you know, I could never be certain of the makeup colors because it never looked right on me because of my skin. That was kind of hard. It was all about me not fitting in. And I wore a lot of brand names my first high school year, and that was my way of fitting in. But once I was comfortable with me, I started to wear what I liked. Whereas, before that I would just wear whatever was the style even if I didn't like it. You know? I always had this mouth to fight back with, I always knew what to say, but I think up until 10th or 11th grade I would just step over it and be quiet. I didn't really learn to speak up. (Mackenzie, 24 years old)

Whether Black or Biracial, respondents echoed each other in terms of the strong frustrations they had with identifying with race at this stage. Clark discussed the intense confusion that came from the "struggle" of being a Biracial person during his teen years:

> Actually I have been criticized for the racial choices that I have made for being Biracial. Some people say, "How come you don't act White?" or "How come you act Black more than White?" or whatever. I am like, does that bother you? And they are like, you should be more White than Black. I am like, it is not your problem what I choose to be. If I want to be Black or White, I can. (Clark, 24 years old)

Another respondent, Monique, further discussed the challenges that fitting in as a Biracial person can present during the ambivalent stage:

> I was very confused because I wanted to fit in the school I was going to with the majority of White students but when I would go to games or, you know, activities with other schools they would be playing against African Americans and African Americans have this thing a lot of time when they're friendly and they'll say "What's up?" to another person of their race and when I would attend these different games or activities they would treat me like kind of like their own they would treat me differently so I think that was kind of one of them at that time. (Monique, 30 years old)

Being Biracial, one must expect that others will perceive their ambiguous features with a level of curiosity. With this level of curiosity opens opportunities for unsolicited inquiry and mistaken identity. This can be very bothersome to a Biracial person who is trying his/her best to "make sense" out of the difficult times that the teen years can present. Clark discussed his experience of being mistaken for some other race:

> Some considered me White, and some considered me Black, and some people thought I was a Mexican or something like that you know. They liked asked me are you like Mexican? No! (Clark, 25 years old)

A good portion of the respondents shared that mistaken identities led them to feel anywhere from annoyed to deeply offended. Derek discussed how his ambiguous physical traits repeatedly led people to ask him, "What are you?" Derek felt the need to "set them straight":

> Although some people have said that I look either Asian or some people have said I look Mexican or Hispanic or Indian. Or, hey I think you're, you look kind of like you're Asian, or you're kind of Hispanic or something like that. And I, just kind of tell them right there, I'm not any of those, I'm half Black and half White! (Derek, 21 years old)

The ambivalent years are often a period when the Biracial adolescent must wade through a quagmire of racism, pressure to fit in, and mistaken identity and unwanted curiosity. As indicated from the respondents, the Biracial people select a variety of identity choices to respond to the social pressures that they are facing at home, school, work, and elsewhere.

STAGE THREE: TRANSCENDENCE

The years of transcendence are comprised of the late teen years through the early twenties. During the stage of transcendence, Biracial people begin to solidify a concrete racial identity that is both personal and public. It is at this time that the person becomes emotionally reconciled with their racial choice. It is also at this time that most of the pressures that go along with the social realities of adolescence begin to diminish. The Biracial people in this stage are free to operate in society as whatever racial identity that they wish. In essence, they have "transcended" a racial structure that suggests that your identity is not your own, but one that needs to be earned and negotiated. Now such an identity is not earned or negotiated, but it is chosen and cherished.

All the respondents, those who chose Biracial identities as well as those who chose Black identities, reported coming to a time of transcendence. Their experiences suggest that there can be a "happy ending" for the Biracial person and that these are not individuals who are doomed to a life of marginality. Donovan exemplified the nature of transcendence:

> Basically you're too young to care and then you're old enough to notice the difference and try to establish an identity and then you're mature enough to look past all that to be friends with whomever. You've got elementary: too young to care, junior high: kind of had to separate them to find out who I was, high school: I figured out who I was and so I could relate to anybody. (Donovan, 23 years old)

Looking back, many respondents are proud of the progress that they have made. Dane, for example, illustrates the coming-of-age experienced by those who adopted a Biracial self-identity:

> I think that most people who are Biracial, by the time that they have matured, have already formed their own identity, they know who they are. Unless they are insecure in some form or another, most people by the time they figure out "I am Biracial", this is how it is, they don't worry too much about it, and they know who they are. They are a person like any other, they just happen to have one parent that is Black and another that is White. I think that most people are not confused. (Dane, 22 years old)

When sharing their thoughts regarding the latter stages of their identity development, many describe this transcendence in terms of being "comfortable in their own skin." More specifically, they have come to accept that they are different, and that such uniqueness is fine. Mackenzie defined this transcendence as coming into herself, or who she was meant to be in society:

> I just sort of came into my own comfortable me, instead of telling, instead of being both. I felt within this world it was more acceptable to be Black because I am light skinned Black person. I look like a minority; I'm treated like one unless I am with my parent. I was now me! (Mackenzie, 24 years old)

As someone who reported having moved out of a period of ambivalence and struggle with racial identity, Monique echoed this sense of comfort with her self-identity by giving her own example of what it meant to transcend from years of ambivalence:

> I'm more comfortable with it [racial identity] now. I'm sure it has to do with that I am more comfortable with how I feel about myself today. I think it comes from just accepting myself; just accepting this is the way I am. My hair is naturally curly; my skin is darker than most people. Just accepting it and acknowledging then not thinking about it and trying to push it to the back of my mind! (Monique, 30 years old)

Due to this newfound comfort with their racial status, there was also a growing appreciation of the advantage to being Biracial. Many of the respondents reported that they have the "best of both worlds" in that they could communicate with either race effectively. In some cases, the respondents even reported the advantage of being a "social chameleon" complete with the ability to switch racial roles whenever it was prudent to do so. Nick identified the advantage of being able to talk to others by being able to gain access to Black culture where others cannot:

> It [being Biracial] really helps to relate to other people when you can say yeah, you know. It is really natural. When I meet somebody who is Black it is really easy to blend in. If I am in a crowd with a lot of Black people it is really easy to blend in whereas some of my friends

> would not have as easy of a time blending in. I can relate to both sides. (Nick, 24 years old)

Thus, because Biracial respondents experienced both worlds, they found they could interact more freely with either racial group than they would be able to if they were just one race. Another respondent, Brianna, discussed this advantage:

> I think that being Biracial is more of a gift to me more so than a hindrance like people say 'cause I can fit in with so many more people and feel comfortable. I have no problem going to a frat party. I have no problems socializing with all races. (Brianna, 22 years old)

Others shared that the process of transcending has allowed Biracial persons to truly understand what it is like to overcome such challenging and social structures. Jathan, a respondent who discussed the periods of challenges in earlier stages, now reported the advantages of being Biracial as the ability to recognize the difficulty of what people have gone through in life:

> No matter what there is beauty in every culture and being mixed it is even more. I don't know why, but we got insight into all types of things. It gives us an advantage because for the situations we have gone through we got an advantage over other groups that have not gone through this stuff. (Jathan, 23 years old)

Despite the earlier hardships, respondents such as Kurtis explain that the advantage comes down to the observation that such experiences allow the Biracial person unique opportunities to help others.

> I am happy with the way I am. I mean, like I went through a lot of stuff. I would not want to go through again but on the same side it helps me help a lot of other people, it helps me give them advice and I think it actually gave me a bit of peace for what I went through because, I mean, I am still here after all that happened to me. I have had good sides from both sides, some bad from one but either way I don't want to change who I am having experienced both. (Kurtis, 39 years old)

Taken as a whole, the individuals in this study all reported that they have come to some type of "reckoning" with their racial identities. Regardless of what that racial identity happened to ultimately be, all the respondents in the study reported comfort and ease with their chosen racial status. An important caveat is that the exact racial choice that a person made was not necessarily what was important here. Rather, the focus of this study was to look at the process that was involved in the acquisition of participant racial identities.

DISCUSSION

In the 21st century, Multiracial people live in a paradoxical era; one that allows for agency in racial identity yet provides such freedoms with a multitude of stipulations. As such, this inquiry was offered to explore the process by which Multiracial people navigate the racial milieu of this era. This study successfully demonstrated that such a process exists for Biracial people, a journey that includes the three distinct stages of ignorance, ambivalence, and transcendence. The findings build upon earlier studies that indicate the presence of identity patterns (Huffman 1995; Jacobs 1994; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002). As such, these patterns provide important sociological insights to the manner by which Biracial individuals form and maintain a racial identity. For example, respondents were able to share about how specific social factors led them to develop awareness (i.e., curious questioning from friends, revelation from parents) to confusion (i.e., name-calling, exclusion) and to acceptance (i.e., positive relationships, community acceptance).

While generally following trends within the literature, there were areas in which this study provided some unforeseen insights into the development of racial identity. For example, the number of respondents who shared about their experiences with racism is telling. It was noted by more than two-thirds of the respondents that particular events of racial intolerance (including, but not limited to, taunting, pejoratives, and isolation) informed their identity development. This factor was a common discussion point within the ambivalence stage.

However, contrary to warnings in the earlier literature, mixed race people are not "stuck" in states of ambivalence; instead, they report using these experiences to solidify an identity that they are comfortable with (Gibbs 1992; 1994). Biracial persons do not go throughout life in states of perpetual marginality and confusion; rather, respondents in this study report the ability to embody racial identities that they believe best fits who they are and who they are

becoming. They can indeed transcend race. The story of identity formation is that Multiracial people do not live in the margins; they may stop there, but it is not where they call home.

These findings point to the need to educate parents, teachers, and friends about the roles that they play in the Biracial person's life. With this understanding, such allies and friends should be able to provide two things that Biracial respondents in the study found extremely beneficial to them: support and encouragement. Understanding when a Biracial person is especially susceptible to difficulty and hardship can offer a great deal of hope for the future. Institutions such as families and schools need to be educated that these three stages of identity development exist and informed on how to appropriately support Biracial children and adolescents.

In sum, these findings not only inform society regarding these topics, but can be seen as a benefit to the respondents themselves. In fact, many of the people who volunteered to take part in this work indicated that this was an important "part of their journey." For Biracial people, there are great incentives for identifying positive steps towards racial identity acquisition. Ultimately, as Root (1990) asserts, the Multiracial person welcomes a conclusive racial identity.

LIMITATIONS

Scholars have cited that exploratory research into topics like racial identity formation can have several potential limitations (Kerwin et al. 1993). Two specific limitations observed in this inquiry are sample representativeness and scope. This study relied on a self-selected snowball sample method. With such a small nonprobability sample, it is essential to consider this snapshot as an indication of the tendency towards these patterns of racial identity development. Additionally, the approach this research took was narrow as the study was delimited to half Black and half White participants. Other studies have shown that mixed race persons of Asian or Native American descent, for example, may experience other factors that are very different than those of this population. Additionally, the experiences of mixed race persons of three or more racial backgrounds may not adequately be addressed in this inquiry. Lastly, the region may play a part limiting the generalizability of this group in that most of the respondents were from the Midwest. One could speculate the Biracial persons on the coasts or in larger urban centers may have unique experience due to greater diversity and larger populations.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Based on this study and previous research, there are a few other aspects of the Biracial experience that need to be investigated. For instance, it would be highly beneficial to question the parents and teachers of adult Biracial individuals. Adding parents and teachers as respondents in further research would aid in understanding the earliest years of racial identity development. Likewise, studies that explored the roles parents played with their adult Biracial child would provide researchers with a broader perspective. In addition, the parents may have better knowledge of "behind the scenes" influences. For example, parents may not always outwardly discuss their parental strategies with their children, but they are aware of their intentional efforts to guide their children towards positive racial identity formation.

An examination of possible gender differences in the Biracial experience could also be a potentially promising area of research. Since growing up male and female are very different experiences, especially during the adolescent years, the question of whether there is a difference in their respective formation of racial identity is an interesting possibility. Another very important prospect for further research is an investigation of individuals who consider themselves "White." There were no individuals in the current study that saw themselves as White. Although it may be rare, it would be beneficial to examine the racial identity process for a Biracial person who chose a White self-identity. Lastly, further research should be done on other variations of Biracial persons (e.g., half Asian, half White). This would be beneficial to research, as there may be differences in how other racial variations affect identity formation. Exploring cultural and ethnic nuances that come with different human intersectionality allows for greater understanding of the ever-growing diversity of experiences that exists within our society.

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Article

Understanding the Importance of Leadership in Rural Communities

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ABSTRACT This research project attempts to provide a better understanding of how rural leaders emerge, the kinds of activities in which they are involved, and how they address the challenges they face. Rural communities tend to be at risk for public issues that may rise, which are central to the micro-levels of leadership roles and opportunities. Individuals who hold or have held leadership positions were interviewed, and a better understanding of the different stages throughout their leadership careers and the overall cycle of leadership within their rural Minnesota community was investigated. This study creates a preliminary model to be used for future research as well as for practical application.

INTRODUCTION

It has been argued that leadership is a critical element for the success of collective action in terms of community and economic development (Luther and Wall, 1998; Bell and Evert, 1997; Flora and Flora, 1993). Efforts to improve a location's quality of life requires a commitment from a strong cadre of individuals working collectively (Israel and Beaulieu 1990) and bolstered by those in positions of authority (Baker and Teaser-Polk,1998). Not all communities are endowed with people who are willing to step up into leadership roles (Sorensen and Epps, 1996). This is critical because leadership has been identified as an element for making collective action a success. This is especially true if the leadership is diverse, operates according to democratic principles,

and "places the welfare of the total community above the needs of any given special interest" (Israel and Beaulieu 1990:182).

The social structure and culture of a community may preclude the emergence of leaders. It is a research imperative, therefore, to determine what contextual factors are conducive to the practice of community leadership and what interventions may improve the social environment, all in the hope of creating more and better leaders. Existing research on this topic is slim, but it mostly has focused on the urban areas and less so on rural areas (Rich, 1980; Ward and Chant, 1987). To fill this gap, the purpose of this study will be to examine how rural leaders emerge, the kinds of activities in which they are involved, and how they address the challenges they face – in other words, their "leadership career."

Given the contextual differences associated with the variation in population density, settlement patterns, and the attendant ways of life, we aim to expand the literature into a new direction. To do so, an exemplar rural community that possessed a strong core of committed and motivated leaders was chosen to serve as a case study. These individuals were interviewed in order to identify variables related to how rural leaders emerge, the kinds of activities in which they are involved, and how they address personal challenges. These individual accounts were used to develop a model which describes the stages each individual typically goes through as they become leaders and grow in their position. This model allows us to track the process whereby people enter and exit leadership roles.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The field of leadership studies is fundamentally multidisciplinary, where scholars from sociology to psychology to history to the humanities have argued not only what the core definition of leadership shall be, but also how it should be theorized in the various contexts in which it is practiced, what styles or forms of leadership are best in those situations, and what the effect leadership has on the performance of complex organizations (Kellerman 1984). Peter Northouse defined leadership as "a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal" (201:5). Similarly, Joseph Rost has described leadership as "an influence relationship among leaders and collaborators who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes" (1993:99). This influence is multidirectional and not coercive, which distinguishes it from power. Even if the intended changes do not materialize, that does not mean leadership was not present. At times, the process of engaging in change efforts is as important as the final product. This is particularly the case in communities of place. Robinson and Green make the distinction between "community of interest," defined as a group of people who have common interests but the ties are aspatial,

and "community of place," defined as a group of residents who have common interests related to territory or place. In spite of the individualistic nature of modern society, many common interests and concerns still exist at the geographically local level (2011). Unfortunately, it is in this area that a dearth of research exists about how leadership is distributed and practiced. This stands in contrast to the relative abundance of research of leadership in formal organizations, such as businesses, government, and nonprofit settings.

The community context presents unique dynamics that affect the leader-follower relationship. Typically, communities do not possess the strict hierarchical chain of command found in businesses or bureaucracies. Since they are not endowed with the tools of management usually associated with the levels of hierarchical structures, community leaders must work in conjunction with fellow residents to advance communal goals. On the task-relational continuum first proposed by Stogdill (1974) – whereby on the task end the focus is on completing clearly delineated goals and producing outcomes while on the opposite end the focus is on fostering quality relationships among leaders and followers – leadership in the community context is relational (Pigg 1999).

Easterling describes the relations as civic leadership, which he defines as ". . . local residents stepping forward to solve community-level problems or to promote action that advances the community's overall well-being" (2012:51). To work towards this ideal, leaders are tasked not only with motivating their followers, but also coordinating resources and activities towards reaching collectively agreed upon goals. Therefore, a definition for a community leader derived from Kenneth Wilkinson's work on community field theory (1972) which postulates that a community is ultimately a manifestation of actions, coordinated by leaders and social interactions among individuals geared towards communal efforts is a person who is working towards the development *of* the community field, rather than development *in* the community field (Wilkinson, 1970). In other words, the community leaders have as their focus the advancement of collective interests rather than sectoral or parochial interests. The benefits of these actions accrue to those who may not have had a part, either directly or indirectly, in making it happen. Therefore, it can be said that community leadership is a transformative practice based in altruistic behaviors (Singh and Krishnan 2008).

However, leadership does not emerge naturally. Rather, it requires intentional promotion to develop leadership among a community's members. Questions regarding the sources of new leaders (Shively 1997), whether or not they are up to the challenge (Chiras and Herman 1997), and if they are prepared for the immense task at hand (Murray and Dunn 1996) are especially relevant in light of the fact that rural America's population is getting older. Demographic trends show the proportion of the population over the age of 65 will increase while the younger share will decrease. Concerns exist about who will step up and take the vitally important leadership roles that will be vacated by people as they age and retire from active public life. Additional concerns

unique to rural areas include economic restructuring that has led to loss in agriculture and manufacturing employment (Albrecht, Albrecht, and Albrecht 2002), leading to population loss and "brain drain" of individuals with high human capital (Carr and Kefalas 2009), as well as the lack of services or amenities considered vital to quality of life (Ricketts 2000). The decline in one sector of the community can potentially cause a spiraling-down phenomenon to occur. Leadership might be that element to arrest the decline in a community's quality of life (Emery and Flora 2006).

As far as the authors are aware, no study exists that succinctly examines the process by which people are exposed to leadership opportunities, how they are initiated into their new roles, and how they proceed throughout their leadership career until they choose to bow-out to let others take the reins. The term we will use to describe this entire process at the community-level is the *life cycle of community leadership*. Leader succession is an expected occurrence in a community, just like in a business or any type of organization. Unfortunately, planning for leadership succession is rarely conducted, so the process of succession is rarely smooth (Santora and Sarros 1995; Stavrou 2003; Hargreaves 2005). These factors can be conceived as variables for future research. A preliminary model is proposed which hypothesizes how new individuals enter into leadership roles, how they mature throughout the years, and how they bow-out of leadership roles. To our knowledge, no model exists currently to explain this phenomenon.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative methods were employed including the collection of documentary data (e.g., newspapers, Internet websites, etc.) and the use of face-to-face structured interviews. Qualitative methods were suited for this study because it allows for the identification of previously unknown processes (Pasick et al. 2009).

Both positional and reputational leaders in the community were targeted. Data collection proceeded in two phases. The first phase was to develop an initial list of community leaders. Brief interviews were conducted with six local officials, business owners, and residents known to the investigators. They were asked to list and provide contact information for individuals they believed were among the most notable community leaders.

The second phase of the project involved contacting those individuals who were named as the most notable community leaders through phone calls and/or emails to request and schedule interviews. Once initial contacts had been made, the interview process proceeded in a snowball manner where some of the leaders interviewed suggested other eligible leaders in the community. Fourteen leaders were interviewed in the course of the study.

Of the 14 leaders interviewed, the primary, current leadership roles were elected officials (N=4) and or organizational leaders (N=12). There were 5 female leaders and 9 male leaders (see Table 1).

Table 1. Description of Interviewees.

	Number	Percent
Elected Official	4	28.57
Organizational Leader	10	71.43
Total	14	100
Gender		
Female	5	35.71
Male	9	64.29
Total	14	100
Length of stay in D.L		
5 years or less	1	7.14
5years and above	13	92.86
Total	14	100
Approximate Age range		
Less than 40	1	7.14
40-59	12	85.52
60 or more	1	7.14
Total	14	100

DATA ANALYSIS

The interviews were audio recorded and field notes were taken during the interviewing sessions. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and analyzed qualitatively. The research study employed both open and axial coding. Open coding is about labeling and categorizing phenomena, and it is where codes are identified without any restrictions and purpose other than to discover the pieces of meaning (Strauss and Corbin 1990). In open coding, different categories were developed by going through the verbatim interview transcripts and breaking down the available data and information into several discrete parts. Axial coding occurs when there is a strong focus on discovering codes around a single category and about links and relationships, whereas open coding is about identification and naming (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Using the theoretical tools explored in the literature section, the study initiated its analysis for themes around styles, behavior, motivation, mentoring, understanding oneself as a leader, the need to balance commitments, challenges and solutions faced by the leaders. These guided the analysis of the data as patterns and emergent themes that rose up in conversation topics, vocabulary, and in recurring activities were noted.

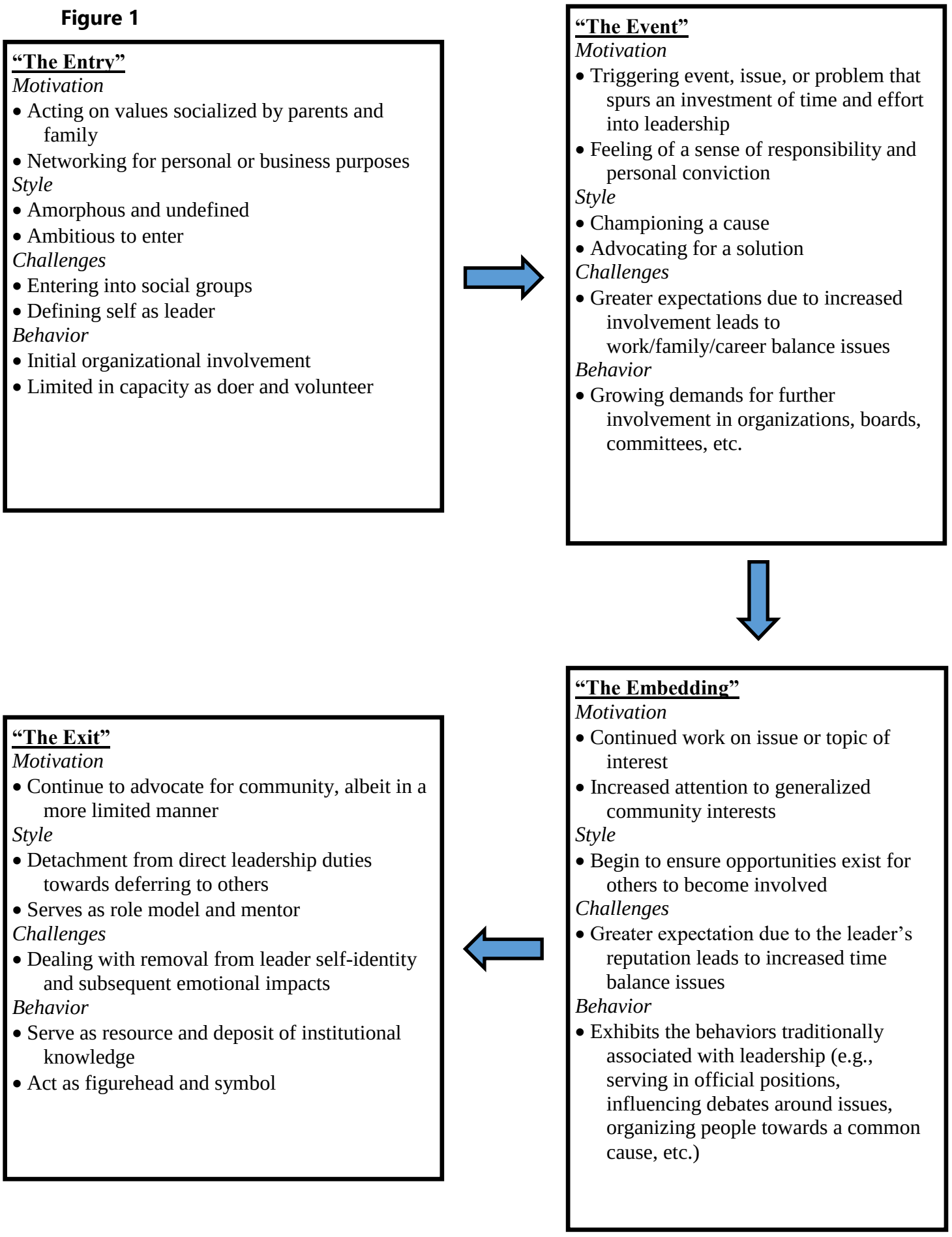
FINDINGS

Through the interviews of community leaders, several themes consistently appeared that had some variation throughout their leadership career. The four emergent themes identified are the style of leadership adopted, motivations, challenges faced, and the behaviors associated with the practice of leadership. These four change over time as a leader progresses in his or her position. Figure 1 illustrates these themes across time divided into four stages: The Entry, The Event, The Embedding, and The Exit.

These stages refer to time spent in leadership positions and does not necessarily correspond to a leader's actual age. For example, several interviewees engaged in leadership at an early age, although several did not until mid-life or later. These stages should not be construed as constituting firm boundaries, whereby it is possible to know when exactly a leader has entered into a new stage. Rather, it serves as a device to understand the growth and development of individuals in their leadership ability over time.

The Entry, the first stage, consists of the person's already existing qualities as well as the initial decision to get involved in some organized collective activity. A civic-orientated mindset is the result of socialization, primarily by the family. The first instance of acting on this mindset can be found during childhood thus providing the groundwork and preparation for future activities and, eventually, leadership. In adulthood, however, the desire to become involved in the community's public affairs often has a different

Figure 1


"The Entry"
Motivation
• Acting on values socialized by parents and family
• Networking for personal or business purposes
Style
• Amorphous and undefined
• Ambitious to enter
Challenges
• Entering into social groups
• Defining self as leader
Behavior
• Initial organizational involvement
• Limited in capacity as doer and volunteer
"The Event"
Motivation
• Triggering event, issue, or problem that spurs an investment of time and effort into leadership
• Feeling of a sense of responsibility and personal conviction
Style
• Championing a cause
• Advocating for a solution
Challenges
• Greater expectations due to increased involvement leads to work/family/career balance issues
Behavior
• Growing demands for further involvement in organizations, boards, committees, etc.
"The Embedding"
Motivation
• Continued work on issue or topic of interest
• Increased attention to generalized community interests
Style
• Begin to ensure opportunities exist for others to become involved
Challenges
• Greater expectation due to the leader's reputation leads to increased time balance issues
Behavior
• Exhibits the behaviors traditionally associated with leadership (e.g., serving in official positions, influencing debates around issues, organizing people towards a common cause, etc.)
"The Exit"
Motivation
• Continue to advocate for community, albeit in a more limited manner
Style
• Detachment from direct leadership duties towards deferring to others
• Serves as role model and mentor
Challenges
• Dealing with removal from leader self-identity and subsequent emotional impacts
Behavior
• Serve as resource and deposit of institutional knowledge
• Act as figurehead and symbol

motivation underlying it, including the desire to network for personal reasons (e.g., make friends) or for business purposes (e.g., network with potential clients). This stage prepares the individual and is, in a sense, a period of training for the individual to become a leader. Thus far, the individual is not as fully committed as he or she will be later on.

The second stage – The Event – encompasses the period whereby the individual "jumps in" fully into a leadership role, whether designated by a formal title or not. This can be spurred by a triggering event or problem that demands action by the community and the fulfilling of responsibility or conviction. For example, a controversial land use development proposal is often a triggering event for many to engage in community organizing for the first time and to assume a leadership role on one side of the issue. This event is relatively sudden, although communal issues can persist for a long time, thus requiring a consistent response. The Event, in this case for the individual leader, may be their election to a position within an organization or some other form of decision to become deeply involved in some matter.

In the third stage – The Embedding – the individual develops into a more capable and experienced leader and transitions away from specific issues towards a more generalized, broad base of community-related concerns. However, this is the stage whereby the leader is most effective in helping the community reach goals. The individual's reputation as someone who is able to organize and lead projects allows for them to pursue roles of greater distinction, including that of elected office. Recognizing the limits on one's ability to engage in many issues at the same time, the leader at this stage is comfortable and confident enough to delegate and to help develop leadership capabilities among his or her followers.

The fourth stage – The Exit – is the time when the leader is unable to continue serving the community to the same extent as before. This may relate to one's age, whereby the status of their physical health, for example, prevents them from being involved in multiple projects simultaneously. They continue to serve and advocate, although on a more limited basis or in a more indirect manner. Their detachment from formal roles creates opportunities for others to step-up, although the leader can still serve as a role model for the community. This can include being a figurehead or repository of knowledge into which others can tap. Numerous challenges are present at this stage, including the emotional impacts resulting from the loss of one's self-identity of an active, involved community leader.

In the aforementioned stages, there are consistent themes that are found in each that fundamentally describe the leadership career: motivations, style, challenges, and behaviors. In this study, motivation is the person's drive towards getting involved and continuing in leadership. Style is how the leader carries out his or her leadership roles. Challenges refer to the problems that leaders will have to deal with throughout their leadership career. Behavior refers to the manner in which leaders conduct themselves in

the different stages. The four themes are described in more detail in the following section.

THEME 1: MOTIVATIONS

It is axiomatic to state that an individual's transition from not being involved in a community leadership role towards being involved does not happen automatically. Instead, an impetus needs to occur in order for an individual to seek out leadership opportunities, particularly in established community organizations. Respondent-stated motivations for initially taking on leadership roles or behaviors and the motivation towards continuing such actions over time can be categorized into three themes: a desire to network for business purposes, a response to a specific problem that they felt needed to be addressed, and a desire to generally help the community improve its quality of life. At times, respondents reported possessing a mixture of these three motivations with no clear delineation among them. Additionally, motivations change over time. The reasons for engaging in community service are in flux, a necessity in order to prevent leader exhaustion. The implication of matching an individual's motivation with community needs is a necessity if bringing in new cohorts of leadership is to be accomplished.

Spending time to get involved in community affairs for networking purposes was mentioned be several respondents who had recently moved into the community and were wanting to get their name known among influential individuals. They recognized the worth of devoting time to this task even if the payback for themselves was not readily apparent. While some said it may sound selfish, they acknowledged it is standard practice among professionals:

> . . . [O]ne of the major things is to develop your own business and grow your practice and get clients of your own and to generate business on your own. And really the only way to do that is through contacts and meeting people and doing that sort of thing. . . . The first thing I needed to do was meet people here and needed to do that in order to get my name out there and meet people. So, I don't think it started for me, a desire to be in leadership or be a leader or necessarily be active in the community. It was a self-serving interest in order to meet people and grow my business.

Another respondent said on the topic of motivation to get involved:

> I've started a business and to start a business you got to get active in the community. So it was truly for business reasons. So I was an owner and of course joined the Chamber, but then through the Chamber I was on the retail committee and the then the community development committee. . . . I'm going to be really

> honest. I was cognizant of my resume and networking. I'm a business person so that people are aware of me and then maybe people will come to me [for service]. So, it was pretty fundamental.

Networking need not be for strictly business development. Some respondents wanted to get involved in order to develop social circles, particularly if they were new to the community.

> When I moved into [town], I did not know anyone. It's one of the first times I came to a community where I didn't have a big network of people. . . . Obviously to get integrated is to become part of these organizations and other kinds of things.

The desire to develop friendships and otherwise integrate oneself into social circles, particularly those containing the influential members of the community, was a powerful motivator for some respondents. Another prominent motivation to engage in leadership was to respond to specific issues that people felt needed to be addressed. A problem facing the community was not being solved in the manner agreeable to the respondent, who was willing to take a side and stand up to advocate for that side. This reflects a certain ethic, as evidenced by one respondent:

> I live on the lake there and there was something going on and I went and spoke to the city council. My philosophy has been if you are not happy with something, then you need to get involved and fix it yourself. So, after that I said I was going to run, so I ran. I guess that is kind of my philosophy I go by. I'm not saying it is a great philosophy, but if you don't like the way things are going, you can't just complain about it. You need to do something about it. You either come up with another idea or say: "This is what we should do, how we should do it." Get involved and influence change. That is true whether you are in the city government, whether it is in your class, whether it is in business, whether it is in any volunteer organization. You can only do things if you are involved or you can just sit on the sidelines and accept what is happening.

This observation is related to the literature on how communities respond to threats, perceived or real, to the places they have significant attachment to. The level of place attachment in a community is related to the actions community members and their leaders take in order to protect their environment from change (Devine-Wright, 2009). Organizing to protect cherished places takes leaders who are willing to devote the time, effort, and resources. Specific issues, therefore, can spur individuals into taking a leadership role that extends beyond the conclusion of that issue.

The final motivation that was identified from the interviews was a commitment to community that was based in one's personal ethics and sense of duty. Knowing full well that they, as individuals, probably won't receive direct benefits, they nonetheless devote themselves to generalized interests. Whether or not this is altruism is debatable, due to the contention among some scholars whether or not altruism truly exists. However, several interviewees noted their ethical position that drives their participation in community affairs:

> It's probably just part of who I am. What is my motivation, my goal? I hope I can help people become the best of who they are meant to be, whatever that means. If I can help get someone on their feet in a tangible way and not hinder that and to start helping them own their choices in life and move ahead, then I try to do it. I try to find a way to help them.

The desire to improve the community signifies a level of place attachment that was mentioned several times throughout the interviews. While it is a subjective interpretation, many respondents commended the amount of engagement that residents gave towards communal issues. Several times it was mentioned that the town had more involvement as well as more and better leadership than surrounding communities. If true, then a critical examination of the motivations that parlayed into the practice of leadership can be useful to determine how to develop a sense of community pride and attachment in those other communities. Motivation to engage in leadership comes from multiple sources. Tailoring development efforts towards the cultivation of these sources, therefore, should be a prominent goal.

THEME 2: LEADERSHIP STYLE

The results on community leadership saw various leadership styles exercised in the community. The topic on leadership style was one that was difficult to respond to and it got most of the leaders scratching their head.

> It would be interesting to see what mine is. I remember reading about all the different styles, but I haven't thought of it in terms of myself.

Various definitions, however, did emerge from the community leaders as they explained their perception, beliefs, and understanding of leadership and style. There was a wide array of styles from being assertive to more passive approaches.

> I would consider myself as not a micromanager. I feel like I use a lot of sports analogies, that the policies just set up the playing field for us. So, if I've gotten an officer who wants to pass to the left, as long as he is within the boundaries, I'm am

> going to let him pass to the left. And if I've got another officer who wants to run it up every time, if he wants to run it up the gut, as long as he is within the boundaries, I'm going to let them explore their styles. I'm going to encourage others' styles.
>
> I am a fairly aggressive leader, am not going to lie. If you ask people they will probably tell you that.

When asked to describe their leadership style or approach, it was clear that a number of factors had played a role in shaping the leadership approach of the rural leaders.

> Well, there is a book called *Leadership Secrets of Attila the Hun*. . . . It [says] look after the people that work for you and be clear in terms of what your goals and motivations are, and if you are going to put people at risk you've got to have their back. If you're going to rely on them, they need to have your back. It's kind of mutual success and mutual destruction if you fail to achieve your goal.

Some of the leaders were a bit hesitant to refer to themselves as leaders as they described their style. They felt honored that members of the community considered them leaders.

> I don't consider myself a leader, per se. But how I end up in leadership roles is because if I see something that needs to be done, I don't wait for discussion, decision, da, da, da. . . . So, I'm a little bit more of a "mover and shaker" for that reason, not to add any hubris to this situation.
>
> So my way of leadership - I don't know if I want to call it leadership, is more in the sense of analyzing cause I get that from my business - accounting. So, I look at details. I analyze something and so I say is there another way to do it. It's amazing to find out that people always find one way of doing something yet there can be three or four different ways to do things.

It became evident through the various responses that Trait Theory at play in defining leadership style. Trait Theory, also known as the Great Man Theory, focuses on identifying the innate qualities and characteristics possessed by great social, political, and military leaders. Personality traits played a role in defining the leadership styles in the rural community.

> I'm an introvert and not an extrovert. So, I'm intrigued by people's personalities and their station in life, their experiences, and how that forms what their thought

> processes are. And I'm okay with saying 'have we thought about this?' So for instance, If I am on a church council and in a church we do things the same way for hundreds of years and it is always the same, I am not afraid to say what the next generation will really want in the church. Let's look forward. So [I] am a future thinker.
>
> I am maybe more of a cheerleader. Ever since we've been here, I have done a fair amount of running so I'm one of the fitness cheerleaders around here trying to get people excited about certain activities and local good–natured contests.

In exploring the cycle of leaders in rural community leadership, the leaders attested that they have maintained their leadership style over time. As mentioned earlier, the leaders explained their leadership styles in terms of personality traits, and these traits that distinguish leaders from non-leaders are likely to be maintained.

> When you ask has my style changed, I have to say it hasn't. I have always been . . . if something needs to be done I will stand up and do it.

Besides the Trait Theory approach, it was evident that a situational approach that focuses on leadership situations is experienced in rural community leadership. The premise of a situational approach is that different kinds of leadership demand different kinds of leadership, and being an effective leader requires an individual to adapt their style to different situations.

> I think I'm pretty inclusive. I'm very much a yes till it doesn't make sense kind of a person. You know what I mean by that? Like let's pursue this idea until oh, oops, ha that was a bad idea. Or sometimes it does work well and whoosh! Well then we're off and running and that was a good idea . . . I am also not above getting my hands dirty.

The leaders demonstrated the importance of empowerment as an approach to their leadership styles. This was demonstrated in their acknowledgment of the importance of teams as well as engaging members as activities are coordinated towards accomplishing set goals.

> A lot of my leadership style has always been team building, rather than me being out in the front . . . it's always been that from the start, I haven't had any problems with being a leader of a team. . . . when am leading or trying to work with people, I try to establish it as a team and not me leading, I like to give credit to others.

> I want to include everyone in the room, like when I have these big meetings with big groups of people, I want to make sure everyone is engaged, and I recognize that some people are more outgoing than others and some people have lots of ideas but they don't say a word. But I always hope that they get to share their ideas because it's probably some great nugget that would make a difference in a project.

THEME 3: CHALLENGES

The research study on rural community leadership brought about specific challenges with balancing multiple roles or "wearing multiple hats." Many community leaders who were interviewed discussed the many roles that they were working to fulfill simultaneously, sometimes with some difficulties.

> First and foremost, I'm a wife and a mom. I mean those are my two most important roles by far. Have you heard the analogy of the rocks in a pot of water? Well, you put the big rocks in first; you have to decide what the big rocks are in your life. For me, it would be my husband, my kids, my family, my job, my health. Those are maybe the big things, and they have to fit in the pot first. And then there are little pebbles that go in last, the things that aren't as super important. I can't have too many big rocks, or you know, big jobs to take on, or it's going to start to overflow.

> You surrender to the fact that there will be sacrifices. The biggest concern is that either my family suffers or my work suffers as far as leadership and time committed to volunteering. I'm not saying my kids cry themselves to sleep at night, but yet these are things that take my time from home.

> Taking on so much has affected my work in the sense that I have had to spend nights in the office. I went to a three-hour council meeting and then I had to make up for the three hours at the office. So, there is no question; it has affected my work load.

Some community leaders discussed challenges of leadership in a more positive light. A few leaders discussed the ways in which they could incorporate their multiple identity roles into one situation, such as having family members bond over a volunteering project or a specific organization in which they are leaders or involved.

> My kids have always been involved in the church, but it's been by choice. We have always told them that it's their own decision of how involved they want to get with the church. Worship wasn't an option, that's something we do as a family, but they would do different things to be involved here. It was pretty great

> back then though. This picture says, "Thanks for the opportunity," and it was when my son realized he wanted to get into music. I let him play with the soundboards and run them for church a couple of times. He's now a band director and loves his job so that was probably a springboard that helped him find his passion.
>
> I made a decision when the kids were young to volunteer in what the kids were involved in. I was volunteering at baseball so I could coach my son and my daughter was in Girl Scouts so my wife was a leader of the Girl Scouts. So, trying to include family and volunteering or getting involved in things that you can include family is one way to go about it.

One community leader talked extensively of the challenges he faces with different organizations and the roles he fulfills within them.

> For instance, I am on the board of the golf course here in town, and I've been pretty active on the board at the curling club. I like to golf and I like to curl so I'm interested on those boards and have a real interest in improving the facility, increasing membership, and doing that sort of stuff. On the other hand, there are boards that I have served on that I just do because it is good for the community. I'm just not as passionate about this, not because they are worthy as organizations but it's hard for me to get real invested and to dedicate time and effort into those things that don't necessarily impact me as directly as some of my hobbies, I guess.
>
> Other roles? Oh my goodness! Family and, of course, friends, you know, I think I certainly have a role in my circle of friends and church. I have lots of contact with church, and I sing in an adult choir there. I think [I] am recognized in church as person they can contact to do something if it needs to be done or to speak about an issue. I am recognized for that.

Many of the community leaders discussed the importance of having to juggle an extensive schedule. Discussion of challenges and balance between roles often involved knowing when to say no. It seemed unanimous that the leaders found it important to realize when they had enough tasks and roles to take on so to refrain from becoming vastly overwhelmed.

> [I have] a really big calendar! (laughs) It's important to have willingness to say no. Strong leaders know when to say no. I am learning to choose where time is best spent and what I'm actually committing to before I take on another role.

> No, it's really tough. [My wife and I are] kind of 'yes' people and we want to help so many people, but it feels wrong when you can't volunteer for everybody. You can volunteer for lots of different things but you can't really hold a leadership position in a lot of them because if you're just trying to keep on top of everything, you won't do well in anything.

The challenges that rural community leaders face, and the "multiple hats" that they wear, were mentioned several times throughout the interviews. Many of the community leaders discussed the importance of being able to have a balance between their many roles, which included being a parent and maintaining contact with other family, having and successfully upholding a full-time job, and oftentimes volunteering for multiple organizations.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of how rural leaders emerge, the kinds of activities in which they are involved, and how they address the challenges they face. Rural communities tend to be at risk for public issues that may rise, which are central to the micro-levels of leadership roles and opportunities. Individuals who hold or have held leadership positions were interviewed. It was through these interviews that we gained a better understanding of the different stages throughout their leadership career and the overall cycle of leadership within their rural Minnesota community.

The aim of this study was to create a preliminary model to be used for future research as well as for practical application. For the former, questionnaires can be created and administered to multiple communities to capture the themes we have identified through this study. It can be hypothesized that variations among communities can exist regarding types of leadership styles, ways to work through challenges, ways to balance time and other commitments, and levels of motivation and their sources. At this point, we are unable to definitively state what conditions, applicable across all community contexts, are ideal for the process of initiating new leaders, developing early-career leaders in their skills and abilities, and the transition out of late-career leaders to open up opportunities for succession. However, we have identified relevant variables that can be utilized in future research. The impetus for engaging in community leadership needs to be examined. Multiple sources can coexist and are derived from specific social and environmental conditions. For example, in this community some respondents said that because of the rural nature of the community, people need to step up to take leadership roles. This need may not exist in the same manner in more

urban communities. An attachment to place doesn't exist at the same level across locations. Respondents noted a high attachment to place that formed a core motivation for taking on leadership duties. Leadership development programs should tailor their approach in those communities where attachment is lacking.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH.

Limitations for this study include the duration of time allotted for the research, the number of participants, and the lack of racial, economic, and cultural diversity which means that the findings are not necessarily generalizable across time and space. The data was collected over a period of two to three months. With more time, our team would have conducted more interviews and spread them out over a duration of time in order to better transcribe and code the new findings throughout the process. Future research should include an increased number of participants. It should also include a more racially and culturally diverse sample of leaders to further expand knowledge of rural community leaders.

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Book Review

Assigned: Life with Gender

Edited by Lisa Wade with Douglas Hartmann and Christopher Uggen

Reviewed by William T. Cockrell

Wade, Lisa (Editor) with Douglas Hartmann and Christopher Uggen (Series Editors). *Assigned: Life with Gender (The Society Pages).* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2017. 272 pp. $15.00 paper.

Assigned: Life With Gender is a collection of essays and opinion editorial pieces related to how we do not necessarily choose the gendered behaviors we feel compelled to perform. Edited by Lisa Wade, Douglas Hartmann, and Christopher Uggen, *Assigned* could be a powerful, initial exposure to the study of gender roles. The assortment of writings is separated into five different sections: ideas, performances, inequalities, institutions, and the future of gender. What starts as a solid, organized book becomes a scattered, jumble of short stories. As previously mentioned, this book would be excellent for an undergraduate Gender Roles class. Unfortunately, longtime researchers of the field are going to find little of new interest.

Primary author and editor Lisa Wade opens the book with the Introduction. The writing in the introduction is superb. Wade effectively gets the common point across that men and women are more similar than we tend to believe. The one aspect of critique for the introduction follows throughout the totality of the book, issues with citation. All of the research discussed should be cited for academic reasons as well as giving first-hand readers access to classic publications.

The first section of the book is classified as "Ideas". The primary goal in this segment of *Assigned* is to educate the reader on numerous aspects of gender and sex that we are exposed to on a daily basis. In the first chapter, "On Queering Parenting and Gender-Neutrality", we see the authors discussing how to approach raising a young child without the strict gendered descriptors of "boy/girl". Referencing Dr. Fausto-Sterling in the second paragraph is an excellent way to establish credibility, but most of the student readers will not be aware of this important mention. Further, using terms such as "heteronormativity" without explicitly stating the meaning may also not be entirely beneficial for readers without a gender studies background.

The strength of *Assigned* rests in the center of the collection. The section relating to gender performances accomplishes exposing readers to these highly complex topics with the assistance of actual research. Admittedly, the measurement of "uptalk" in Jeopardy episodes has a highly restrictive population, but it does present the student readers with quantitative measurements. To contrast the numerical assessments, the book presents an in-depth qualitative analysis of the ever-popular love triangle present in *The Hunger Games* series. This example humorously and effectively challenges the sexual double standard by encouraging female characters not to be defined by their romantic choices.

A powerful experience of being educated on differential treatment is ever present in the "Inequalities" portion of the book. Covering the bases of feminist research, the introduction and heavy emphasis on intersectionality further illustrates the strengths of this book. When focused on classic research and academic knowledge related to gender and sexuality, *Assigned* shines as an introductory level reader. To illustrate this comment, one could look at the strongest chapter in the third section. The "Violence and Masculinity Threat" chapter is an impeccable literature review of current sociological research related to the discussion of male-dominated violence in American society. The potency of the chapter is related to how each argument is presented and then addressed by various findings from published papers. What is equally important to acknowledge is that when the book does not follow this formula one notices the lack of organization.

From a critical perspective, the Institution segment of the book is the weakest part. The primary criticism against this section is the failure in acknowledging the target audience. Undergraduates are going to be less interested in topics such as cardiovascular disease and temporary work. These topics are absolutely related to gender studies, but the modern student is not going to be as concerned about these issues. Further focus placed on inequalities in academia and entry-level work positions would have been more effective for the current target audience. The additional issue in this section is that readers are not explicitly informed and educated on the definite, structured power of an institution. Further elaboration of this point is the chapter on birth control. Without a proper understanding of how institutions are not created equally for everybody, a young reader will not understand the absurdity of a male-dominated Supreme Court making reproductive decisions for American women. What should have been a pivotal discussion of a historical feminist moment is reduced to a brief, four-page synopsis. A more appropriate use of space would have been to discuss research from Guttmacher or the World Health Organization (i.e., social science data) instead of the legal proceedings related to Hobby Lobby.

Readers already present in the field of academia are going to largely overlook this publication, and that is understandably justified. *Assigned* is explicitly catered to undergraduate gender theorists who will best understand these concepts with real-life,

modern examples. That being said, one will notice that the target audience seems to be forgotten throughout the collection of readings. When jumping between readings about Miley Cyrus and then the labor market one must acknowledge that constancy and organization are not going to be found in this book. Future editions of the publication should focus less on a final section devoted to instructor resources and spend more time crafting relevant pop culture examples for the upcoming, academic feminist.

Book Review

American Taboo: The Forbidden Words, Unspoken Rules, and Secret Morality of Popular Culture

By Lauren Rosewarne

Reviewed by Nicole M. Royer

Rosewarne, L. *American Taboo: The Forbidden Words, Unspoken Rules, and Secret Morality of Popular Culture*. Santa Barbara, California: Praeger, 2013. 323 pp. $58.00 hardcover.

Lauren Rosewarne, PhD, is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne, Australia. She is also a writer, researcher and commentator. For a full understanding of her credentials visit her website at http://laurenrosewarne.com/ . *American Taboo* focuses on a wide range of social science disciplines and media studies. It delves into an expanse of taboo topics related to the relationship we have with our bodies and the way popular culture and the media represent them. The topics that are discussed range from homosexuality and personal hand gestures to alcoholism and masturbation. This book exposes that popular culture is more than a device that provides entertainment. *American Taboo* also educates us with new ideas and ways to ponder ones that we have taken for granted. This text offers a new outlook with concrete examples to our understanding of American culture and the pervasive images with which we continuously live. This daunting task is achieved through an examination of film, music, and television.

A variety of cartoons are analyzed to examine their portrayal of homosexuality, displaying that sexuality, at its very least, is something complicated and fluid. Expressing such a controversial topic highlights boundary crossing and its influences on human behavior. A discussion is provided about how it is premature to contend that sex shops and vibrators are no longer controversial, although they have been entering society in a sex-positive way. Oral sex is investigated showing the multitude of meanings it can take. Rosewarne notes that while the second wave of feminism has granted liberation and female empowerment, there is a never-ending battle with body anxieties. The taboo of flatulence and how it is represented in the media supports the pervasive double standard between the sex roles in our etiquette. Hand gestures were deciphered,

revealing multiple meanings when referencing not only gender and politics, but power and intimacy too. The author points out the interesting paradox between alcohol and prescription drug advertising and how it has created a landscape for potential social problems. Alcohol is considered a part of socializing, and prescription drug use is accepted when properly prescribed, yet alcoholism and the high consumption of potentially harmful drugs when not taken for their intended use can create health ramifications, such as heart and liver complications. Chapter 5, "The Euphemisms Chapter: Sex and Bodily Euphemisms on Screen and in Song" was extremely enlightening from a criminological perspective in particular. The way Rosewarne used television and song lyrics to point out how sexual assault is eschewed and sugar-coated was clever. In one example, she highlighted the song "Summer Nights" from the film *Grease* (1978) where the young men were asking Danny (John Travolta) if during his interactions with Sandy (Olivia Newton John), "Did she put up a fight?" *Putting up a fight* is a common euphemism used to reference sexual refusal and can be identified in women's real-life recollections of rape (72).

American Taboo, with the exception of sometimes getting the reader lost in the details, is definitely worth the read. This book shines light on a wide variety of taboos that can cause an array of feelings from outrage and angst to laughter and amusement. The material was well presented, and it was extremely thoughtful and witty. It was downright comical in some sections while enlightening and empowering in others. This book is highly readable and would be a great accompaniment to any social science course where a deviance or media component is included.

Book Review

Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City

By Matthew Desmond

Reviewed by Alen Fejzic

Desmond, M. *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2016. 432 pp. $28.00 paperback.

In his most recent book, *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*, Matthew Desmond recounts the events he witnessed while conducting ethnographic research in Milwaukee from early 2008 to late 2009. The purpose of the book is to provide a better understanding of poverty and inequality in the United States. What makes Desmond's approach unique is that he focuses on the effects of housing, especially eviction, on individuals and society. Desmond provides three categories of perspectives: the perspective of landlords, the perspective of poor Black citizens living in Milwaukee, and the perspective of poor White citizens living in Milwaukee in each of the three sections of the book: Rent, Out, and After.

The first section of the book address the issue of rent from the perspectives of both tenants and landlords. Desmond describes the various methods tenants utilize to pay their rent such as forgo paying their utility bills, borrowing money from friends and family, asking for help from organizations such as churches or charities, and trying to work out a deal with the landlords by working off the difference. Desmond provides various methods used by landlords to collect overdue rent such as through the legal system.

The second section of the book deals with the eviction process and some causes for eviction. Desmond describes nuisance laws that have a negative impact on tenants who must call 9-1-1 for assistance.

The third section of the addresses the difficulty of finding new housing after being evicted. Desmond provides several factors that make this process much harder for individuals. These include previous evictions, needing a significant amount of capital (social capita; in the form of references and financial capita; in the form of cash for the first month's rent, deposit, and last month's rent) to get approved for an apartment, and having children (landlords prefer tenants without children because they believe children

would be loud and are more likely to damage the property). Some other factors include an individual's criminal history (landlords prefer tenants with no felonies or violent misdemeanors on their record) and race (landlords prefer to rent to White tenants).

Throughout the entire book, Desmond offers statistics about certain welfare programs, various legislation having an impact on people living in poverty as well as on landlords, the costs of housing, and the effects of the Great Recession on people, especially racial minorities and individuals in poverty. Desmond notes that the price of housing on the north side of Milwaukee is about the same price as in other parts of the city, even though the housing on the north side is in much worse condition. Desmond demonstrates how landlords abuse the housing voucher program, a piece of legislation that was intended to help low-income individuals by having the individual contribute 30 percent of their monthly income towards rent and the government making up the difference, by charging more for their units than they are worth because they know that the government will pay most of the rent.

Desmond highlights the negative effects of not having good, stable housing on individuals. The overall message of this book can be summarized in the following quotation by Desmond, ". . . [A] good home can serve as the sturdiest of footholds. When people have a place to live, they become better parents, workers, and citizens" (295).

This book has numerous strong points that should be mentioned. Desmond provides the reader with much more than examples of hardships faced by tenants and landlords. Along with the examples, Desmond discusses various pieces of legislation that have impacted people living in poverty, mostly in negative ways. Legislation that requires welfare recipients to spend a bulk of their time in meetings or lines causes the recipients to lose their jobs, makes it harder to find a job, and/or spend less time with their children.

The way Desmond presents the information makes it very easy for non-academics to understand the issues faced by people living in poverty. The book is written in plain, everyday language rather than with academic jargon, which people outside of the discipline would not understand. In doing so, Desmond's book has a much wider audience than just academic sociologists. Also, as with all ethnographic work, the examples given by Desmond are of real people and of real events. Being exposed to the actual hardships faced by people brings to light the urgency of the current system in the United States. After reading the book, the victims of poverty will no longer remain faceless to the reader, because Desmond gives them a face through the stories of Arleen, Jori, Lamar, and other individuals whose stories have been told in this book.

However, there were a few issues with this book. The first issue is its organization. The book could have been better organized if the information about the project had been placed at the front of the book rather than at the end. This would allow the reader

to understand how the data were collected from the start rather than learning about it at the end of the book. However, this is not a major problem because the information is available to the reader. Instead of separating the book into three sections and having the stories of the various individuals and families clumped together, the book would have worked better if it was organized by individual or family. Desmond could then have divide the various individual or family sections into the three sections he has used for the whole book.

The second issue that I had with the book is with the authors view that stable housing "serves as the sturdiest of footholds" *(*295). I agree that affordable housing is an important problem faced by individuals, but having affordable housing will not solve the greater problem faced by people living in poverty and the problem of inequality in the country. Essentially, housing is a symptom of the greater problem. Eliminating the symptom will not get rid of the problem. It is the equivalent to putting a Band-Aid on a gunshot wound.

This book would be useful to anyone, academics as well as non-academics, wanting a better understanding of the eviction process and the detrimental effects it has on individuals. This book could easily be used in an upper-level sociological theory course or a graduate level course where students must apply a theory or perspective to better understand the issues raised in the book. Another potential use for this book would be for political activists as well as lawmakers. They could use this book to address the problems faced by individuals who are hurt by the vary programs that are supposed to help them.

Great Plains Sociologist

Call for Papers

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The Great Plains Sociologist is looking for articles for upcoming regular and special issues.

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