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HAROLD W. LEWIS

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Examining Committee on October 14,1996 as satisfactory
for the dissertation requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy degree

Examining Committee:

Major Professor: Alvin W. Wolfe, Ph.D.

Member: Kathryn M Borman. Ph.D.

Member: Earl Conteh-Morgan, Ph.D.

Member: Richard Dembo, Ph.D.

Member: Gilbert Kushner, Ph.D.

Member: Trevor W. Purcell. Ph.D.

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A HIGH CRIME AREA AROUND THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA

by

HAROLD W. LEWIS

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Anthropology
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April 1997

Major Professor: Alvin W. Wolfe Ph.D.

DEDICATION

To my grandchildren in the hope that this dissertation and the research it is based on will help enrich their lives.

To my granddaughter:

Amy Jane Mercincavage

To my grandsons:

Russell George Lewis

Richard Michael Lewis

Stephen James Krause

Toshio George Lewis

Tatsuo John Lewis

Christopher Michael Mercincavage

Peter William Mercincavage

Alexander Redmond Krause

Nathaniel David Mercincavage

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I have a special thanks for Dr. Roberta D. Baer who enlightened me to the fact that I didn't have to go to a developing country to practice development anthropology; there are plenty of opportunities for development research in the U.S.

Most of all, I wish to acknowledge my wife who is my primary proofreader, motivator and best friend. To all my colleagues and professors who have helped me reach this point in my career, I extend my sincere thanks.

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An Abstract

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Why did a suburban area adjacent to a growing state university become the county's highest crime area? Finding the answer to that question is the basic purpose of this study. The research area is situated between the northern limits of the City of Tampa and an area still quite rural in character. At its eastern edge is the second largest university in Florida. At its western boundary Interstate 275 separates it from a suburban, and mostly residential, area. The majority of the housing is in good condition, having been built in the last three decades. Although the ethnic mixture has been changing over the last fifteen years, no one ethnic group predominates. Nothing in the profile leads one to expect such a high crime rate. The answer to the question is sought through analysis of two levels of culture, the national and the local, and specifically in the interaction of three aspects of that whole: the economic stystem, the ideology and the social structure. Understanding the culture of the local residents is achieved by traditional participant observation, and understanding the interaction between the local and the wider system is achieved by reviewing the historical development of the area in the context of national changes over at least three decades.

The participant observation consisted of living in the area for twenty-six months and sharing in the everyday life experiences of the residents, dealing with landlords and local merchants, observing the criminal activity, joining the local civic organization, attending transportation meetings, and working with county sheriff's deputies and county social services. I interviewed residents, merchants, deputies, and local activists.

An understanding of the local history over the past three decades developed out of interviews with resident property owners who remain in the area. These long term residents cannot say why the area is deteriorating economically or what makes the area conducive to crime. They just know that the area has changed for the worse, and their

investment in local real estate seems to be at risk. The majority of the residents in the area are not property owners. As I learned their history, I began to see a pattern reflecting broader national data on gender and labor, crime and social problems.

In the final analysis, the answer to the above question, why did a suburban area adjacent to a growing state university become the county's highest crime area, lies in two primary factors. One factor is the high ratio of residents who rent their homes as compared to residents who own their homes. The other factor is high male unemployment and underemployment. While neither of these factors will be easily changed, understanding the problem is half of finding a solution.

Abstract Approved: Alvin W Wolfe

Major Professor: Alvin W. Wolfe Ph.D.,
Professor, Department of Anthropology
Date Approved: 1-5-97

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The research on which this dissertation is based has evolved into a double thesis. The first thesis is that the majority of the residents have fallen out of a more stable economic environment, what some might call a "middle class environment," as a result of national shifts in ideology, social structure and economic praxis. Having fallen from a more stable environment, residents find themselves adapting to a local environment characterized as depressed economically and socially prone to crime, delinquency, substance abuse, single-parent families, and school drop-outs. Adapting to the local environment has reinforced that environment as the local cultural norm. This is not an area populated with families with a history of poverty, lacking in education or work experience. The opposite is true.

The second thesis is that the area being studied developed in a manner that fosters characteristics that normally would be associated with a blighted, crowded section found in many large cities: prone to crime, delinquency, substance abuse, single-parent families, school drop-outs and a depressed economy for the residents. In this first chapter, I discuss changes that occurred on the national level, and in the second chapter, I cover the manner in which the local area developed.

The area of research is locally known as Suitcase City because the inhabitants frequently change residence. This is not an official title that can be found on a map or on signs indicating the boundaries to the area. Because of the negative connotation associated with this designation, Hillsborough County has used it in several applications

for government grants. This unofficial name suggests an area in need of change and active intervention. County, state, and federal agencies working in the area continue to use this appellation to define the boundaries of their activities. Not wishing to reinforce a negative stereotype, I refer to this same area throughout this dissertation as "the USF area," or the "USF area community." These designations are equally unofficial.

Something needs to be said about the term "middle class," a term widely abused, but one to which I will have several occasions to refer. In an article Journalist Walter Scott responded to the question, "What do politicians mean when they speak about a middle class?" with:

> There is no official U.S. government definition of "middle class," but the Census Bureau says three out of five Americans (about 157 million) can be considered "middle class." That is they are above the "poverty threshold" ($9977 in total annual income for a two-family household under age 65) and below the "upper fifth" ($66,795 for a similar household) [1995:2].

There is no universal definition of class, class divisions or class culture. I agree with Hyman Rodman, one of the few sociologists who really tried to define them, that "any attempt to delineate the cultures of these 'classes' is an approximation at best" (1968:336). My concept of middle class is as arbitrary as any other. That concept covers an economic bracket, a set of cultural values and a social network. Unless I specify differently, I am assuming that members of the middle class, roughly but not completely, share much in these three areas. This is not to say that members of lower and upper classes are absolutely distinct from the middle class. I define the economic bracket of a middle class family to start on the lower end with a combined family income sufficient to support a family of four; for 1992 the U.S. government set this minimum income as $14,335 (World Almanac 1995:383). I have chosen this as the lower economic limit because a couple must have a minimum of two children to reproduce itself and when a family drops below the poverty level, it will most likely begin to respond differently to the stresses and deprivations of life (Rodman 1963;

1966; Lewis 1967). Others may disagree, but I place the upper economic limit to middle class today at a combined annual family income of $150,000. The reason for this arbitrary upper limit should become evident later in this chapter. The middle class generally values independence, education, hard work, investing and saving and consider these as socially accepted attitudes (cf. Seeley 1956:357; Kahl 1957:201). Generally the middle class rejects, as unacceptable, dependence on government, dropping out of school, and failure to support oneself or one's children. The middle class member is part of a network of others who share the same value system and economic bracket. Family members, work relations, school friends, affiliation in religious organizations, political organizations or labor organizations usually make up this network. This presupposes that there are barriers such as economic and social constraints that separate the classes within the total society (Rodman 1968:333). Economics constrain or limit members of a lower economic class from participation in many of the social activities of a higher economic class. The cost of building social ties across class boundaries encourages individuals to limit their social networks to members with similar economic means and social values. If there is such a thing as class consciousness, it is economically based (cf. Rodman 1968:333).

When I quote other authors on the subject of classes without qualification, the implication is that their definition is similar to mine. If they refer to a different definition of classes, I will try to make that clear in my discussion. However, the majority of the authors who freely use terms such as middle class, underclass, working class, lower blue collar class, or upper white collar class, do so without any definition of these terms (e.g., Newman 1994; Swinton 1990; Furstenberg and Cherlin 1991) In fact, Rodman is the only source I have found who attempts to give a definitive analysis of class (1968) that fits the needs of this study.

With regard to "racial" composition, I find the population of the research area highly mixed. Since the area developed after the 1964 Civil Rights act, there is no history or evidence of planned segregation. During the two year period of my participant observation, I had next-door-neighbors who were African American, Hispanic, Asian, and white. I have found no ethnic or racial basis for the area's many social problems. In the following work, the reader should assume that unless I state otherwise, I am applying my comments with no distinction of race or ethnicity.

Background:

At the time I became a resident in the USF area, I had not thought of making it my area of research. Like many others, my wife and I took residence in the area because, on the surface, it appeared to be a nice neighborhood and the rent was reasonable. Our first apartment was in a complex that surrounded a pond about the size of a football field. Our bedroom and dining area both had a view of this pond where we could watch birds of a dozen different types come and feed on the fish that were plentiful in the pond. The apartment was clean and freshly painted. It contained a dishwasher, electric range and a refrigerator with an ample freezer. The apartment had central heat and air-conditioning. However, in a very short time, it became apparent we had moved into a high crime area. Most new residents who find themselves in this situation move to a more secure area, if they can afford it. However, some of the residents cannot afford higher rents and will either adapt to the existing situation or move only a short distance to get away from the "hot spots" of crime. Because I am an applied anthropologist, I recognized this as an area in which I could conduct research that had the potential to lead to some amelioration of the local problems.

Statement of Problem:

The basic question is why this area, that is neither a slum, a ghetto, nor an inner city, has the highest crime rate in unincorporated Hillsborough County. This project is not intended to examine crime or the criminals themselves. It assumes that criminals function within a specialized sub-culture that is in conflict with a larger more general culture which includes the police. My original hypothesis was that there is a third culture that acts as a buffer between the criminals and the larger culture. Without this buffer culture, criminals could not find sanctuary in the area. My intention was to research this buffer culture and its networks. As I will explain later, what I found is not a true culture as defined by anthropologists such as Edward Sapir, a set of norms or a social structure handed down from previous generations (Sapir 1924:401-429; Preston 1986:197-198; Sapir 1994:38). This research has led me both to an understanding of how this situation developed in the subject area and also to a theoretical perspective on recent social changes at the national level.

I borrow from a number of theories. I borrow most heavily, but selectively, from Robert Merton's "strain theory." Merton first published this theory in 1938 in a ten page essay entitled "Social Structure and Anomie" (Lilly, Cullen and Ball 1989:63). In Merton's eyes, America is an unusual society because the conventional culture puts an emphasis on a universal goal of economic success. Merton theorized that the social structure limits access to this goal through legitimate means (e.g., college education, corporate employment, family connections). This disjunction between what the culture extols, universal striving for success, and what the social structure makes possible, limited legitimate opportunities, places large segments of the American population in the strain engendering position of desiring a goal that they cannot reach through conventional means (Merton 1957; Macionis 1991:206).

Merton concluded that this strain produces intense pressure for deviation. Merton, of course, realized that most people, even though they find their social ascent limited, do not deviate. Instead they "conform" to their situation and continue to ascribe to the cultural success goal, believing in the legitimacy of the conventional or institutionalized means through which success is attained (Lilly, Cullen and Ball 1989:65). For others, the strain of their situation proves intolerable, and to alleviate this strain they either change their cultural goals, and/or they withdraw their allegiance to institutionalized means (Macionis 1991:206). In any case, they deviate from norms prescribing what should be desired (success) or how this should be achieved (legitimate means such as education or employment). Merton held that fluctuations in this disjunction between what is desired and what can be achieved is reflected in the overall rate of deviance. The greater the strain, the greater is the deviance (Lilly, Cullen and Ball 1989:68).

Merton proposed that the weakening of institutionalized norms and deviance are mutually reinforcing. Weakening institutionalized norms may initially allow a limited number of people to violate socially approved standards. Success in this deviance observed by others poses a challenge to the norm's legitimacy. This in turn heightens the chance that deviant behavior will become more pervasive (Lilly, Cullen and Ball 1989:68).

The strain theory became influential in the 1960s (Lilly, Cullen and Ball 1989:64) and is in part responsible for the shaping of the fight against juvenile delinquency of the early 1960's and then the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In theory, the removing of discrimination as a social barrier to achieving the American goal of success (the American dream), should have reduced the amount of deviant behavior and increased conformity to the American socially approved standards. In the aggregate, this did not happen. As will be shown later in this same chapter, the number of Americans below the poverty line has been increasing by millions annually, the opportunity for blue collar employment has decreased and real wages have come down for many Americans. The increased economic

disparity that has developed among American families is a reflection of new social barriers to legitimate success. Starting in the 1960s, both the recorded rates of violent crimes per hundred thousand population and the recorded rates of property crime in the U.S. increased about four hundred percent in thirty years (Macionis 1991:220). Single-parent births and all the associated social problems have increased six hundred percent since the 1960s (Moynihan 1995). One might argue that these circumstances disprove the strain theory, but I reject that argument. What has happened actually reinforces Merton's theory. I will argue that events that took place in the 1960s both increased the emphasis on economic success and at the same time created new limitations to legitimate means of succeeding. Instead of reducing the pressure that comes with an inability to reach economic success through legitimate means, changes in the dominant American ideology, social structure and economic praxis have increased that pressure and have led to greater deviance from conventional norms.

Unintended Consequences of National Changes 1960-1994:

The remainder of the chapter is devoted to changes that took place at a national level that set the stage for understanding, at least in part, the phenomenon of the USF area. The USF area is a unique reflection of what has happened on a national basis and, in many ways, a product of changes that started in the 1960s. Although the basis for the national changes was a desire to achieve social and economic equity for all Americans, these changes resulted, at least in part, in some unintended consequences. The theme that runs through the rest of this chapter is that, since the 1960s, the progressive decrease in the U.S. male's ability to support a family is associated with related shifts in national ideology (Bernard 1981; Tuthill 1980; Bryson and Bryson 1978; Grove 1988;

Sommers 1994), occupational structure (U.S. Department of Labor 1994:5) and economic structure (Lind 1995; Gilder 1995; O'Hare 1995). This decrease in the male's ability to support a family is a prime factor in the increase in single-parent households through an increase in divorce (Furstenberg and Cherlin 1991; Schorr and Moen 1983; Murray 1994) and an increase in out of wedlock births (O'Hare 1995; Blankenhorn 1995). The increase in single-parent households is strongly related to the increase in national social problems (Murray 1994; O'Hare 1995; Gilder 1995; Blankenhorn 1995) and an increase in crime (Blankenhorn 1995; Musick 1993; O'Hare 1995; Biller 1993).

While the development of the USF area is the central concern of this dissertation, I believe that this local development must be placed in the context of national changes of which it is very much a part.

Ideology:

The 1960s were years that brought some significant changes in the dominant national ideology in the U.S. However, for this research there are only two shifts in ideology that are significant. Prior to 1960, it was generally accepted that a man's role was "the family provider." Jessie Bernard (1981:4) writes about how males perceived their roles as providers prior to 1960, "To be a man, one had to not only be a provider, but a good provider." Bernard writes that the working wife was perceived as a challenge to her husband's manliness: "If she made a good salary, however, she was co-opting the man's passport to masculinity and he was effectively castrated (1981:4)."

The second shift in ideology was that a woman needn't choose between a family and a career outside the home. She could have both. This is the concept that a woman could "have it all."

Prior to 1960, most mothers of dependent children would forgo full-time career plans until the children were out of school. The dedication required for a full-time career appeared to conflict with the dedication required to be a full-time mother at that time. Over the next two decades this concept changed: "During the 1980s employment increased fastest among women with infants, half of whom now returned to work within a year of their child's birth" (Furstenberg and Cherlin 1991:101-102).

The difficulty in managing these two concepts, men as providers and women having a career, is evident in Felice N. Schwartz's book Breaking with Tradition (1992). Although the entire book is dedicated to the plight of working mothers in corporate America, she finds it necessary to discuss a man's role as family provider. She describes men as being subject to "...such a subliminal pressure from carrying the primary financial burden that they can't see taking on anything else" (1992:52).

It is not my thesis that the two earlier concepts were any more morally or socially correct than the concepts that replaced them. It is only my contention that shifts in ideology brought about unintended changes in the U.S. social structure and the U.S. national economy with concomitant expression in local areas such as the one under study here.

Bernard (1981:11) concludes her 1981 article: "The good-provider role may be on its way out, but its legitimate successor has not yet appeared on the scene." Fifteen years later, its "legitimate successor" has yet to appear on the scene. There are "illegitimate" successors and "maladaptations" in the form of fathers who don't pay child support (O'Hare 1995:8) and an increase in single-parent births (Moynihan 1995). However, the belief that the "man's role was no longer the good provider for his family," logically required changes in associated ideological norms. If men no longer held the role of family provider, then employers should no longer openly give preference in employment and wages to males simply because they had families to support. Employers, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and the national media no longer stressed the

common goals of families as units; they were more likely to view families now as a group of separate wage earners each with independent goals (cf. Tuthill 1980; Bryson and Bryson 1978; Grove 1988). This was not so much a case of a loss of family values as much as a loss of the value of a family. On a national basis, the general public had a growing acceptance that fathers were no longer a necessary part of a family (Sommers 1994:255-256). Biller writes:

> Families with two parents and one or more children no longer represent the majority of households in the United States. Our society experienced a tremendous explosion in the rate of divorce in the 1960s and 1970s, reaching its peak in the early 1980s. More than half the boys and girls born in the 1990s may spend part of their childhood in one-parent families. Both a high divorce rate and the increase incident of children born out of wedlock have contributed to the upsurge in the number of families headed by single mothers [1993:246].

At the same time, from Virginia Slims commercials (Walsh 1986) to women's studies (Vannoy-Hiller and Philliber 1989; Bravo 1995), the concept that "a woman could have it all," a family and a career at the same time, gained widespread acceptance in the U.S. dominant culture (Meyerowitz 1994; Tuthill 1980; Grove 1988). Supported by affirmative action programs, opportunities for women opened in many careers that had formally been dominated by men (Gilder 1995:24-27).

Associated with this was the feminist idea that a woman should be encouraged to be anything she wanted, except, perhaps, a housewife or full-time mother. Christina Hoff Sommers, is an associate professor of philosophy at Clark University who specializes in contemporary moral theory. In her book Who Stole Feminism, Sommers (1994) quotes American University Professor of Economics Barbara Bergmann's response to the suggestion that housework and child care done at home be included in the gross national product:

> Part of the motive is to lend dignity to the position of housewives. What I think feminism is about is getting women off the housework track [: 242].

The choice to work outside the home or be a stay-at-home mother for women with children is a personal decision based on a number of factors; peer pressure being one of those factors. While the concept that a woman could have it all should have removed the necessity of making a choice between family and career, women have found polarized opposition no matter which decision they make. Mothers who work outside of the home will receive criticism from those who are mainly concerned with the negative effects on children. Mothers who choose to be full-time mothers and homemakers are criticized by those who are mainly concerned with the family's economic well being, because, without a doubt, losing that second income means a different life style for the whole family (Burkett 1995:131-143). However, in today's U.S. economic situation, many women have no choice; they must balance working outside the home with taking care of their families the best that they can (Burkett, 1995: 11-13, 85-98).

The importance of these shifts in ideology is that the cultural norms defining and evaluating economic success were made available to a greater portion of the American society. They increased the pressure to succeed and redefined success for that portion of the population that had previously been under-represented in the area of wage labor. In terms of the strain theory, this increased one component that leads to the disjunction between goals and limitations.

Gender, Occupation and Family:

These two shifts in ideology reflect changes in the U.S. social structure. The first change was an increase in the number of two income families, but the difference from the pre-sixties was that in an increasing number of cases, the wife's income was no longer a supplement to her husband's. Women, in some cases,

started earning as much as, or more than their husbands (U.S. Department of Labor 1994:5,24). Both the husband and the wife were involved in full-time careers that required both of them to spend most of their day away from home. Over the past three decades women have increased their presence in higher income occupations. Their presence in executive, administrative, and managerial positions, as just one example, can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. Percent of All Executive, Administrative and Managerial Positions Held by Women and Minorities.

	1960	1970	1980	1993
Women	14.7	16.7	26.1	42.0
Minorities	02.5	03.6	05.2	06.2

Compiled from the Statistical Abstract 1975-1994
Note: Minority women are included in both categories

Of the 30,853,000 managerial and professional positions in the U.S. in 1994, according to the 1995 Statistical Abstract, white males held 46.9%, white females held 41.8%, black females held 4.2%, black males held 2.9%, other males held 2.3% and other females held 1.9%. Of the 19,155,000 managerial and professional positions that required a bachelor's decree or higher in 1994, 49.5% were held by white males, 39.1% were held by white females, 3.7% were held by black females, 2.8% were held by black males, 2.8% were held by other males and 1.9%, were held by other females.

In the higher paying managerial and professional positions requiring a college degree, white women hold almost four out of ten positions. Black women hold 179,000 more of these positions than black males do. In the lower paying managerial and professional positions that do not require a bachelor's degree, white women represent 46.2%, white males represent 42.6%, black women represent 5.0%, black males represent 3.2%, other females represent 1.6% and other males represent 1.4% While these data do not conclusively prove a "two-for-one" factor

in affirmative action favors black women over black men, it strongly suggests some type of bias.

At the same time, women who lacked the qualifications or connections to make a career in professional or managerial occupations were increasing their presence in the service occupations as well.

Table 2. Percentage of All Service Workers Other Than Household

	1960	1970	1980	1993
Women	51.6	55.7	58.9	63.9
Minorities	20.0	19.0	18.2	17.3

Compiled from the Statistical Abstract 1975-1994
Note : Minority women are included in both categories

The 1994 U.S. Statistical Abstract divides U.S. civilian employment into one hundred and eighty categories. Between 1983 and 1993, women gained in percentage of total employed in roughly three-quarters of the categories, but their greatest gains were in the higher paying categories. The list in Table 3 shows only those categories in which there was a decrease in female participation greater than two percent suggest that women left the low paying occupations for men to pick up. With the exception of the two therapist categories, it appears that men are gaining ground only in low paying occupations.

While men were gaining ground in these low paying occupations, women were making significant gains in some higher paying positions. The occupations in Table 4 provide a family-supporting wage. These are all occupations with career paths. Upward mobility in these occupations requires dedication and continuing education to stay abreast with the latest technology and innovations. Men and women who choose these careers and wish to develop their expertise in these fields have little time to devote to home and family. Two career families must spend a large portion of their incomes buying services to take care of tasks they have no time to perform themselves.

Table 3. Percent of Female Employment by Selected Occupation (loss of 2% or more between 1983 and 1993)

Occupation	1983	1993
Inhalation therapist	69.4	58.4
Physical therapist	77.0	72.5
Lic. Practical Nurse	97.0	94.6
Cashier	84.4	78.4
Library clerk	81.9	75.9
File clerk	83.5	79.6
Records clerk	82.8	77.9
Waiters and Waitresses	87.8	80.0
Cooks	50.0	44.2
Kitchen worker	76.0	69.2
Health aid except nursing	86.8	78.9
Welfare service aid	92.5	82.1
Textile machine operator	82.1	74.4
Pressing machine operator	66.4	62.7
Laborer except constr.	19.4	17.0

1994 Statistical Abstract

Table 4. Percent of Female Employment by Selected Occupation (high pay gains)

Occupation	1983	1993
Personnel management	43.9	60.7
Purchasing manager	23.6	34.9
Administrator, education	41.4	59.9
Manager, medicine/health	57.0	70.5
Accountants and auditors	38.7	49.2
Social Scientist/urban Plan.	46.8	57.0
Mgr. marketing/advert.	21.8	31.2
Architects	12.7	18.6
Chemical engineer	06.1	10.0
Civil engineer	04.0	09.4
Industrial engineer	11.0	16.4
Oper/system research	31.3	39.7
Lawyers	15.3	22.9

1994 Statistical Abstract

American society does not provide sufficient opportunities to allow everyone who desires success to achieve it (Macionis 1991:206). The increase of women in the labor force and their success in the job market decreased the opportunities for

others. Not everyone can have a family supporting job, even when they qualify. For every family with two jobs, each with a family supporting income, there must exist an individual that has to make do with less. This represents the second component in the disjunction between goals and limitations. Changes in the social structure created stricter limitations for many Americans. It is consistent with strain theory that these changes increase pressure on the segment of the population that is not succeeding, and that pressure then should lead to greater social deviation.

Salaries and Incomes:

These changes in the U.S. social structure affected changes in the U.S. economy through changes in family purchasing patterns and basic needs. Understanding that at any given time there is a finite number of jobs that will pay a family-supporting-wage; concentrating these jobs in an even smaller finite number of families must affect purchasing patterns. Families that have two or more of these family-supporting-wage jobs are not likely to purchase more than one set of durable goods. Although they may well purchase two automobiles, they will only purchase one range, dish-washer, washing machine, clothes dryer, air conditioner and furnace. They will be purchasing more services. They will purchase more domestic services, personal services, child care and home and auto repair services. Speaking of child care and household services, Michael Lind (1995:46) writes, "As the number of working mothers increases, such household help, once considered a luxury, is becoming more and more a necessity."

As men found it more difficult to obtain a family supporting job, more men had to seek second jobs and more women were forced to enter the work force. Entering

and staying in the work force was not a choice but a necessity for many mothers and single women. However, many Americans do not have even this opportunity to succeed.

The following table shows the changes in family incomes. It is based on a 1992 constant dollar so that it is adjusted for inflation.

Table 5. Income of Families -- Percent Distribution by income level (adjusted for inflation based on 1992 constant dollars)

	Less than $15,000	$15,000 to $49,999	$50,000 or higher
1960	22.6	66.0	11.5
1965	18.2	64.8	17.0
1970	16.1	60.7	23.2
1975	16.5	58.4	25.1
1980	15.7	55.1	29.2
1985	16.5	52.9	31.5
1990	15.3	50.5	34.2
1991	16.4	50.4	33.2
1992	16.8	49.7	33.5

U.S. Statistical Abstract 1994

Starting in the 1960s, many two income families were able to move from a lower income ($15,000 to $49,999) into a higher income ($50,000 or more). The percentage of families in the lower income category has steadily dropped over the last three decades and continues to drop in this decade. The increase in the percentage of families in the higher income category does not account for all of the decrease in the lower income category. In the introduction I used the 1992 poverty level of $14,335 for a family of four as the bottom end of my definition of middle class income. Since Table 5 above is calculated using a constant 1992 dollar, it is safe to say that those families in the less than $15,000 per annum income category are near or below the poverty line. While there has been a sizable reduction in the percentage of families in this lowest category since 1960, there has been little change since 1970 (Farley 1996:345). In fact, 1992 shows a 0.7% increase in the total number of families in this category over the 1970 level.

This increase in percentage represents more than three million families who have fallen below the poverty line since 1970. The decrease in percentage seen between 1975 and 1980 and between 1985 and 1990 represent families who have struggled out of poverty. Many of those families are one disaster away from falling back into poverty. The people who presently live in the USF area are a small representation of this back-and-forth struggle. Primarily, this dissertation is concerned with those changes in the lowest economic group that have taken place in the past ten years.

Table 5 only tells part of the story of the poverty trend because it only shows percentages of family incomes. It does not show the individuals that remain single because they cannot afford a family. The following table shows the percentage of individuals living below the poverty level in selected years. The number of persons below the poverty line has increased steadily since 1970 although the percentage of the total population appears to decrease in some years.

Table 6. Persons Below Poverty Level (all races)

Year	Number (in millions)	Percentage
1970	25.4	12.6
1975	25.9	12.3
1980	29.3	13.0
1985	33.1	14.0
1990	33.6	13.5
1991	35.7	14.2
1992	36.9	14.5

U.S. Statistical Abstract 1994

This table represents the increase in the number of people who require social services. Persons on this end of the social continuum are the families that cannot get one of the coveted family-supporting-wage jobs. These are often divorced women, single mothers and a growing number of men (O'Hare 1995:6). These people are not buying durable goods; they cannot afford them. They do, however,

require social services that must be purchased through taxation (Gilder 1995:24-27). The increase in the number of people living near or below the line of poverty reflects the increase in the strain engendering position of desiring to meet the conventional cultural goal of success that, for these people, cannot be reached through conventional means.

Personal Consumption Patterns:

The changes in family purchasing patterns outlined above have brought about a decrease in demand for durable goods and an increase in demand for services and social services. The information in Table 7 is extracted from Table 673 in the 1992 U.S. Statistical Abstract based on Gross Domestic Product. The dollar figures have been converted to percentages of personal consumption expenditures to mitigate the effects of inflation and overall economic growth. In percentage form they more directly reflect consumption patterns.

Table 7. Personal Consumption Patterns (percentage of personal consumption expenditures)

	1959	1960	1970	1980	1990	1991
Durable Goods	13.5	13.1	13.2	12.2	12.4	11.4
Services	39.9	40.1	45.0	48.8	55.0	56.4
Non-durable Goods	46.7	46.1	41.8	39.1	32.5	32.2

U.S. Statistical Abstract 1992 Personal Consumption Expenditures as part of Gross Domestic Product

The percentage of personal consumption expenditures going for durable goods dropped from 13.5% in 1959 to 11.4% in 1991. This is a downward shift of 15.6% of household expenditures on durable goods. Even if there had been no increase in the purchase of foreign durable goods, a fifteen percent decrease in the

purchase of durable goods would represent a sizable impact to the U.S. domestic industries all by itself. The percentage of personal consumption expenditure going for non-durable goods including food, clothing and heating also decreased. It decreased from 46.7% in 1959 to 32.2% in 1991, a downward shift of 31.0%. At the same time the percentage of personal consumption expenditures going for services increased from 39.9% in 1959 to 56.4% in 1991. This represents a 41.4% increase in the portion of personal expenditures going for the purchase of services.

This shift in purchasing patterns also brought on a change in the economy of scale in the production and marketing of American durable goods. The economy of scale is the ability to spread overhead, development and other fixed costs across the total number of units sold. When fewer units are sold, the cost per unit must be higher to offset these fixed costs (Pratten 1991:13-25). When demand for American durable goods dropped, the cost per unit increased, and that made American products less competitive with foreign goods. The following table shows the serious shift in foreign trade over the last three decades.

Table 8. Foreign Trade (In billions of dollars)

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1991
Exports	25.3	35.4	57.0	136.3	279.2	302.1	550.4	591.3
Imports	22.8	31.5	55.8	122.7	293.9	417.6	624.8	622.0
Net Exchange	2.4	3.9	1.2	13.6	-14.7	-115.6	-74.4	-30.7

U.S. Statistical Abstract 1992

Through the 1960s into the mid-1970s the U.S. had modest but favorable increases in balance of trade. During most of 1970s there was an oil crisis that should have resulted in a deficit of trade for those years. By the mid-1980s the oil crisis was over, but the U.S. trade deficit was growing by more than a hundred billion dollars each year. The growth of the U.S. deficit of trade has been retarded in the 1990s, but it is still a long way from the favorable status of the 1960s and

1970s. This drastic increase in imports was in both durable and non-durable goods. Services cannot be imported.

As the domestic demand for durable goods declined, the loss of the economy of scale forced the price up on domestic durable goods making them less competitive with foreign durable goods. As more foreign durable goods were purchased, both in the U.S. and abroad, fewer domestic durable goods were sold resulting in further reduction of the economy of scale. The reduction in the personal consumption expenditures spent on durable goods had a snowball effect. The following table shows the percentage that manufacturing contributed to the U.S. gross national product.

Table 9. Manufacturing's percentage of the U.S. Gross National Product

1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1989
28.4	28.5	25.5	22.9	21.3	19.7	18.6

U.S. Statistical Abstract 1980-1992

A comparison of the three previous tables shows that the decline in the importance of U.S. manufacturing started in the late 1960s, about the same time Table 7 shows a significant change in personal consumption patterns and almost a decade before Table 8 shows a significant change in foreign imports. The decline in manufacturing started with a change in purchasing patterns and not directly with foreign competition. Competition with foreign durable goods became more difficult as the economy of scale was reduced. Responding to a reduction in the economy of scale, by either increasing prices or reducing quality of U.S. durable goods, only provides greater incentive for the consumer to purchase foreign durable goods. As U.S. manufacturers lost market shares to foreign competition, their economy of scale was further reduced. It is this combination, the shift in purchasing patterns with foreign competition, that has resulted in what has been

called the "deindustrialization of America" (e.g., Newman 1994; Rodwin 1989; Thurow 1989).

The "deindustrialization paradigm" is based on the assumption that the U.S. is losing blue color jobs because international companies are moving their manufacturing offshore or down south for cheaper labor cost. There is no argument that we are in a world economy and the manufacturing sector has not grown with the rest of the U.S. economy. Wages in most other parts of the world are lower than they are in the U.S. However, these facts in themselves do not adequately explain the net loss of manufacturing jobs in the U.S. While many U.S. internationals do have overseas manufacturing operations, there are also many foreign internationals that have manufacturing operations in the U.S.

According to the Directory of Foreign Firms Operating in the United States, there are 46 foreign countries that have a total of 2,813 U. S. wholly or partially owned subsidiaries. Foreign internationals had a $445 billion total investment in the U.S. in 1993, and this investment was increasing at the rate of $42 billion annually. While many of these subsidiaries are import and sales organizations, there are many manufacturing operations also. For example, The Budd Co. in Troy, MI is a wholly owned subsidiary of Thyssen A.G. in Duisburg Germany and they employ 9,600 Americans. Honda of America MFG Inc. in Marysville, OH, wholly owned by Honda Motors Co.Ltd., employes 7,000 Americans. They also wholly own Honda Power Equipment in Swepsonville, NC that manufactures lawn mowers solely for their American market. Volkswagen of America in Auburn Hills, MI, wholly owned by Volkswagen A.G., employs 1,724 Americans. There are hundreds of other examples.

Foreign internationals do not set up manufacturing operations in the U.S. because we have cheap labor. They do it for a very practical business reason. In international business, it is best to have your manufacturing process close to your

market to mitigate fluctuations in exchange rates and to get inside tariff walls (Beeth 1973:141-148). When currency exchange rates can fluctuate as much as 50% in a matter of months (Byrns and Stone 1981:785-804), long term contracts become a gamble (Beeth 1973: 144). However, when the manufacturing operation is in the same country or region of the market, then the international has a greater guarantee of making a profit in the local currency. If exchange rates become unfavorable, the international reinvests its profits in the market country and withdraws its profits when the exchange rate becomes more favorable. Arguing that American internationals are exporting U.S. jobs under these circumstances is problematic. There is no reason to believe that the U.S. internationals could successfully compete in the foreign market if they did not build manufacturing operations in the same countries as their principal markets. These are only hypothetical job losses.

However, there are U.S. internationals that do go off shore to take advantage of low labor costs. Albeit, setting up a foreign manufacturing operation solely for a lower labor cost is a desperate gamble (Beeth 1973:142-144). Often, depending on the product, the unit cost is high even when the labor in lower. The cost of importing materials and exporting the product is greatly increased by distance, and although the labor is lower, the productivity may also be low (Beeth 1973:142). The biggest gamble in going off shore for low labor cost is the unstable political situation. Beeth writes:

> In the countries with low labor cost, there are always substantial political risks. This is not coincidence but a two-way cause-and-effect relationship. It is easy to see that low labor cost can give an unstable political situation, but the reverse is also true. An unstable political situation in a country causes companies to hesitate investing there; therefore unemployment continues to rise, causing labor cost to drop [Beeth 1973:142].

The tremendous investment in capital and training involved in setting up a manufacturing operation prohibits investments in countries with unstable

governments, unless the return on investment is exceptionally high. A revolt, a government collapse or nationalization of industries can wipe out the total investment in a manufacturing operation. American internationals that do take these risks are indeed exporting American jobs, but they are often doing it out of desperation, and it could be argued that they probably would not be able to stay in business if they remained in the U.S.

Since the U.S. represents the largest single market in the world and has a relatively stable political climate, theoretically, the U.S. should be the greatest beneficiary of a system where internationals put their manufacturing operations in the same country as their principal market. The reason we are not benefiting as much from this system as we theoretically should is that the U.S. market itself has changed. As it was pointed out earlier in this chapter, families are spending less on manufactured durable and nondurable goods and more on services.

Automobile Purchasing:

The automobile industry is a special, but important, case. Since automobiles are one of America's major industries, it deserves careful consideration. As more women use cars for transportation to and from work, reliability becomes a greater factor. Foreign cars, especially Japanese cars, have a reputation for being more reliable (Snyder and Serafin 1985:80). Families with two incomes totalling more than $50,000.00 per annum, could afford to pay more for reliability. By the early 1980s American car manufacturers realized that a major portion of their market was the upward mobile woman, but the upward mobile woman was buying foreign cars (Ericson 1986; McDonald 1986; Rosen 1987; Russel 1981; Snyder and Serafin 1985).

An article in the September 23, 1985 issue of *Advertising Age* argued that American auto makers did not know how to "sell to women" (Snyder and Serafin 1985). "The women's market long has been ignored by Detroit," they write, "and now it has to do something to change its image with women" (:80). The article goes on to praise the marketing strategies of Toyota and Honda in attracting women buyers, and states that American companies must follow this strategy. Ms. Muir, an AMC manager, is quoted as saying:

> Women buyers are more practical than men, because they have to be. It's a reflection of their earning power. Men more often talk about styling and appearance. Women talk about reliability, safety, durability, price and miles per gallon [Snyder and Serafin 1985:80].

A year later, again in *Advertising Age*, Danielle Coliver, Director of Advertising for Chevrolet, is quoted as saying that 45% of Chevrolet's sales were to women. "My position is that when you have 45% of your sales in a single market segment, you cannot look at this as niche marketing" (Coliver, quoted by Erickson 1986:S18).

Here again the economy of scale was reduced, making American cars less cost competitive. One could argue that the increase in two career families should have increased total car sales, thus offsetting the loss to foreign markets. As demonstrated below, this did not happen. On a per capita basis, car sales decreased.

Table 10 shows the total new car sales, the number of domestic new cars sold, the number of imported cars sold and the percentage of total sales that were imported cars. The following table is compiled from several issues of the U.S. Statistical Abstract, 1970 through 1992.

Table 10. New Car Sales in the U.S. (in millions)

	1962	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990
Total Auto Sales	7.3	9.3	8.4	8.5	9.0	11.0	9.3
Domestic Sales	6.9	8.8	7.0	6.6	6.6	8.2	6.9
Import Sales	0.4	0.6	1.3	1.9	2.4	2.8	2.4
Imports as percentage of Total Sales	5.5	6.5	15.5	22.4	26.7	25.5	25.8

Compiled from the U.S. Statistical Abstracts 1970-1992

Table 10 suggests that there was no great increase in new car sales as the result of the increase of two career families. Total new car sales in 1990 were the same as they were in 1965. The total U.S. population over twenty years of age increased by more than forty percent during this same period (U.S. Statistical Abstract 1992). Total car sales not keeping up with the increase population reinforces the earlier argument that at any given time there is a finite number of jobs that will pay a family-supporting-wage. Concentrating these jobs in an even smaller finite number of families must affect purchasing patterns. While the number of two career families increased, the percentage of Americans who could afford a new car, domestic or foreign, decreased.

The number of domestic new car sales had dropped more than twenty percent since 1965 back to the 1962 level. At the same time imported new car sales had increased almost four hundred percent. They had gone from 5.5% of the market to 25.8% of the market. Even the auto industry's mid 1980s shift in marketing mentioned above had only a short term effect on increasing domestic car sales.

This shift in the auto market has stagnated a previously male dominated industry. A reduction in American automobile manufacturing entails a reduction in the use of American steel, another previously male dominated industry. This has further reduced the job opportunities available to young men. While Florida is neither a center for auto manufacturing nor steel making, major changes in two of

America's paramount industries reflects in both the national economy and the national job market.

Job Market:

The reduction in demand for durable goods and the increase in demand for services and social services led to a change in the gender job market. Durable goods has been a male dominated industry, while services and social services have been female dominated fields. This further reduced opportunities for males and increased the opportunities for females. At the same time, affirmative action was breaking down the barriers to women in what had been previously male dominated careers (see Table 4).

The U.S. economy is divided into three major sections: durable goods, nondurable goods and services. Durable goods are goods usable for a relatively long time, usually three years or more, such as machinery, automobiles and household appliances. Nondurable goods are goods that must be purchased often over a relatively short period of time, such as food, clothing and material. Concerns that produce neither durable goods nor nondurable goods fall under the broad heading of services. Table 7 shows an increase in expenditures for services over the last thirty years, and a decrease in expenditures for durable goods and nondurable goods over the same time period. This suggests that the largest increase in employment in the last three decades has been in the service sector(Farley 1996:340-341).

The words "low paying" and "service sector" are not synonymous, although one often sees them used together. The term "service sector" often conjures up the vision of fast food restaurants, retail stores or domestic housekeeping services

that are only a portion of the service sector. High paying areas such as the medical field, financial and investment services, legal services, education, marketing and advertising, architecture and consultant engineering are included in the service sector.

Even the moderately paid and low paid employees in the service sector require management and supervision. A substantial increase in employment, in any of the three major sectors, necessitates an increase in openings for managers and supervisors. The number of subordinates that can be efficiently and effectively managed or supervised is called the "span of control" or the "span of management" (Sisk and Williams 1981; 185). There are a number of factors that must be considered in determining the proper span of management: complexity of the job, competence of the subordinates, competence and training of the supervisor, geographical distance between subordinates, rate of change and extra-supervisory responsibilities (Koontz et al. 1985: 236-250). Supervisors must also be supervised, thus leading to the pyramid structure found in most organizations. The same factors listed above must be considered in determining the proper span of control for each level of management. No matter which of the three major sections of the economy has an increase in employment, basically the same process is used to establish the need for managers and supervisors.

During the 1960s, total employment in the U.S. increased by 12.9 million. Women represented 60.6% of that increase, although women represented less than 38% of the civilian labor force. The civilian labor force consists of all non-institutionalized persons over 16 employed or seeking employment. During the 1970s, total employment increased by more than 20.6 million. Women represented 60.3% of that increase, although they still represented less than 42.5% of the civilian labor force. In the 1980s total employment increased by 18.6 million, and women who still represented less than 45.4% of the civilian labor

force represented 61% of that increase. However, when there was a net loss of 1.037 million jobs in 1991, 81.2% of those put out of work were men (U.S. Statistical Abstract 1965-1994). Since 1991, women have represented a larger percentage of those employed than they represent in the civilian labor force. There was a ratchet effect on the employment of women. When the economy expanded, more women than men were hired, but when the economy slowed down, more men than women lost their jobs. Each fluctuation of the economy, coupled with affirmative action, brought a shift in gender employment favorable to women.

Undoubtedly, the majority of the new jobs that developed in the previous three decades were entry level positions. Entry level jobs normally lead to advancement to higher positions. More than thirty years are being considered here, allowing ample time for advancement when the opportunities are available. However, advancement is not a consideration to someone who cannot get an entry level job. As demonstrated in Tables 1, 3 and 4, women, in the aggregate, have been able to take advantage of advancement opportunities and have moved up into management and other professional positions.

Increased competition among males for jobs that provided a family supporting income, working under the law of supply and demand, has in turn brought real wages down for men, while real wages for women have been able to stay constant or in some cases increase. A bulletin recently released by the U.S. Department of Labor, Working Women Count (1994), finds that the gap between women's wages and men's wages is narrowing, but largely because the wages for men are coming down (U.S. Department of Labor 1994:21-24; O'Hare 1995:6; Farley 1996: 249-251, 342). While real wages for men have decreased, the need for a second income has increased, forcing more women into the labor market. The report states:

> Many respondents report that their families need two paychecks to survive, especially given the stagnation in men's wages. As a married mother from North Carolina says, "You have to work to afford a family -- both parents -- but day care and medical expenses make it hard to save money" [U.S. Department of Labor 1994:24].

The report states, "Working women tell us they are breadwinners, and frequently the sole support of their households" (U.S. Department of Labor 1994:5). This same Department of Labor (1994:10) report states that women now occupy half of all jobs in the U.S., while in the 1960s women only represented 38% of the total work force (U.S. Statistical Abstract 1972). The relevance of this to the USF area is seen in the high male unemployment and the high number of single residents. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

As women advanced into higher paying occupations, it became more difficult for men to obtain positions that would allow them to support a family. As one man who lives in the USF area told me, even though he has a B.A. degree, his wife is presently the only one earning the money that this family of five lives on.

The decrease in opportunities for males to succeed, coupled with continuing pressure for them to succeed, raises the potential for deviant actions in accordance with Merton's strain theory. At the same time, the cultural changes we have been discussing extend the pressure upon women to strive for economic success. Women who are limited through lack of education, opportunity or family connections also find themselves desiring a goal that they cannot reach. In both cases this often leads to adopting deviant behavior. In part, these changes in the dominant cultural norms are reflected in family structure.

Family Structure:

The American male's ability to support a family was eroding in the 1960s with a shift in ideology. The increase of women in the labor force reduced the male's ability to support a family on his income alone by reducing the opportunities of employment and by reducing the income that comes with employment. Nationally as more women began to fill the role of family provider, divorce rates increased (Shorr and Moen 1983:578).

On a national basis, Murray (1994:13) reports "... employed fathers are two and a half times more likely to be married to the mother" than unemployed fathers. O'Hare writes that "Married couples where men are not working are about twice as likely to experience a separation and/or divorce as families where men are employed" (1995:6). He also writes that "...married-couple families with incomes below the poverty line are twice as likely as non-poor couples to separate or divorce within two years" (O'Hare 1995:6).

A national study by the Annie E. Casey Foundation finds that the lower a man's wages, the less likely he will marry. That study hypothesizes that when men cannot support a family, they are reluctant to make the long term commitment that marriage implies (O'Hare 1995:6-7; Farley 1996:344).

Table 11. Marital Status and Earnings for Men in Their 30s

Annual income	Percent married
Less than $10,000	43 %
$10,000 - $20,000	61 %
$20,000 - $30,000	71 %
$30,000 - $40,000	76 %
$40,000 - $50,000	80 %
$50,000 or more	83 %

O'Hare 1995:6

The number of single mothers increases yearly. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1995: 38-41) who has been researching this topic since the early 1960s, finds that only one out of fourteen developed countries has not seen a drastic increase in "out-of-wedlock" births over the past three decades. In France the increase is from 6% to 33%, in the UK from 5% to 31%, in the U.S. from 5% to 30% and in Canada from 4% to 29%. Over the same three decades, Japan remained at 1% of all its births being out-of-wedlock (Moynihan 1995:41). Japan is the only country out of the fourteen in the study in which many women give up paid wage labor when they get married (Newman 1993:153; Allison 1994 107-110).

If the traditional family is still a desirable goal (Biller 1993:246; Musick 1993:83), then the inability to achieve that goal is likely to create a strain engendering position for a large segment of the American population. Adding this strain of not being able to participate in a traditional family to the strain of being incapable of achieving economic success increases the total strain for some portion of Americans. According to Merton's theory, increasing the strain between what is desired and what can be achieved should result in an increase in deviancy (Lilly, Cullen and Ball 1989:67-68). This unfortunately is the case with a growing number of single-parent families.

Social Impact of Single-Parent Families:

Associated with the increase in births to unwed mothers is an increase in families living in poverty (Murray 1994:9; O'Hare 1995:5; Gilder 1995:24-27), teen pregnancy (Blankenhorn 1995:46; O'Hare 1995:7), child abuse (Blankenhorn 1995:39-40; Musick 1993:83), domestic violence (Musick 1993:83; Blankenhorn 1995:35), violent crime (O'Hare 1995:13; Biller 1993:2), lack of positive male role

models (O'Hare 1995:5) and an increase in the school dropout rate (O'Hare 1995:10).

Over half the children born to single mothers live in poverty. Murray (1994:9) found that "Single-parent families are five times as likely to be poor as two-parent unions." This is true across all ethnic groups (O'Hare 1995:5). There are more children with single white mothers living in poverty than there are children in two parent African American families living in poverty.

In 1988, 539,171 babies were born to single white mothers. The same year, 426,705 babies were born to single African American mothers and 152,865 babies were born to single Latino mothers (Polakow 1993:76).

While some of these mothers were brought up in poverty themselves, it is not uncommon for the advent of single motherhood to reduce women from financial independence to poverty (Polakow 1992:81-98). While poverty itself is not a deviant behavior, deviant behavior can lead to poverty, and poverty itself can present limitations to achieving economic success, causing in part the strain that leads some of the nation's poor to deviant behavior (Lilly, Cullen and Ball 1989:63-71).

No one plans to raise children in poverty. Being a single mother under these conditions is not something one desires. This increase in single motherhood brought with it an increased need for social services (Gilder 1995:24-27; O'Hare 1995:5).

Teenage girls brought up in fatherless homes are many times more likely to become teenage mothers. "Girls from single-parent families have a threefold greater risk of bearing children as unwed teenagers" (O'Hare 1995:7). Blankenhorn writes:

> Adolescent childbearing is inextricably linked to the decline of fatherhood -- not only because more and more adolescent boys are willing to impregnate girls without the slightest intention of becoming an effective

> father but also because more and more adolescent girls are growing up without a father in the home [1995:46].

Child abuse is strongly associated with children living in single mother homes, suffering physical and sexual abuse from non-related males in the household. On a national level, Blankenhorn writes:

> Yes, some -- too many -- married fathers molest their children. But the weight of evidence is clear. What magnifies the risk of sexual abuse for children is not the presence of married fathers, but the absence. More specifically, the escalating risk of childhood sexual abuse in our society stems primarily from the growing absence of married fathers and the growing presence of step-fathers, boyfriends, and other unrelated or transient males [1995:39- 40].

Musick explains the relationship of single-parent families and an increase in both sexual and physical child abuse:

> It is not only the absence of a father that harms a child, but the presence of a stream of men who move in and out of the life of the mother, behaving toward her with disdain or cruelty and mistreating her and her children [1993:83].

At a national level there are data demonstrating the correlation between single women and domestic violence. On the basis of the National Crime Victimization Survey conducted by the U.S. Department of Justice, Blankenhorn (1995:35) writes that single women are seven times more likely to suffer domestic violence from a "boyfriend" or an ex-husband than married women from their husbands.

Relevant to violent aggression directed at children or adult women, I believe the frustration-aggression theory (Gurr 1970:32-37) provides a more specific explanation than Merton's strain theory, but it is not incompatible with it. While humankind has ways other than aggression to handle frustration, aggression seems to have its basis in frustration (Gurr 1970:36-37). The theory holds that the longer the frustration persists, and the more severe the frustration, the greater is the likelihood that aggressive reactions will occur. Humans who are frustrated have an innate disposition to do violence to its source, or perceived source (Gurr

1970:34), in proportion to the intensity of their frustration (Gurr 1970:37). Aggressive action may not resolve the frustration or eliminate its source, but it is an "inherently satisfying response to anger" (Gurr 1970:34).

Some males, when placed in a relationship that is not legally binding and has few culturally determined guidelines, suffer the frustration of not knowing what their responsibilities are or what their position is in this relationship. In the case of a live-in boyfriend, this male may be expected to fulfill part or all of the responsibilities of a legal husband and father (Rosin 1987:34, 56, 144), but the authority to discipline the child is not his (Rosin 1987: 121-123). The instability of such a relationship frustrates any long term planning. If the relationship breaks down, there are no legal or financial liabilities for any of the participants. Prolonged frustration is very likely to lead to violence (Gurr 1970:37).

In the case of a former husband, the law often is clear on his financial responsibilities to his children and in some cases to his former wife. However, neither the law nor American custom clearly defines what the social relationships will be (Schorr and Moen 1983) . Custody is normally given to the mother with visitation rights given to the father. Children can find themselves with divided loyalties or in a position where they refuse to take sides (Rosin 1987: 34-35). Fathers who wish to avoid conflicts and the stress put on their children can elect not to exercise their visitation rights, but then they must face the accusation of being cold and uncaring. Some men find being in a position of having to carry on with financial responsibilities (Rosin 1987:207-219) and limited socialization with their former families (Rosin 1987:188) with few of the benefits of being a full party in that relationship frustrating (Furstenberg 1991). This frustration sometimes develops into the aggressive behavior (Gurr 1970:37) known as domestic violence.

There is another connection to violent crime and single-parent families that manifests itself in the children. In a national study, it was found that:

> The juvenile violent crime rate reflects the number of youths between the ages of 10 and 17 arrested for homicide, forcible rape, robbery, or aggravated assault. During 1993, about a quarter (23 percent) of every one arrested for a violent crime was under the age of 20.
> One recent report indicates that most young men in the juvenile justice system spent at least part of their childhood in a single-parent family. Nationally, the juvenile violent crime arrest rate increased from 305 per 100,000 in 1985 to 483 per 100,000 in 1992. The rate increased in every state but Vermont; it more than doubled in 11 states [O'Hare 1995:13].

Biller finds a correlation between violent crime and fatherless homes:

> However, males who are father deprived early in life are likely to engage later in rigidly over compensatory masculine behaviors. The incident of crime against property and people, including child abuse and family violence, is relatively high in societies where the rearing of young children is considered to be an exclusively female endeavor [1993:2].

There are a number of factors that may play a part in the drastic increase in juvenile crime in America, including violence in the media. However, it should be clear from the above data that the single-parent home is an underlying variable. Children living in single-parent homes are more likely to live in poverty than children in two parent homes. This gets back to the strain theory. Since these children are the least likely to become economically successful, they are the most likely to deviate from cultural norms (e.g., juvenile crime, lack of responsibility, dropping out of school).

Biller gives a second variable to juvenile crime, the lack of a positive male role model. With no positive male role model to emulate, some boys overcompensate what they perceive as proper masculine behavior. If this macho behavior seems to gain the desired effect among their peers, it is validated and enhanced.

Concerning children growing up in neighborhoods where more than half of all families with children were headed by a woman with no husband, O'Hare writes:

> All children growing up in these neighborhoods have a diminishing opportunity for learning how to be a partner in a stable two-parent family, and the lack of role models for boys is a particular problem. According to a recent study of young, non-custodial fathers who were behind on their child support payments, less than half of these men were living with their own father at age 14 [O'Hare 1995:5].

The foundation supported study reported by O'Hare also found a relationship between single-parent families and school dropout rates.

> There is a clear relationship between family structure and being a high school dropout. Kids growing up in single-parent families are twice as likely as those from married-couple families to drop out of high school [O'Hare 1995:5].

CHAPTER 2

AREA OF RESEARCH

Introduction:

This chapter introduces the second thesis, that the area being studied developed in a manner that fosters the condition usually associated with slums, blighted, crowded sections found in all American large cities. Although the observers tend not to call this USF area a slum, the manner in which the area developed makes it prone to crime, delinquency, single-parent families, school drop-outs and a generally depressed economy for its residents. I cannot show a direct cause and affect relationship between national data and the lives of individuals living in the USF area. However, in this chapter I do demonstrate some parallel situations.

Definition of the Area and Population:

The area is bounded on the east by 30th Street, on the west by I-275, on the north by Bearss Avenue and on the south by Fowler Avenue. It is approximately four square miles. The University of South Florida is on its eastern boundary. Fowler, Fletcher and Bearss avenues are main east-west thoroughfares, and 30th Street and Nebraska Avenue are main north-south thoroughfares. The population is about 30,000. The ethnic ratio has been

changing over time. Census data in 1980 showed the population was 88.0% white. By 1990 the census showed that whites represented 68.9% of the population. A survey I conducted in 1995 suggests that the white population has dropped below 50% of the total population, but no one racial group exceeds 50% in the area.

The 1990 census data for the area of research show that there are 3,834 families with children; forty-five percent of these families are headed by a single parent. There are 2,033 single males living alone, 1,140 single women living alone, and 1,327 couples without children cohabiting. Less than twenty-two percent of the households are two parent families.

Environment:

The subject area is a mixture of commercial and residential properties interspersed with unused properties that are overgrown with native Florida vegetation. Eighty-five percent of the resident families are in multi-unit dwellings. Over half of the apartments are in apartment complexes containing more than 400 units. There is little variation in elevation in this area, but there is a gradual upward slope to the north. The streets, throughout the whole area, are aligned on a north-south and east-west grid. Although drainage is not ideal, retention ponds and storm sewer development have eliminated most local flooding in recent years. Street lighting has been increased throughout the area since 1994, when the county started a program to add two thousand new street lights. Readers interested in a detailed description of the area should consult Steven E. Gouldman's Applied Anthropology, Participatory Planning and the USF Area Neighborhood Planning Study (1994).

Local History 1960-1994:

There is not a great deal to be said about the history of the area because development started only in the early 1960's. Traces of the area's rural pre-development condition can still be seen in the area. On Fletcher Avenue there are several acres that are surrounded with strands of barbed wire as if it were a pasture for cattle. Some residents fish in a natural pond two blocks north of Fletcher Avenue and in two larger ponds north of the University Mall on Fowler Avenue. The wooded lots have many trees that most certainly were there long before the area was developed.

The proximity of the University of South Florida presents a rather ironic twist in the development of the area. On the basis of speculation that the university's population apartment complexes of all sizes and quality. About 85% of the housing in the area consists of multi-family units for the population of twenty to thirty thousand residents. About sixty percent of the apartments are one-bedroom apartments built with students in mind. The housing is targeted towards moderate to low income individuals. At this time, the majority of these apartments are occupied with single non-student residents.

Presently, very few of the university's forty thousand students, faculty and staff live in the USF area. The faculty and administration prefer to live in neighborhoods made up of single family dwellings. Most students, especially female students, avoid it as a high crime area (cf. Lammers 1994; Anderson 1990:155). The number of resident off-campus students living in the area has dropped over the years. According to the U.S. Census in 1980 students represented 27.1% of the population in the area, but by 1990 student residence had dropped to 18.3%.

The university also has some effect on local employment. University students, ever in need of income, find work in the area's service industry, fast food restaurants and supermarkets. Residents find themselves competing with college students for minimum
wage jobs.

At the time USF was founded thirty years ago, the surrounding area was almost totally rural, but the subsequent development fostered an atmosphere normally associated with a blighted, crowded section found in many large cities. The large apartment complexes are analogous to public housing developments. Undeveloped tracts of land that were allowed to become overgrown are analogous to vacant lots found in the blighted older sections of many large cities. These undeveloped areas are often dumping grounds just as vacant lots have become dumping grounds in large cities. Streets were laid out in a grid fashion like city streets. The under-development of sidewalks and street lighting simulated the decay of older sections of many cities. Businesses, operated by non-residents, developed along all the major thoroughfares, and many of the conveniences of city living are available for the residents. As new highway construction demolished homes in Tampa, many of its displaced people found a familiar environment near USF. I have met residents who had moved from as far away as New Jersey, but by far the majority of my informants had lived most of their life in the Tampa area before moving to the subject area.

The dozen, home owning, long-term (ten or more years) residents I have interviewed agree that crime did not become a major problem, that is that crime had not affected them personally, until about 1987. According to one resident who has lived in the area more than twenty-five years, drugs were present in the area when he moved in. A similar perspective is found in the Master's thesis on the area by Gouldman (1994:82).

The economic development of the area did not produce many occupations that would support a family. The major development has been in residential housing. The majority of the occupations in the area today are those that traditionally provide a supplemental family income (e.g. retail stores, fast food restaurants, health care support, maintenance, etc.). Neither the housing nor the employment in the USF area favor two-parent families. The key conditions that hold the USF area in a downward spiral of social ills and negative economic development are the high rate of male unemployment and the low rate of resident property ownership.

Male Unemployment:

The 1990 census data for the four tracts that make up the USF area show the following rates of unemployment:

Table 12. Unemployment

	Male		Female	
Census tract	#	%	#	%
108.08	35	03.6	56	06.5
108.07	159	07.8	122	08.0
108.06	277	12.9	126	09.6
108.05	68	08.8	55	07.5
Total	539		359	

Source 1990 U.S. Census

In 1990 there were 539 unemployed males and 359 unemployed females in the USF area. These figures do not include the unemployed "shadow residents", primarily males, who are unofficially living with another resident. Neither do these figures include the homeless, again primarily males.

The overall unemployment rate in 1990 was 8.2 %. A pilot survey I conducted in census tract 108.05 showed an unemployment rate of 22.7% in

1995. Both the 1990 census data and the pilot survey showed that sixty percent of the unemployed are males.

The school drop-out rate is related to some of the unemployment. Over 29 % of the teenagers who are not enrolled or graduated are unemployed.

Table 13. Persons 16 to 19 Years of Age

Census tract	Total 16-19	Not enrolled or graduate		# unemployed	
108.08	196	29		8	
108.07	350	91		32	
108.06	291	55		10	
108.05	91	19		7	
Total	928	194	20.9%	57	29.4%

Source 1990 U.S. Census

Under-employed:

The area seems to have a great number of underemployed individuals. While I was doing the pilot survey in 1995, I found several respondents who fell into that category. Based on that study, it appears that about sixteen percent of those who are employed are actually underemployed. Since census data do not track underemployment, the survey results are all there is to go on. One respondent has a B.S. in Electrical Engineering but is presently employed as a technician for GTE, a job that does not require such a degree. Another respondent showed me his certificates as a factory trained auto mechanic. He is repairing cars in his driveway so that he can stay home and take care of his son while his wife goes to school to become a registered nurse. There is also a young lady trained in clerical skills, but working as a cashier at McDonald's.

Poverty, Unemployment and Single Parents:

The percentage of male unemployment in the subject area was 9.1 in 1990. This compares to a 1990 female unemployment rate of 8.1% for this same area. Table 14 shows that of the area's four census tracts, census tract 108.08 has the lowest number of unemployed males (35), the lowest percentage of unemployed males (3.6%), the lowest percentage of single parent families (9.1%) and the lowest poverty rate (23%). Census tract 108.08 is the only one out of the four that has less unemployed males than unemployed females.

Census tract 108.07 has the highest poverty rate (33%), the greatest number of single parent families (878), and the second highest number of unemployed for both males and females (159 and 122 respectively). The number of males unemployed is 30% higher than the number of females unemployed.

Table 14. Poverty Level, Unemployment and Single-parent Families

Census tract	Male		Female		Poverty Level	Single-parent Families	
	Unempl.	%	Unempl	%		#	%
108.05	68	08.8	55	07.5	27	273	44.7
108.06	277	12.9	126	09.6	31	426	45.0
108.07	159	07.8	122	08.0	33	878	49.9
108.08	35	03.6	56	06.5	23	159	09.1

Source 1990 U.S. Census

The relationship between single-parent families and poverty is evident in these four census tracts. The census tract with the highest percentage of single-parent families, 108.07, also has the highest percentage of those below the poverty level. As the percentage of single-parent families decreases, so does the percentage of those below the poverty level. It should also be noted that not all single-parent families are living below the poverty level. By the same token, the data for census

tract 108.08 indicate that many intact families live below the poverty line; although only 9.1% of this tract's families are single-parent families, 23% of the population are below the poverty line. One must be cautious in making any further connections between these two groups of statistics. The percentage of single-parent families does not include single people living alone, but the percentage of people below the poverty line is based on the total population including singles as well.

High unemployment among the male population of the area seems to be associated, directly and indirectly, with the many social problems in the area. The more than 1,500 female headed-households in the area are vulnerable to exploitation by males, more than 500 of whom are unemployed, and it has been my observation that the unemployed and underemployed males often supplement their own meager incomes with illegal activities. Of the four census tracts, Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office data for 1993 show census tract 108.07 had more arrests for drug sales and possession than the combined total for the other three tracts, and all four tracts are high compared to other tracts in the incorporated county. A comparison of the data in Table 14 and Table 20 might indicate that there is a higher correlation of arrest for drug sales and possession with single-parent families than with male unemployment, but, the census data on male unemployment are incomplete. The data do not show underemployed and they do not show the "shadow residents." In most cases, a shadow resident is a male living with a single woman who is renting the apartment. Over time, I have found that many of these males, some of whom have been my neighbors, are criminals who are exploiting single mothers. These men are living in the area without having their names on leases and without utility bills coming in their names. Officially, these men do not exist in the area and are not counted in the census. Several of my closest neighbors, people I interacted with on a daily basis

for several months, had outstanding warrants against them the whole time. Although census tract 108.07 has only the third highest official male unemployment rate (7.8%) of the four census tracts, it has the highest number of single-parent families and therefore is most likely to have the greatest number of shadow residents.

The Large Number of Rental Residences vs. Owner-Occupied Residences:

About fifteen percent of the approximate 8,300 families in the area own their own property. Eighty-five percent, about 7,000 families, rent. The renters have little invested in the area. In the perception of the renter, improvements in the area will more likely lead to higher rents. Improving property values may be counterproductive to them (cf. Gouldner 1959:258).

The high crime rate in the area makes it difficult for apartment managers to fill the many vacancies. According to a dozen apartment managers and maintenance men I have interviewed and through my own comparison of advertisements, rental rates run about 20% to 35% lower in the USF area than they do for equivalent properties in the greater Tampa area. More than half of the apartment complexes advertise "move in specials" and about a third advertise that they accept section eight tenants. Move in specials can be a half or whole month's free rent, an overnight excursion, or a low deposit. These move in specials sometimes make it economically advantageous to move at least once a year. Section eight tenants are low income families or individuals who have part or all of the rent subsidized by county social services. The county pays the money directly to the landlord. This type of assistance primarily aids single-parent families and accounts in part for the increase of single mothers in the area. However, I found none of my

informants received that assistance. In fact, even when they could not pay their own rent, they considered themselves superior to section eight tenants.

The carelessness of some tenants, dropping litter and bottles in parking lots and on lawns, leaving shopping carts in the parking lots or on the side of the road, breaking fences for short cuts, and misusing appliances, all put an increased financial burden on the property owners to maintain their properties and makes living there less desirable. Due to the high crime rate in the area, some residents have told me they live in the area as a last resort, and at least four apartment managers have confided in me that they must accept less than ideal tenants to keep the properties solvent.

Competition among the large number of rental properties allows tenants relatively easy relocation in the area. This is an important factor if one is involved in illegal activities. Since there is great competition among apartment complexes to fill their vacancies, some apartment managers are very lax about screening new tenants. Often, if the felon is paying the rent on time, the manager is reluctant to pursue any complaints about illegal activities. This finding is similar to that of a study done by Dembo et al (1993:95) in neighboring Pinellas County, "Businessmen who feared reprisals if they took action, and often needed the business to survive, tolerated the dealers and intoxicated drug users on their premises."

The relatively lower rent in the area makes it easier to stretch one's income. After twenty years of dealing with a son addicted to alcohol and drugs, after hundreds of hours of group meetings with drug counselors, families of substance abusers, and recovering addicts, and after a hundred hours of counselling sessions on the nature and life of substance abusers and their co-dependent families, I believe I can unequivocally say that for the substance abuser and his or her co-

dependent family, stretching the family income becomes more important than the quality of the area they live in.

Developing a grass roots community organization that involves renters has proven extremely difficult in the USF area. When USFACCA (USF Area Community Civic Association) meetings are held, there may be several hundred private home owners and residents from the retirement villages, but I have never seen more than three renters attending these civic association meetings. There are far more landlords at these meetings than there are renters. The local chapter of MADDADS (Men Against Destruction Defending Against Drugs and Social Disorder) is supposed to have a hundred or more of the local residents as members, but at any community activity, only six to eight show up, and some of those are apartment managers. The manager of the Safe Haven started an action group in the spring of 1995 that has had some success in attracting resident renter participation. This group has slowly grown to about twenty residents. For the present, this group, calling itself the University Area Action Committee (UAAC), has made the decision to remain autonomous from the USFACCA although they wish to cooperate with this larger group.

There are a number of reasons for a lack of community spirit among the renters who make up the majority of the USF area's population. It has been my experience, through observation and discussions with property managers of four of the larger complexes, that the renters' existence in the community, in the end, is strictly a business transaction. This is made clear to the renting residents through leasing contracts, deposits, late fees and eviction notices. Even when a renter is always on time with her or his own rent, it is traumatic for these tenants to see first the threats and then the actual eviction of friends and neighbors who are less fortunate. Even while I was assisting a neighbor in moving her furniture into storage, there were two lawyers standing at her door telling her that she would

have to have all of her and her child's things out by 2:00 p.m. because they would change the locks then and she would not be able to retrieve any more of her belongings after that. This same woman had her apartment flooded with raw sewage because the landlord took two days to clean out a clogged sewer system. It might have taken longer if I had not called the county code enforcer. The landlord did not adjust this tenant's rent for any of the inconvenience and did not get the rugs cleaned until after she was evicted about three months later.

In another neighbor family the single mother lost her job. Since we kept first aid supplies on hand, we had often cleaned and dressed her children's cuts and scrapes as well as those of a dozen other neighbor children. After the mother had lost her job the overdue notices began to appear on her apartment door on a weekly basis. She was able to prolong the inevitable eviction for several months by scraping together half a month's rent each month. As I was returning to my apartment one day, her seven year old son stood out front. He didn't look at me when he spoke, and he spoke only loudly enough for me to hear. He said, "We are losing our apartment and we have no place to live." He continued to stare straight ahead and didn't say anything else. I understood this as a request for help, and I understood the pain this young man felt, but this time I could not fix his hurt.

The lack of any community wide institution, that the renters use as a focal point for their concerns, retards the development of community awareness or of community spirit among this majority. The area is serviced by many different schools so that there is no common school experience for the whole area. The largest church in the community is attended by less than two hundred residents. Renters feel out of place in the USFACCA because it is dominated by private home owners and landlords who see renters as the major problem.

Another factor that prohibits the building of community spirit among the renters is that many just do not have the time or energy to commit to community

activities. Some are working evenings and weekends when community activities take place. Some must split their day between two or more part-time jobs. Single mothers who work must come home to more work and child care. Others have erratic work schedules, being on call whenever their employment service has a day or two of work for them.

Since many of the renters regard the USF area as a temporary residence, a place to stay until they can improve their economic situation, they personally can see little to gain from becoming pro-active (e.g. volunteering time to the civic association, PTA, PAL, or YMCA programs, etc.) and a great deal to lose. Aside from the time and energy it would take, becoming pro-active in the USF area (e.g. joining neighborhood watch groups, participating in drug marches, or simply complaining to the landlord) exposes some residents to intimidation from the area's criminals. In the end, community improvements are most likely to result in increased rents that many tenants can ill afford. Improving their immediate personal economic situations takes priority over improving the area.

Economic Situation:

Many of the residents have moved into the area because their present economic situation calls for them to find inexpensive housing. According to the 1990 census, in three out of the four census tracts, more than twenty-five percent of the population lives below the poverty level. Since the majority of the residents do not own real estate in the area, the effect of crime on property value is not their concern. Many lack any form of personal transportation, and most of those who do own cars, own cars that are of relatively little worth. Personal property in their homes, furniture, appliances, household goods, clothing, are often of little value and can be purchased relatively inexpensively on a no-questions-asked basis.

I have had cars stop while I walked through the area, and the occupants would try to sell me a cellular telephone or some other item out of their car. Others have come to our door and tried to sell to my wife or to me a frozen chicken, dress shoes, clothing with the tags removed, barber tools, cosmetics and cologne with the store price tags still on them, and a sack with an unknown quantity of coins in it. The residents have come to accept crime as something that comes with the territory. Fear of loss of personal property is mitigated by not owning much of value. One neighbor asked for a ride to deliver some goods to a relative about five blocks away. We were gone about fifteen minutes, but on our return, she discovered her apartment door had been forced and her television was missing. The theft was not reported to the sheriff's office. This same neighbor confided in me "You can get anything you want (in the USF area). Just make sure the previous owners did not leave their names and addresses engraved inside." She was not long without a television.

Movement in the area, moving from one apartment complex to another, is often merely a way of getting away from the current crime hotspot for personal safety. From what some informants have told me, over time, dealers move from one location in the area to another. This in turn prompts some of the residents to move (cf. Polakow 1993:93-94).

In some cases residents will move because of disagreements with the apartment manager or the landlord. In other cases, it is to the resident's economic benefit to take advantage of the move-in specials, saving either a half month's or a full month's rent every six months. Some moves are simply the result of a loss of a job and a need for even less expensive housing. In cases where steady employment is found, some residents can then afford to move out of the crime area altogether. The frequency of the moves in the area is reflected in the high turnover in schools as well.

The subjects of this research do not have a culture totally distinct from that of the general population. What sets the subjects apart from the general population is their present economic situation. I have found from interviews with residents over the past two years, and a pilot survey I conducted in 1995, that the residents come from better economic backgrounds than their present situation, but some are presently living close to or below the poverty line. The 1990 U.S. census data show a high level of education among seventy-five percent of adult population (see Table 15 below) and work experience in fields that normally pay a family supporting income; at the same time the census data show substantial unemployment. Seventy-five percent of the 10,738 residents who are twenty-five years of age or older have completed high school, including nine and a half percent who have associate's degrees and eighteen percent who have bachelor's degrees or higher.

Table 15. Education Levels for Persons 25 Years and Over

Percent high school graduate or higher

Census tract	108.05	108.06	108.07	108.08
	73.7	80.1	69.3	82.3

1990 U.S. Census

Percent bachelor's degree or higher

Census tract	108.05	108.06	108.07	108.08
	09.1	27.2	10.6	25.7

1990 U.S. Census

The residents are adapting, or perhaps maladapting, to their personal economic environment in a way that optimizes their immediate standard of living. For many of the residents of the USF area, life is a hand-to-mouth existence. Living in the USF area provides many advantages that are not available to Tampa's inner city dwellers. The housing is relatively new and for the most part in acceptable repair. There are some blighted spots in the area, but there are enough good,

inexpensive apartments available that one can always find something better. The large complexes have air-conditioning in each apartment whereas the HUD low income housing in Tampa is not air-conditioned.

Even without an area park, there are many open fields for children to play in. Many of the larger complexes have one or more swimming pools, and they seldom check to see if swimmers are residents of that complex. A few of the apartment complexes have racket ball courts or tennis courts. Some apartment complexes have set up basketball hoops. The Police Athletic League (PAL) and the YMCA became very active in the area in 1995. There are good size catfish in several area ponds, and an abundance of birds and wild life share the area, giving the area a suburban atmosphere. About ninety percent of the residents live less than three blocks from a public bus stop, and busses run on every half hour during the day and every fifteen minutes during peak hours. For those who can afford them, there are fast-food restaurants, supermarkets, and convenience stores within walking distance for most of the residents. Crime in the area allows the residents to enjoy a standard of living somewhat higher than their income would normally permit (cf. Merton 1957:71).

There is a reciprocal component to this arrangement. The criminals get to operate freely in the area with little fear that the residents will report them. The residents are willingly or inadvertently providing the criminals with a sanctuary. They close one eye to the criminal activity around them and do not talk about it to outsiders.

Local Job Market:

The local job market limits the choices open to many families in the USF area. The pattern is that while the majority of the high paying jobs are held by men, a

larger segment of lower paying jobs are held by women. Although seventy-five percent of the residents have high school diplomas and eighteen percent have bachelor's degrees, the high paying jobs require advanced degrees and specialized training. The data in the following pages, primarily table 16 and table 17 indicate that the majority of the local jobs are in occupations that provide low incomes and are mainly held by women.

The University of South Florida is the largest single employer in the area. There are five hospitals in the area making health the second largest field of employment. There are six large department stores and several hundred other small retail establishments. There is very little manufacturing.

According to The University of South Florida Fact Book 1994, employment at the university is almost evenly divided between genders (see table 16). While the university's administration is almost evenly divided between genders, the faculty is over two-thirds male. In services women make up more than two-thirds of those employed, evening out the overall gender employment for the university. While men have the majority of the normally higher paying positions of faculty and administration, it is the service area that would most likely employ residents from the USF area due to education requirements and experience requirements. Faculty positions usually require a doctorate degree in a specific field plus teaching or research experience. Administrative positions often require degrees in specific fields such as accounting, human resource management or university administration plus university experience. Should one of the more than 1,800 degree holding residents be fortunate to meet the requirements and receive a faculty or administrative position with its family supporting salary, would he or she continue to live in a high crime area?

Service jobs, while they pay less than faculty or administration, have less stringent requirements. The service domain seems the most likely domain to

employ residents of the USF area. However, presently two-thirds of the service area positions are occupied by women.

Table 16. USF Employment

	Male	Female
Administration	232	235
Faculty	1,307	616
Services	707	1,587
Total	2,246	2,438

The University of South Florida Fact Book 1994

The five hospitals in the area are: The Shriners Hospital for Crippled Children, The Moffitt Cancer Center, The V.A. Hospital, a psychiatric hospital and the University Community Hospital. According to the 1994 U.S. Statistical Abstract, women make up 21.8% of all physicians , 94.4% of all registered nurses are female, and 86.4% of other health workers are female. Here again the majority of the high paying positions, physicians and administrators, are principally held by males while a much larger number of lower paying positions are dominated by women. The high paying positions again require specialized training such as medical degrees or advanced degrees in public health. While the larger number of lower paying positions in hospitals require less stringent training and experience, more than four-fifths of these positions are filled by women. There is no evidence that men could not fill these positions as well as women. Neither is there evidence of a conscious effort to keep men out of these positions. On the other hand, the track record of these occupations presents no indication of a conscious effort to increase the male presence in the field of health care.

The USF area has many retail businesses and services that historically pay low wages and predominantly employ women (see table 17). Employment in these areas usually does not require more than a high school education, but then they

usually do not provide a family supporting income. For some families they provide a supplemental income.

Table 17. Retail Employment

	Female
Retail sales workers and personal service	64.9%
Cashiers	78.4%
Bank tellers	88.4%
Food services	58.4%

1994 U.S. Statistical Abstract

There are only a few exceptions to the above pattern in the USF area: Robbins Mfg. & Lumber, a landscaping company and some auto repair shops on Nebraska Ave. and on Fletcher Ave. These do employ mainly males, and they do provide a family supporting income with relatively low prerequisites for an entry level position. But, they are rare in this area.

I have seen nothing in the USF area that indicates that men will not accept low income employment. When The Burlington Coat Factory that replaced K-MART at Nebraska Ave. and Fowler Ave. started hiring, I talked to the personnel manager on location. While I was there, I saw as many men as women coming in to fill out applications. I spent over an hour in the break room waiting to see the human resource manager at TARGET in the University Plaza. While the majority of the employees that came into the break room were women, there were men who worked on the back dock and in the stock room. I was told by a female custodial worker at the University Mall that male custodial workers were hired to carry out and empty the large trash containers.

In early 1995, a labor contractor opened an office on Fletcher Avenue, east of 15 th Street. He employed workers on a day by day basis as short term menial jobs became available. The contractor said on the average day he employed about sixty workers on a first come first served basis and transporting them to various

work sights outside the USF area. He said he never had a shortage of workers in the area and often had to turn men away.

Although I realized it was probably a exercise in futility, I did try to get a sample of gender and racial employment from some of the major employers in the area by talking to the human resource managers. With the exception of the USF human resource manager who directed me to The University of South Florida Fact Book, none of the human resource managers would divulge any information on employment ratios. Once she found out what I wanted to know, the human resource manager at the University Hospital refused to see me and refused to make an appointment to see me, simply stating, through a member of her staff, it was against their policy to give this information. The human resource manager for U-Save markets said she would get back to me and then refused to return any of my calls after that. The human resource manager for TARGET avoided me for more than an hour before telling me she couldn't give me that information. This lack of cooperation is not surprising. Information on gender or racial employment can be, and often is, used in discrimination litigations (Chruden and Sherman 1984:106).

The opportunities for employment at a family supporting wage in the USF area are limited for residents. This does not leave a lot of choices open to families already living close to the poverty line. Women in two-parent households as well as single mothers have to work. Parents will work for low wages, but often they are not able to afford day-care for the children. Arrangements often are made with friends or relatives to care for the children, and older children are often left to take care of themselves before and after school. Residents are most likely to find work outside the USF area, and this involves choices concerning transportation. Considering the odds against getting the job, one has to calculate whether the potential job, income, benefits and job security are worth the time and money to

travel to put in an application or have an interview. If the resident gets stable employment outside the USF area, will the transportation cost and travel time outweigh the savings in housing initiating a move closer to work? Employed single women, with or without children, are vulnerable to exploitation by the areas unemployed males, but given no other choice, can a stable family be made with a chronically unemployed or underemployed male?

Neither the employment base, consisting mainly of low income and supplemental jobs, nor the housing, with abundance of single bedroom apartments, are conducive for developing stable families that will make long term commitments to the area. Without the commitment of stabilized families, the area will most likely continue to have social problems.

Nouveaux Pauvres:

One of the many surprises of this research is the discovery that many of those in the USF area, who are presently living near or below the poverty line, do not have a history of poverty. Less than six percent of thirty-five informants described a history of poverty and both of these were immigrants. For the rest, their present situation started with a loss of a husband, an unexpected pregnancy, the loss of a job, or chronic underemployment. Newman (1988, 1993) reports a similar experience in her work in various industrialized sections in the U.S. Of the more than twenty single parents I came in contact with in the area, all but one were in their late twenties or early thirties. The one single parent, in her early twenties, shares an apartment with her parents. For the most part, my informants described a more copious background for themselves than their present state. In some cases, I had the opportunity to meet relatives of the informants who verified this information through conversation and obvious signs

of being economically better advantaged then local residents. However, my informants' present economic state forces them to modify their cultural norms in a way that maximizes their standard of living in the environment of the USF area. Becoming a member of this culture in transition is not a planned outcome. Nor is their condition one that they desire to continue. All my informants seemed very optimistic about rising above their present status (cf. Cook and Curtin 1987:233-234). This is not the "culture-of-poverty" talked about in the 1960's (eg. Lewis 1959, 1966; Valentine 1968). If anything, my informants seem overly optimistic about their future. They can see that their parents and others have made a better life for themselves, and they seem to expect that they can do the same thing. Newman reports similar cases in her study of families and individuals who have fallen out of the middle class economy (1994:137). They seem to deny, or they don't realize, that they have obstacles to overcome that their parents did not have. There are fewer well paying manufacturing jobs today than there were in the fifties and sixties (Newman 1994:139-141). They are living in an area of high unemployment for males; the chances of a single mother finding a gainfully employed man to marry are slim (O'Hare 1995:6). They are left with raising their children alone. Without day-care, preschool programs, transportation, or network connections, they have little chance for more than temporary or part-time low paying jobs.

I have no exact numbers, but it appeared to me that many of these adult women fantasize about having a traditional family and financial security. Musick found this was true in his study of teenage mothers in northeastern U.S. (1993:83). During interviews with a half-dozen single parents, I asked the question, "If you could have the perfect life, what would it be?" All of these single parents, often with two or more children by different men, without exception, indicated that perfect life included a traditional family. The area has

more than thirteen hundred cohabiting couples, an indication of a desire to share their life with another adult. Although my 1995 pilot survey did not explicitly ask about this relationship, three out of twenty-two respondents voluntarily told us that they were cohabitating with someone.

The ideal of traditional family and financial security seem to be connected in a desired perfect life. It is not that these women want to leave their present jobs; they are looking for security, and a family with two working parents appears to them to provide more financial security than trying to make it on their own. Unfortunately the realities of their situation do not make it very likely that they will fulfill their desires. Single women settle for the temporary companionship of unemployed males or felons, and they continue to live in near poverty. They rely on relatives, friends, neighbors, former lovers and fathers of their children to supplement whatever income they can make on their own. Their lifestyle and their economic condition create an ever widening gap between them and their better-off friends and relatives.

One of many such single parents lived next door with her four year old son. This woman, in her early thirties, had two older children living with her mother. During the five months she lived next to us, her two older children were brought to see her just once. She told us that each of her children had a different father, none of whom had married her. The father of her youngest, we were told, was a businessman and from time to time he sent our neighbor a support check. Frequently, when she got a support check, she would ask me to give her a ride so that she could cash the check and buy groceries or pay bills. For a few days at a time, several men came to live with her and I got well acquainted with one of them, who I found helped pay some of her bills. He was a taxi driver and offered to lend me his 9 mm to scare off the dealers who were making a habit of sitting in the back of my truck. The woman worked part-time for a caterer as a

waitress. She told us she had completed one year of college before her first pregnancy. While she lived next to us, she tried to go back to school but could not afford the books. Whenever she worked, her son would have to stay with a neighbor. On one occasion when she had to stay very late, she had her father come to pick up her son at my apartment. Her father, who appeared to adore his grandson, made it clear that he did not at all approve of his daughter's life style. He said he was retired from the Air Force and had been separated from his wife about two years. His ex-wife, the neighbor's mother had graduated from college, taught in the public schools and ran her own business on the side. I met the mother on the one occasion when she brought the older children for a visit. Both parents drove late model mid size-cars. However, the neighbor received no financial support from either of her parents. When her electricity was shut off for lack of payment, her parents made no attempt to help her. When I asked her why she did not seek social services aid, she told me that she really didn't know what was available and what she did know about had a long drawn out process for qualification. She really felt she could change her circumstances without outside help. Eighteen months after her move, she lived in an apartment about six blocks from the complex we originally shared. She now had two of her children living with her. She told me she was going to school part time and hoped to become a pharmacist.

Many of the more than three thousand single adult males, I estimate between fifteen to twenty-five percent, have resigned themselves to the fact that they will never be steadily employed and must "hustle" to survive. Hustling can involve both legal and illegal activities or a combination of both (Dembo et al 1993:90). The more money raising activities one is involved in, the greater hustler (or wheeler-dealer) one appears to be to his peers.

One of my neighbors had been a maintenance man at different times in several of the area's apartment complexes. At times he would take the responsibility of apartment security. At the time I knew him, he worked principally for free rent. He was divorced and living alone. He had one teenage son who lived with his ex-wife. Whenever his son came to visit him, the son was usually hiding out from the law or the truant officers. Between apartment maintenance jobs, this neighbor picked up and repaired appliances that he sold in the local flea market. Other males in the neighborhood were pointed out to me by my informants as persons who supplemented their incomes selling drugs or working as enforcers for the upper level dealers.

Coming from a better economic background, many of the residents are accustomed to a better standard of living. They aspire to a higher standard of living than their incomes can afford. Although crime is operating despite the law and the cultural mores of the general population, for some residents crime satisfies needs that are not adequately fulfilled by conventional means. Here crime is functional in the sense that it satisfies a need. Only if that need disappears or if something else satisfies that need in a better fashion, would crime disappear (Gouldner 1959:249).

Single Female Heads of Households:

The area contains a large number of single women either living alone or with several children. Less than twenty-two percent of the households in the area had intact families according to the 1990 census, a married couple with children. In the USF area almost half of the families with children are headed by single parents. This compares with a Florida rate of 28.6% and a national rate of 25.3% (O'Hare 1995:143).

Table 18. Family, Single and Non-Family Households

	Families with children			Living Alone		Non-family Co-habit	Total
	Total	Single Parent	% Single Parent	Males	Females		
108.08	519	159	30.6	390	237	280	1426
108.07	1758	878	49.9	662	325	339	3085
108.06	946	426	45.0	775	432	565	2718
108.05	611	272	44.5	206	146	133	1096
Total	3834	1735	45.3	2033	1140	1317	8325

1990 U.S. Census

In census tract 108.05, my 1995 pilot survey found that almost 70% of the residents were single. Many of these single adults have dependent children. Census tract 108.05 is bounded on the north by Fletcher Avenue, on the south by Fowler Avenue, on the east by 15 th Street and on the west by I-275. It is the census tract most distant from the university, and none of the respondents to the survey were university students at that time. Arguments about the connection between non-traditional families and crime will be made later, but here the point to be made is that the current environment does not lend itself to a family structure where a biological father supports his family.

Since single women are seven times more likely to be the victims of domestic violence (Blankenhorn 1995:35) than married women, one would expect a correlation between the areas with the highest concentration of single women and the number of cases of domestic violence. The crime data the sheriff's office gave me include domestic violence with aggravated assault. Although domestic violence is only part of the total cases of aggravated assault, one would expect that there would be a higher number of cases of aggravated assault in the census tracts with the highest percentage of single-parent households. In law enforcement, domestic

violence is an important issue both because of the danger to law officers, and because there is very little law officers can do to prevent domestic violence in the first place.

Not only does Table 19 show a clear correlation between the percentage of female headed households and the occurrence of aggravated assault, but there seems to be a curvilinear relationship. Domestic violence is one crime that would be better solved by attention to its social aspects than by increasing the presence of law enforcement.

Table 19. Families and Aggravated Assault
Comparison of Percentage of Single Female Headed Households and Aggravated Assault.

Census Tract	Single-parent Households		Single Women Living Alone		Total Single Women Households	Agg. Assault *
	#	%	#	%	%	
108.08	159	11.1	237	16.6	27.7	150
108.07	878	28.5	325	10.5	39.0	525
108.06	426	15.7	432	15.9	31.6	190
108.05	273	24.9	146	13.3	38.2	456

1990 U.S. Census and 1993 Hillsborough Sheriff's Office
* This is in percentage above the Unincorporated Hillsborough County average.

Single women in the USF area are vulnerable to exploitation by the numerous males in the area. One single neighbor, who has a two-year associate's degree from a junior collage and had held an administration position with a pharmaceutical company until her first pregnancy, took in an unemployed male who lived with her about three months. The man disappeared shortly after she became pregnant for the second time. A female graduate student living in the area took out a loan to help a desperate young male she was dating. The last I knew, she had not seen the fellow since she gave him the money. According to the apartment maintenance men I talked to, many of the drug dealers who sold drugs in the parking lots were

"shadow residents." They were living in the complex, but their names were not on the lease because they were living with single women who rented the apartments.

The desire to be part of a two parent family and a desire for more financial security are connected for families living close to the poverty line. Without savings to fall back on, a single parent cannot afford to lose a job. Neither can a single parent often afford the time and money to further his or her education, or seek better employment. The desire to be part of a two parent family is not unusual, according to Biller:

> A committed monogamous marital relationship along with one or more children is still the family situation desired by the great majority of adults. Even those individuals who do not want children are likely to choose to live in a family relationship with another adult. If given the opportunity, most single adults, whether wanting to be parents or to remain childless, would prefer to be part of a family group with another man or woman of their choosing rather than to live alone [1993:246].

Inversely, financial security appears to lead to greater stability in two parent families. Schorr and Moen write:

> Separation rates are twice as high among families where the husband experiences unemployment, suggesting that it is not the amount of income alone but its stability that is the point of decision to remain married or separate. Other things being equal, the higher a wife's earnings, the more likely that a couple will separate. In short, a man's income tends to cement a marriage and a woman's tends to make dissolution possible [1983:578].

Some of the more than five hundred unemployed males in the area understand that some of the more than seventeen hundred single parents desire to be part of a two parent family, and these men will play the game in order to get what they want. First of all, as poor as many are, these women represent a source of income. These women may have full-time or part-time jobs, they may be divorced and receive alimony and child support, or they may be receiving aid from social services (cf. Murray 1994:14, Gilder 1995:24-27). Second, they represent a source of personal sexual gratification for the male, and also status for

the male among his peers. The male can boast to his peers that he has this woman in his control without making any commitment to her. Third, in the case of felons, the women are providing a place where a felon can stay without having his name on a rental contract or on any other bills. She is providing him with a sanctuary that is difficult to trace. Concerning the relationship between women in the welfare system and men, Gilder (1995:25) writes, "By threats, violence, and remorseless pressure, these males extort beds, board, money, and other comforts from welfare mothers." Farther on, Gilder writes:

> . . . in general, it is only the mothers who are on welfare. The fathers use the apartments and take the money of a series of welfare mothers, usually without joining the dole [1995:25].

In the USF area, this type of exploitation involves more than welfare recipients. There was one young couple who lived across the hall from our first apartment. The woman was very attractive and in her early thirties. There were three children living with them when we first moved in. The oldest girl had her eleventh birthday while we were still neighbors. The other two were boys seven and five years old. The woman told me she had six children but the three oldest children were in foster homes. In spite of having had six children the woman was very trim and looked much younger than her age. At the time we took the apartment, the woman had a regular forty-hour-per-week job. She dressed conservatively and gave every evidence of being concerned about her family. From what I had seen of her apartment, it was kept neat and clean. The woman had a fondness for house plants that seemed to be her only hobby. She was well liked and respected by the other neighbors. The man had his twenty-sixth birthday shortly after we arrived. He was not the father of any of the children but seemed to take very good care of them, and they seemed to be very fond of him. He was of average height and very muscular. The man did not have a job. He would get the children off to school in the mornings, meet them

when they came home and take care of them until their mother came home. He had a fondness for barbecuing on a grill at the end of the hall. It became obvious that he had an income of his own when the couple had loud and heated arguments over whether he was contributing a fair share in taking care of family expenses. As it turned out, he was doing some small scale drug dealing and burglary for his pocket money. One evening, the couple had a physically violent argument; the violence was rather one sided with the man punching and choking the woman. He moved out that night. He moved in with another single woman who lived in the same apartment complex.

The children started missing school and staying home alone while their mother worked. Shortly after this the mother lost her job, and overdue rent notices started appearing on her door. The children were shipped off to live with their grandmother. The day the grandmother came to pick up the children, she made it very clear she was not at all happy with this situation and neither was anyone else. The mother and children were in tears over this separation. In the weeks that followed, several times a week, the mother would come home in the middle of the day with a different male companion who would stay in the apartment less than an hour. On one occasion, about two in the afternoon, my wife and I were just leaving our apartment as this neighbor was letting a male out of her apartment. Our neighbor stood in her doorway dressed in a satin teddy and an open satin robe that was only slightly longer than the teddy. Although none of the neighbors accused her of any wrong doing, they did remark that prostitution was taking place in the building and hinted that I was probably aware of it. It appears that with the children out of the apartment, the woman was apparently selling herself to pay the rent.

Soon, the man who had lived with her was picked up by the sheriff's office. It was at that time I found out that there had been an outstanding warrant for his

arrest the whole time I knew him. Sometime later, the woman left her apartment and went into hiding. The day she left, she used our telephone to make several calls because she was afraid that her own phone was tapped or the calls could be traced. The following day her picture appeared in the Tampa Tribune's Crime Watch section. She was wanted for passing bad checks. About two weeks after she left, two aunts showed up on a Saturday morning with the apartment key to clean and air the apartment. They returned the following Monday and found the apartment stripped. Even the food that had been in the refrigerator was taken. Later, an upstairs tenant, confided in me she had seen a man going in and out of the apartment's window Saturday evening; she had not reported it to the police.

In some cases, the felon has such a hold on a woman that he can persuade her to aid him in his criminal activities. He may use her as a lookout for drug activities, a driver in robberies or burglaries, someone to pass worthless checks or use stolen credit cards, or someone to market stolen goods to her friends and acquaintances. He may even persuade her to prostitute herself "for the good of the family." He may lead her to believe that as soon as things get better they will leave that life, get married and settle down.

On the other hand, many of these women feel that they have control of the situation. The male is perceived as depending on these single women, both financially and emotionally, which gives some women the perception of controlling the man. They feel that they are helping the felon to turn his life around, and eventually they will overcome their situation of poverty together. However, if these women push too hard to reform the man, or if they protest too strongly when asked to be an accomplice, he will just leave and find another woman to exploit.

Male offspring in a single female headed household often are not experiencing the combination of love and discipline that would more likely come from a natural

father (Biller 1993:2). My observations in the USF area are consistent with those of Biller (1993) and Blankenhorn (1995). Single women tend to try to compensate by becoming over protective, indulgent and permissive with their male offspring. The sons, on the other hand, are not learning responsibility. They are not learning about the cooperation that must take place between a responsible father, the mother and the dependent children. They are not learning the responsibilities of fatherhood (Blankenhorn 1995:27-32).

In an attempt to be good mothers, some single mothers are picking up after their sons, washing their clothes, fixing their meals and leaving the sons with nothing to do but sleep, watch television and go to school if they feel like it. As these boys pass through their teens, they experience the reality of scarce employment and compete with college students for minimum wage jobs. Since minimum wage jobs are predominantly filled by females, young males perceive women as their main competition. Being greatly limited in their ability to supply their own needs, these boys pressure their mothers to supply the status symbols that are "necessary" to maintain their status among their peers (i.e., new sport shoes, clothes, and gold jewelry). For role models, the boys look to their mother's male companions who are exploiting their mother. These adult males are often authoritative, violent and self-centered.

At the same time the boys grow up despising authority figures as representing calloused fathers who exploited their mothers and left the children without protection or support; the boys also grow up to fulfill the same role themselves because they have been socialized to no other role. David Murray (1994:11) has found in his study of single-parent families "The absence of marriage is not only a major reason why single parents are so often found in poverty, but why their children so often become solitary victims and victimizers."

The detrimental effect of being raised without a father in the home is different for girls. Teen pregnancy and having children out of wedlock is more prominent with girls who have not had the benefit of a father, especially their biological father, being present during their formative years (Blankenhorn 1995:46; Music 1993:83).

School Absences:

The local truant officer, Lieutenant James Dukes, who keeps very detailed records, reported to me that on any given school day in 1994 twenty percent of the students from this area are absent from school. While one can find a few adolescents in the area when they should be in school, it does not appear that many of that twenty percent spend their time openly in the neighborhood. Five elementary schools, four middle schools and two high schools service this four square mile area. Eighty percent of the children change schools each year disrupting the continuity of their education. Even when neighbors do not move their residence, their children often attend different schools than their neighbors at different levels of their education This pattern of schooling is not conducive to building community spirit (Finley 1993: 35-36; Miller and Cherry 1991:51-52) or a desire for education (Miller and Cherry 1991:7-54; Jalongo 1994:80-81). Parents and children have less opportunity to share the same school experiences or attend the same school functions with neighbors.

Miller and Cherry (1991:14) found that "Bright children from upward mobile families who approach change positively may actually be placed at an advantage academically" by changing schools. However, Miller and Cherry write:

> Disadvantaged youths, however, often experience a decline in academic performance after a move. Stress is cumulative; children from economically deprived homes experience the tension and sense of disequilibrium caused by moving in addition to daily hardships associated with poverty [1991:14].

The 1990 census data show that for persons 16 to 19 years of age, not enrolled or graduated, this area has a 19.2% school drop-out rate. The 1995 Florida average was 11.9% and the national average was 9.3% (O'Hare 1995:51).

Crime:

The per capita crime rate in the USF area is four times higher than that in the rest of the unincorporated county (cf. Gouldman 1994:85-90). The number of calls that the sheriff's department has to respond to in the area has been on the increase since 1988 (Lammers 1993a). At the same time, the crime rate for Tampa Proper has dropped since 1992 and the national average dropped five percent in 1993 (Callaway 1994). The sheriff's office made more than 400 felony arrests in the area in 1993, mainly around Fletcher Ave. and 15th Street.

Table 20. Crime Rate per Hundred Thousand Residents, Compared to Average of Unincorporated Hillsborough County (in Percent Above County Average) 1993

Census Tract	Forced Sale & Sex	Robbery	Agg. Assault	Burglary	Larceny		Motor Veh. Theft	Drug Poss.
108.08	98	735	150	125	289	201	321	
108.07	237	607	525	198	121		122	1256
108.06	133	420	190	182	273		375	158
108.05	81	487	456	319	132		161	467

Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office 1993

Census tract 108.07 had 237% higher forced sex cases in 1993 then the county average per thousand residents, more than three times as much. Census tract

108.08 had 735% more robberies than the county average, more than eight times as much. Census tract 108.05 had more than four times the county average for burglary. Census tract 108.06 had almost five times the county average in motor vehicle theft. All four census tracts had more than double the county average for arrest for drug sales and possession; however, census tract 108.07 tops them all with more than thirteen times the county average. These figures only apply to unincorporated Hillsborough County and do not include Tampa, Temple Terrace or Plant City. It also needs to be pointed out that while many drug dealers are also drug users, arrests for drug sale and possession is fundamentally a reflection of the drug trade and not necessarily a measure of drug use in the USF area.

Some of the apartment complexes have started hiring private security companies to protect their property and residents (Lammers 1993b). The county started building a sheriff's sub-station in the area in the Fall of 1995. In the meantime, the sheriff's office patrols the area on bicycles as well as in cars.

There are some legitimate, but questionable businesses in the area that may contribute to crime. There are shops that sell hand guns. There are pawn shops that may be buying stolen goods. There are check cashing shops that may be cashing stolen money orders. Flea markets are places for disposing of stolen property. Residences in the area are not only potential sources of property to steal, but they are also a venue for the stolen property. Several bartenders in the area have been arrested for selling alcohol to minors. A number of crimes in the area have been associated with a local adult theater (Lammers 1993a).

From the beginning of my residence in August of 1993 until I left the area in November 1995, most of the drug activity seemed to be on or near 15th Street. Drug sales take place in all of the four census tracts that make up the area being studied, but they are predominantly higher in census tract 108.07 and 108.05 that include 15th Street (see Table above). Prostitution can be found throughout the

area, but is most prevalent on Nebraska Avenue. Rape, violent assault and armed robbery occur all through the area.

Some county law enforcement officers maintain that since the residents in this area are basically transient, they do not know their neighbors well enough to distinguish who is or is not another resident. This supposedly allows criminals to come and go as they please. While it is true that residents do change apartment complexes frequently, it has been my experience that the residents know which of the other inhabitants are involved in criminal acts and what criminal acts are going on in the neighborhood. This does not mean that every resident knows every criminal by name. However, criminals cannot function in the area without their neighbors' knowledge. Wanted felons find sanctuary with friends or relatives. When drugs are being sold out of an apartment, neighbors observe unusually large amounts of traffic at the apartment (cf. Maltz 1990:118). Stolen goods must be turned into cash and this requires some sort of networking (Foster 1990:115).

Intimidation:

It is difficult to get residents to discuss the criminal activity around them even when they are talking with another neighbor. The thought of volunteering this information to the sheriff's office seems quite foreign to many of the residents. Intimidation from the criminal element plays a part in the resident's reluctance to discuss crime in any detail.

One former apartment manager, who lives in census tract 108.08, told me that both sides of one of his duplexes were broken into. He said that all the money and jewelry in these apartments was removed from where the residents kept them and was left piled on the kitchen tables. Nothing was taken out of either apartment. This was assumed to be a warning. The local dealers wanted these residents or

their apartment manager to know they could be robbed or worse any time the dealers felt it necessary. This former manager said that when one of the tenants returned that evening and saw what had happened, he got a moving van and moved out that very night. The other tenant, a USF student, waited six weeks until her lease was up before she moved.

Some of our neighbors, as well as my wife and I, have experienced similar acts of intimidation. One neighbor who owned a battered old car had it stolen twice in less than a month. The first time the police found the car and returned it to him after three days. The second time the car was not found. The car was of no value for parts or resale. About two weeks after the car was stolen the second time, two men mugged this same neighbor one evening between the apartment complex's main entrance and his apartment. The following day, one of the upper level dealers who lived in the complex described the two muggers to this neighbor but claimed he did not know them. He said he had only observed them hanging around and said they didn't look like people anyone should "mess with." The dealer was not admitting to anything, but he was clearly threatening this neighbor to watch what he talked about.

In a 1995 pilot survey I conducted for the Florida Community Opportunity Partnership Center in census tract 108.05, I asked respondents an open ended question, "When you need help, who do you go to first?" There was no indication of what the help was for. Over half the respondents said they contact one of their parents. None of the respondents said they contact a neighbor. Only 13.6 percent said they call the police. Still, there seems to be a network for gossip at least. I suspect that the problem is not so much lack of a network as much as it is the make-up of the network.

Condoning Crime:

A culture includes sets of norms, social values or standards to which members of that culture are expected to conform. When individuals behave outside the expected norms, there are injunctions that society applies to encourage those individuals to conform. In some societies these penalties may take the form of sarcasm, ridicule, ostracizing or violent confrontations (cf. Aceves and King 1978: 184-185; Gouldner 1959: 255; Durkheim 1992:147). Generally, in the dominant American culture, a criminal act would be a breach of social norms, and the appropriate sanction for a criminal act would involve the police. However, other negative sanctions usually prevent situations from going this far. Fear of their group's penalties constrains individuals from breaking group norms. What will their parents say? What sort of shame will they bring on their family or social group? How will a criminal record affect their future? Dembo's (1993:93) study in a neighboring county found that both crack dealing and non-dealing youth "...consider community rejection more of a risk than rejection by one's family." If it were not for cultural injunctions that limit what individuals can do in their own self interest, there would not be enough law officers to handle all the crime. The individual will weigh the cost of the injunction against the gain in breaking the group's norm (cf. Foster 1990:80). However, in the USF area there seems to be a lack of injunctions against crime at least in most apartment complexes.

Janet Foster (1990:54), a Research Officer at the London School of Economics, studied a similar situation in a suburb of London. She argues that crime is not so much a symptom of maladjustment as the adjustment to a sub-culture in conflict with the culture of the city as a whole. Unless this sub-culture is contained or altered, it will perpetuate itself, and matters will become worse as it becomes more entrenched in the area. Foster concluded in her study:

> I have illustrated throughout that the South London community . . . was a condoning one. This is vitally important in understanding interactions with and attitudes toward law-enforcement agencies, where both fathers and sons attempted to formulate and present a credible story, which justified action, and afforded protection and evasion from official sanctions [1990:154].

William Julius Wilson (1987:143) writes, "If strong norms and sanctions against aberrant behavior, a sense of community, and positive neighborhood identification are the essential features of social organization in urban areas, inner-city neighborhoods today suffer from a severe lack of social organization." Although the USF area is not an inner-city neighborhood, it seems to fit this description in that there seems to be a lack of community sanctions against what the dominant culture would call aberrant behavior, the renters who are the community majority do not feel a permanent tie to the community and the neighborhood does not have a positive identification.

Depressed Economy:

The high crime rate is affecting economic development in the area. Unoccupied apartments and unoccupied private homes are vandalized frequently. Apartment complexes lacking security systems have to continually pay for repairs to their vandalized property. Selling owner-occupied homes in the area has been difficult and owners have had to lower selling prices below market values in other areas.

There are a number of undeveloped and underdeveloped tracts in the area. While the national economy is a factor in this area's current lack of development, crime in the area must also contribute. Apartments rent 25% to 35% lower than

equivalent apartments in other parts of the county. Businesses have relocated outside the area leaving buildings vacant and boarded up.

Just north of Fletcher Woods Apartments and east of White Oaks Apartments, there is a complex of one hundred and fifty units that are closed and boarded up. Four hundred twenty single bedroom units in one complex on North 22nd Street were vacant until the county renovated them and installed a security fence around the whole complex. If it is unprofitable to open existing units in the area without government assistance, it seems unlikely that any new construction will take place. The upscale townhouses, built in 1994 on 142nd Avenue between 11th and 14th Streets, are notable exceptions. These new townhouses are in sharp contrast to the apartments further down the street that use old bed sheets for window coverings.

For lack of tenants, there are approximately three to six hundred unrented units in open complexes, not counting the units in closed complexes, and a number of vacant homes and businesses. Maltz, Gordon and Friedman write of a similar situation in Chicago:

> Because the area is developing a bad reputation, it is vulnerable to competition, and the fragile health of the business strip, the neighborhood may be injured if progress is not made on the hot spot. Without a solution, the area could become a victim of disinvestment, become run-down, and produce more disorder and crime [1990:116].

Retail stores suffer from a loss of customers because potential customers do not want to come into the area, especially after dark. They also are plagued by local shoplifters. In the fist half of 1995, the area has lost three restaurants, two drug stores, a fashionable men's clothing store, a fabric store, a K-MART and a building supply store. Six other shops have closed in the University Mall on Fowler Avenue. Altogether, these closings represent a loss of more than two hundred jobs. In the fall of 1995, the store that had been K-MART became the Burlington Coat Factory, a department store. I learned from their personnel

department that they have openings for fifty sales people. They stated that many of their applicants were from the USF area, but they were not given any preference over anyone else. Dillard's department store expanded and expected to be open before Christmas 1995. A convenience store and gas station opened on the corner of Fletcher Avenue and 15th Street and a Farm Store is planned for the corner of 131st Avenue and 22nd Street sometime in 1996. These new businesses will replace about half the jobs lost in 1995.

Significance of Observations of One Neighborhood:

The economic and social structural changes that have taken place in the area of study correspond with and are part of changes that have taken place throughout the U.S. The research that has led to an understanding of these changes in this small area presents a theory of what is happening in the larger national scene. The increase in poverty, crime, school drop-out rates, delinquency and the breakdown of the family structure has been the unintended result of ideological changes made over a thirty year period.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction:

It is difficult to divide the literature relevant to the research of the USF area into separate topic areas because there is much overlapping of diverse topics. I organize this literature under the general topics of gender division of labor, socioeconomic disparity and urban crime.

Gender Division of Labor:

A good deal of literature concerning gender and work has been written in the last three decades from a feminist perspective. Women are often portrayed as solitary victims separate from their families or social class. In this genre, males, especially white males, are portrayed as participants in a universal conspiracy (Sommers 1994: 227-228,232). Some authors consider the conspiracy to be a product of the culture that they consider dominated by males. Housework and parental child care are not presented as ways of economizing the family resources,

but as demeaning servitude that males place on women (Kabeer 1994; Schwartz 1992).

The literature is full of paradoxes. The same authors who tend to ignore biological differences between genders seek special consideration for working women based on their biological differences (e.g. Kanter 1993; Schwartz 1992). While they often calculate that women are not adequately compensated for domestic work and child care, they fail to calculate what a family's second income is costing that family economically or socially (e.g. Kabeer 1994; Zavella 1993; Gonzales 1993).

Some authors write as if there were an infinite number of jobs available to all those who will make the effort; so that no one is taking anyone else's job. Other authors write specifically about taking "male jobs" (Kanter 1993). While authors write about the conflicts between family responsibilities and outside jobs, the lack of adequate child care, and the reluctance of husbands to do a fair share of the domestic chores and child care; at the same time, they are critical of women who choose not to work outside the home (e.g. Andrews and Bailyn 1993; Kanter 1993).

The industrial age brought extensive changes in the gender division of labor. One of the realities of capitalism is the necessity of surplus labor (Braverman 1974:382-401). Surplus labor is important to capital because it gives capital the flexibility that allows maximization of profits on market fluctuations. When markets are good, capital can respond by drawing on surplus labor to increase production. When markets are poor, capital can cut losses by letting the surplus labor return to their previous state before they were hired. In order to mitigate labor conflicts, it is important that surplus labor has a condition to return to that is not total poverty. In the early stages of the industrial age, young women, usually single, provided much of the labor for the many textile mills that sprang

up (Blewett 1990). At that time, young single women had their parents to depend on when they lost employment. Marx referred to this type of surplus labor as "latent" (Braverman 1974:384).

However, not every industry could call upon young single women as surplus labor. Coal mining and iron work called for the strength of adult males. Adult males usually had families to support. Adult male workers were more likely to organize and pressure capital when large layoffs occurred.

The ability to draw upon a large surplus labor force allows capital to maintain low wages (Braverman 1974:384). Wherever women are used as surplus labor, wages tend to be lower for both men and women doing the same job. Industries that have a restricted surplus labor force to draw from tend to pay higher wages. In unionized industries, unions can control the surplus labor availability by restricting union membership. In the medical field, the surplus has been controlled by limiting entrance into medical school.

Although some women with families have to work for wages due to economic necessity, this was not widely considered a desirable condition until some time after World War II (Furstenberg and Cherlin 1991:101-102). Immediately after the war, most women were willing to let returning servicemen take their jobs (Popenoe 1996:127).

However, any cultural stigma associated with working wives had been greatly reduced in the meantime. In an effort to purchase new homes and complete the veterans' educations interrupted by the war, many young wives found themselves back working for wages to supplement their husband's G.I. Bill or other incomes. Some authors (e.g. Meyerowitz 1994:1-16; Hartmann 1994:85-100) lead their readers to believe that at that stage of history (the late 1940s and the 1950s) the majority of women who had worked outside the home resented the loss of independence that comes with working outside the home. While women made up

about a third of the civilian labor force in the late 1950s, many of these women were working or seeking employment out of necessity (Furstenburg and Cherline 1991:101-102).

In the late 1950s, gender inequality in employment and wages came to be recognized as an issue for social action. There can be no argument that these inequities did exist and needed to be corrected. When the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* and later regulations opened new opportunities to women, feminist activists encouraged women to break the cultural mold that enslaved them to domestic chores and child care. This was the beginning of the concept that a woman could "have it all," a family and a career (Meyerowitz 1994; Tuthill 1980; Grove 1988; Bravo 1995; Walsh 1986; Vannoy-Hiller and Philliber 1989; Schwartz 1992). There was no discussion of what breaking that cultural mold would mean to families economically or socially.

A good example of a focal theme of this dissertation is the book Breaking with Tradition: Women and Work, The New Facts of Life by Felice N. Schwartz. Although Schwartz does not use the phrase " women can have it all" in her book, she goes into great detail concerning mothers succeeding, or not succeeding, in U.S. corporations. Schwartz has spent more than thirty years as an advocate for professional women in large corporations. The women she focuses on have MBA's or law degrees. Many of her informants are law partners, vice presidents and CEO's who have broken through the "glass ceiling." She adroitly points out the conflict women have between dedication to their careers and the demands of motherhood. She recognizes the impact on businesses from extended maternity leaves and women who decide not to come back to work after childbirth. Schwartz faults women who set their careers aside while their children are young because that makes it more difficult for women who are dedicated to their careers. She insists that professional women can find a balance between careers and their

family responsibilities. Her solution to solving the conflicts for professional women is to convince employers to be more flexible with working mothers and if need be, provide years of part-time employment until the children reach school age.

As the title of her book suggests, Schwartz advocates "breaking with traditions" or what social scientists might call deviating from cultural norms. One of those traditions is the normative prescription that a man should be the family provider (1992: 52). Schwartz does not consider this a conscious thought anymore, but something subliminal in men, something that must be discarded. Schwartz does not explain why the provider role for men is a problem other than to say it tends to prevent men from taking on more of the domestic responsibilities at home.

When Schwartz writes about domestic responsibilities, she writes about a world far removed from that of the USF area. While writing about the problems working mothers have in coming home to a "second shift" of domestic chores she uses an example of a couple with two successful careers (1992: 51-52). When she asked this couple how they divided their domestic responsibilities, she was given a list of tasks that mainly centered around their children: planning playtime and other entertainment, taking the children to doctor or dentist appointments, getting the children ready for day care in the morning and planning vacations. Other domestic chores consisted of financial planning and carrying out the garbage. Neither parent washed clothes, cleaned the home, bought groceries, prepared meals, mowed the lawn or washed dishes; these were services they paid for. At this end of the economic scale, families can make choices between careers and family. Families at the lower end of the economic scale find that making choices becomes much more difficult, if not impossible.

Larry Burkett, a financial advisor, has written a how-to book entitled Women Leaving the Workplace (1995). His book is primarily concerned with women who desire to leave their careers to become full-time mothers and homemakers. Burkett readily points out that this is not an option open to all working mothers. There are several reasons why some women do not have this choice no matter how much they may desire to be home full-time. Farley (1996:344) writes, "And economic trends demand that both men and women spend their lives working, regardless of their feelings about mothers staying home with children." In some cases women generate the sole income for the family and the only health insurance and dental plan, but they also may have family debts to pay off, and they may have a husband that opposes their leaving their careers (Burkett, 1995: 11-13, 85-98). Even in cases where women can successfully make the transition, it often means changes in life style for the whole family. Cars may have to last longer between trade-ins. There may have to be more home cooked meals and less eating out. Entertainment my have to be curtailed. Clothing may have to be make-overs or items bought in garage sales rather than bought at full retail price. Yearly vacations may have to be shorter and less expensive. Gifts may have to be less expensive and more practical. Domestic help of any kind, including lawn care and landscaping, may not be affordable (Burkett 1995:51-65). Often this reduced life style means learning new skills to perform the services that were previously paid for.

Families often must sacrifice material comforts and possessions for a woman's career as a full-time mother and homemaker. On the other hand, women who sacrifice time with their children for an outside career often have little to show for it in return, and this will be demonstrated in the next section.

Cost of Second Incomes:

In both developed and less developed economies, participants rarely calculate what the return is on the investment of their labor. In less developed countries, women perform piecework at home because their family needs the money. However, these women may not have any idea of the net profit their labor brings. Cook found in his study of Mexican peasant women working at home:

> None of them, however, calculates exactly the return on her labor. In this industry the primitive system of payment by results neatly circumvents labor-time accounting. Petty merchant and producer alike think only in terms of lump-sums - the former of cost per piece and net earnings per sale, the latter only of gross income per piece [1990:111].

In more developed countries, women sometimes do piecework at home because they are bored and do not get a feeling of self worth and fulfillment from domestic responsibilities in their own home. In a study of Pakistani housewives living in London, Kabeer (1994) found that women performed domestic tasks and child care solely for the benefit of their husbands. ".women's near full-time responsibility for domestic chores assures men of what is probably a fairly cost-effective way of achieving comforts which conform as closely as possible to life back home: home-cooked lunches and dinner, clean house, clean clothes, hospitality for friends and small services which, if they could be purchased on the market, would entail a considerable strain on the family budget" (327-328). In making this analysis, Kabeer emphasizes what appears to be a paradox in feminist thinking. On the one hand she recognizes that housewives perform tasks that the family probably could not afford to purchase. On the other hand, she fails to see that economizing done by housewives is a financial benefit to the whole family and not just something done for the husband's pleasure. In typical

post 1960's ideology, she does not see the family as a unit with common goals, but sees two separate adults with separate economic potential.

An article by Zalell and Gonzales (1993) gets into the high cost of child care for the working mother in the U.S., and some of the trade-offs families make to maximize their profits. According to these authors, when we have both a need for money and available time, we will sell that time for as much as we can get. Unfortunately, we seldom do a cost analysis of debits versus credits to see if we are really getting ahead. This has been especially true with working mothers. Child care can be the biggest expense, but not the only expense of investing in that second salary. Assuming two working parents, child care can amount to anything from 20% to 60% of the second income (Zavella and Gonzales 1993: 221).

Many of a couple's expenses can be mitigated if they have other resources to draw on such as an unemployed grandparent or relative that will provide child care for little or nothing. Car pools may reduce transportation cost. Working different shifts allows the couple an opportunity to share some of the child care and household chores. In the end, they are putting in many more total hours of work with little to show for it. Burkett estimates that the real worth of a stay-at-home mother is about $26,000 per year (1995:104-105). At that figure, the second income would have to be greater than $26,000 per year or the family must have low cost domestic help to make it worthwhile.

The Social Cost of a Second Income:

There are social costs as well as an economic cost. As Zavella and Gonzales (1993:221-222) point out, there is still an ongoing debate of the value of day care versus home care for children. However, there are few day care arrangements that

can give a child the personal attention provided by a parent. Frequently, parents feel guilty and try to compensate through gifts and lenient responsibilities for their children.

Single-parent families have it doubly hard because they are often deficient in network resources to fall back on, and they have no one to share the work load. An article by Gonzales and Lamphere (1993) brings this out very clearly. Networks not only develop out of people's circumstances, they also have a great effect on people's circumstances. Networks provide resources and can open doors for new opportunities. The size and nature of the network are also important factors. Small networks usually have limited resources, but a large network, where everyone has access to the same limited resources, is not much better. I was most interested in Gonzales and Lampher's findings on single-mother support networks. It supports what I have observed in the USF area. The main differences in my group as opposed to the women in their article are that most, but not all, of the single mothers in my study are African-American and few of these women have steady employment. The relations with their parents were similar, however. "In fact, many single mothers were somewhat distant or even estranged from their own parents, especially if they had been teenage mothers" (Gonzales and Lamphere 1993:267). "In general, single mothers were thrown on their own in forging a support network" (Gonzales and Lamphere 1993:270).

Career versus Domestic Responsibility:

Working couples with children must also come to terms with conflicts between the work and home (Andrews and Bailyn 1993:262-275). This is another paradoxical situation that has not been fully worked out. Child day care usually

does not include taking care of sick children, taking children to doctor or dentist appointments or coordinating their schedule with extracurricular school activities. Working parents must take time from work to satisfy these needs of their child that cannot be satisfied through conventional child care. In opposition to these family responsibilities, the work place has a tradition of rewarding dedication on the job. Kanter in her study of a large corporation writes:

> Thus, there is the danger of excluding from the jobs in high power those for whom family is a priority. This could reinforce a traditional vicious cycle: Managers that rise to gain influence over people's lives are those who place the least priority on family and therefore are least likely to understand the realities of working parents' lives. Working parents-and perhaps, mostly women are thereby kept out of power [1993:322].

Christina Hoff Sommers points out in her book, there is a widely accepted theory among some feminists that there is a male conspiracy to keep women in "their place" (1994:227-228,232). Sommers divides feminists into two categories. "Equity feminists" are men and women who believe that there should be no discrimination based on gender. "Gender feminism" is more radical. As Sommers explains:

> ...most of them adhere to a new, more radical, "Second Wave" doctrine: that women, even modern American women, are in thrall to "a system of male dominance" variously referred to as "heteropatriarchy" or the sex/gender system. According to one feminist theorist, the sex/gender system is "that complex process whereby bisexual infants are transformed into male and female gender personalities, the one destined to command, the other to obey." Sex/gender feminism ("gender feminism" for short) is the prevailing ideology among contemporary feminist philosophers and leaders. But it lacks a grass roots constituency [1994:22].

This conspiracy theory of some contemporary feminist philosophers leads to the concept that there is and must be competition for power between genders. As Sommers points out, this ideology does not have a great grass roots constituency, and this has been a point of consternation with some feminist academics. Pamela Conover, a political science professor at the University of North Carolina in

Chapel Hill, is quoted in the August 21, 1994 Tampa Tribune, "We sleep with the enemy. We live with them. We love them. They are our families. It is hard to get women to think in 'us vs. them' terms."

This ideology of gender competition is propagated through feminist studies and some news media. Reports of "glass ceilings" and average wage differences between genders reinforce this ideology and seldom consider the complex realities of the situations (Sommers 1994:240-1). Farrell gives another reason for the gender difference in average incomes.

> We frequently hear that women are segregated into low-paying, dead-end jobs in poor working environments such as factories. But when the *Jobs Related Almanac* ranked 250 jobs from best to worst based on a *combination* of salary, stress, work environment, outlook, security, and physical demands, they found that twenty-four of the twenty five worse jobs were almost-all-male jobs. Some examples: truck driver, sheet metal worker, roofer, boilermaker, lumberjack, carpenter, construction worker or foreman, construction machinery operator, football player, welder, millwright, ironworker. All of these "worse jobs" have one thing in common: 95 to 100 percent men.
>
> Every day, almost as many men are killed at work as were killed during the average day in Vietnam. ... One reason the jobs men hold pay more is because they are more hazardous (italics in the original) [1993:105-107].

Cases of women earning less while performing the same or similar jobs as men are far rarer then gender feminists would have us believe. It is more complicated than just performing the same or similar jobs. One must consider, do both individuals have the same amount of time with the same employer; whether they have the same skills, whether they show the same performance and dedication? Although a social science professor performs a similar job to a professor of internal medicine, one will never find them paid equally, regardless of gender. Associate professors are not paid the same as full professors regardless of gender even though their class loads and committee assignments may be equivalent. Beyond these complex comparisons, all else being equal, paying women less than

men for the same work is a violation of the law covered by *Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.* Employers who are foolish enough to ignore that legal requirement stand the risk of a federal law suit from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Still, through feminist study programs and the media, many working women see themselves at a disadvantage in competing with their male counterparts. Consider Kanter's observations:

> Women now have sufficient numbers of peers to act as a group. Safety in numbers and extracorporate focus have limited their fear of retaliation by male counterparts. . . . *From women competing with women to women as allies*. The traditional view of women pitted them against each other to win men's favors. By 1993 they were winning men's places-and with the help of other women. Enthusiasm for women's networks is growing, especially among those women with the greatest clout, as a 1992 poll of executive women revealed. (italics in the original) [1993:310].

Here Kanter recognizes the existence of female networks and organizations to win "men's places," her words not mine. Organizations such as the Association of American University Women, the National Organization of Women and the Feminist Majority have no male counterpart organizations.

Many women are put in a position where they must work to support their families. Sometimes, this is because their men cannot find work, but women can (Kanter 1993:319-320; U.S. Department of Labor 1994:5,24). Although there are few, if any, gender specific jobs today, the emphasis over the last three decades has been to break down the barriers that prevented women from working in occupations perceived as male occupations. On the other hand, there has been little effort to see that males get the same consideration in occupations perceived as female occupations. On a national level, Kanter writes:

> Although women rapidly entered many occupations previously dominated by men, men did not enter the traditional so-called "women's" occupations in significant numbers. Thus, job categories such as nursing or secretarial work have remained overwhelmingly female. In addition, women make up the majority of employees in services. A little over half the employees in

> retail trade and government are women, as about three-fifths of those in finance, insurance, real estate, and other services. Women account for about three-fourths of the workers employed in the apparel and accessory stores and in hospitals and other health services [1993:312].

This sounds like a description of the area around USF. There are banks, retail shops and services, hospitals and health services. Even the county services that are being placed in the area are staffed predominantly with female managers and professionals. Children brought up in this area see successful women and predominantly unemployed men.

While the media laments the fact that some women have to settle for the title of "Vice President" instead of "Chief Executive Officer," they overlook the fact that there are men with degrees in engineering and business who have not had steady work with the same employer in the last decade. This is what Marx referred to as the "floating" form of surplus labor (Braverman 1974:386).

The shift in ideology concerning gender roles and occupations has reduced the opportunity for some males to support their families, and at the same time this shift has reduced the opportunity for some females to be career homemakers and full-time mothers. Families at the upper end of the economic scale have the freedom of making choices concerning careers and family. Farther down the economic scale, these choices become more difficult or non-existent. Residents of the USF area community, for the most part, are at the lower end of the economic scale. They have few legitimate choices.

Socioeconomic Disparities:

The concept that economics cannot be separated from culture is prevalent in much of the literature on the economic development of third world countries.

Social structure and cultural norms (ideology) normally have a mediating effect on attempts to change the economy, often with unanticipated consequences (cf. Lowder 1989; Schenk 1989; Thomas-Slayter 1992:136; Bodley 1982).

The literature on economic development in less developed countries is full of cases where attempts to change the economic structure fail to bring about the desired change, because implementers fail to consider how the indigenous culture would adapt to those changes (e.g. Bodley 1982; Bunker 1985; Davis 1977; Levy 1955; cf. Cernea 1991; Chambers 1983; Pitt 1976; Salisbury 1983). Quite often, this literature reveals that attempts to help the poorest of the poor have resulted in greater economic disparity between the upper and lower classes. The more powerful upper class often co-opts economic development to benefit themselves.

This same scenario has occurred in the U.S. over the last three decades. Affirmative action programs that started in the early 1960s were meant to assist the economically deprived minorities (Fukuyama 1995:314-315; Farley 1996:348). As I noted in the first chapter (p. 17-20), in spite of these programs, greater economic disparity between rich and poor occurred (Farley 1996:353), whether among White Americans or among African Americans. The greatest disparity occurred among the African Americans, the very people affirmative action was meant to help.

The change in the effect of affirmative action can be seen in an article by David H. Swinton (1990: 25-52). Swinton opens his article with the following commentary:

> As the 1990s open, it seems appropriate to take a retrospective look at the decade now concluding. The 1980s was an eventful decade. It began with the deepest recession of the post-war period and concluded with the longest peacetime recovery. The role of government in promoting social policy was sharply curtailed and the largest decrease in taxes was enacted. The twin deficits - budget and balance of trade - reached astronomical heights. The U.S. went from being the world's banker to being the world's largest debtor nation. Major changes took place in the structure of the

> American economy as the structural change from goods-producing to a service economy continued. Society continued to change as proportions of single parent and never-married households continued to rise, and the role of women in the workplace continued to expand. The drug epidemic reached major proportions. Finally, as the decade closed, the geopolitical structure began to undergo a major change as the movement for freedom and democracy appeared to transform the Soviet empire.
>
> Despite the momentous changes taking place in other arenas during the 1980s, the movement to gain economic equality for blacks stalled. ...In the late seventies the counterattack against affirmative action effectively ended any active strategy to promote racial equality through public policy and collective action. The 1980s heralded a new era in which the personal efforts of individual blacks became the major strategy to promote racial equality. Freedom, personal responsibility, self-help, and *laissez faire* became the new watchwords for the neoconservative strategy to promote greater racial equality in economic life (italics in the original) [Swinton 1990:25].

Swinton shows that between 1970 and 1978, the percentage of African American families with a yearly income greater than $50,000 increased 3.9% while the percentage of White American families making more than $50,000 decreased 2.1%. On the other end of the spectrum, the percentage of African American families having a yearly income of less than $5,000 decreased .3% while the percentage of White American families making less than $5,000 increased .1%. During this early stage, the average African American family experienced a positive economic change. Affirmative action appeared to be working the way it was intended (cf. Fukuyama 1995:352-353; Farley 1996:348). However, Swinton's figures show that all this changed between 1978 and 1988. During these years, the percentage of White American families with a yearly income over $50,000 increased 6.3% while the percentage of African American families in the same range only increased 2.6%. During the same period, the percentage of white families with a yearly income of less than $5,000 increased .6% while African American families in the same bracket increased 3.8% (Swinton 1990:29). Greater disparity was setting in for both ethnic groups, and it was affecting African American families the most. As I indicated in the first chapter, since the 1960s, a

greater disparity of income as well as employment developed among the U.S. populace (Farley 1996:343,353).

Since African Americans represent a little over ten percent of the national population, absolute numbers look a little different. For every African American family falling below a $5,000 annual income, two white families did the same. Two thirds of the families dropping into poverty were white.

For every African American family that rose above the $50,000 annual income twenty-two white families did. Middle income families were dropping into poverty at the same time others were moving into higher income brackets. It is important to note that many of the families that rose above the $50,000 annual income level did so by virtue of becoming two income families.

The 1980s were years of economic growth, and at the same time, they were years of growing disparity between economic classes. What had happened was that affirmative action for minorities had been restrained by affirmative action based on gender.

The greatest increase of African Americans going into management and middle management occurred during the 1960s and 1970s (see Table 1). At this same time, women were taking most of the entry level jobs. From the mid 1970s on, women were moving into management as well as taking most of the entry level jobs (see Tables 1 and 2, p. 14-15 of this document).

Swinton presents a chart of the percentage of employment for those persons age 20 and over in the civilian labor force by race and gender. Between 1972 and 1989 employment for white women increased from 40.6% to 54.9%, a 14.3% increase. Employment for white males, during this period went from 79.0% to 75.5 percent, a 3.5% decrease. Employment for black women changed from 46.5% to 54.8%, an increase of 8.3%. At the same time black male employment went from 73.0% to 67.1%, a decrease of 5.9% (Swinton 1990:45).

Clearly, white women were making the biggest gains in employment during these years, closely followed by African American women. African American males had the greatest loss, closely followed by white males.

Women with high incomes tend to marry men with high incomes (O'Hare 1995:6-8; Shorr and Moen 1983:578; Furstenberg and Cherlin 1991:101-102). At the other end of the spectrum, unemployed men tend to stay unmarried or become divorced (O'Hare 1995). For many of the individuals who have fallen out of the middle-class, male or female, white or minority, affirmative action seems to be working against them.

Human Resource Management:

Human resource management is a career that has come into existence since the 1960s. It is a very specialized field of personnel management. Human resource managers are organizations' experts in affirmative action. For all intents and purposes, they control the hiring and promotions in their organizations (Chunden and Sherman 1984; Kootz, O'Donnell and Weihrich 1984: 468-469; Sisk and Williams 1981:269). However, they do not always work by a single standard. Their own job is in the hands of upper management. While they have the authority to enforce affirmative action programs from the entry level through lower management, they must be more cautious in how they approach middle and upper management. The higher up the management chain human resource managers try to implement affirmative action policies, the greater risk they take in offending a powerful clique that may cost them their jobs. When introducing affirmative action at upper management levels, human resource managers must align themselves with the organization's chief counsel to convince upper

management that taking affirmative action at their level is in the best interest for the organization and will protect the organization in case litigations are brought by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). While proportional representation (quota) is met at lower levels in an organization, human resource managers make exceptions in both hiring and promotions where they involve individuals who are well connected to upper management. This gives an edge to upper class and upper middle class individuals who are most likely to have contacts in upper management.

Although the literature is clear, I also know, from having both training and experience in human resource management, what every human resource manager knows, that the name of the game is "protect your organization against costly litigation based on illegal discrimination" (Chruden and Sherman 1984:106). The best defense against litigation is a good offense favoring affirmative action. Although each case of discrimination must be tried on its own merit, an organization is in the best defensive position if it can show an active program to prevent discrimination and stay within the law. The first step in this program requires that every open position must have an accurate job description. Chruden and Sherman instruct:

> The object of the job analysis is to generate a description of the job in terms of duties, required knowledge, skills, abilities and other work characteristics. Job analysis is not only essential to test development, but the legal guidelines surrounding employee selection procedures require some form of job analysis as a necessary component of all types of validation [1984:91].

Job descriptions that inflate the actual requirements for performance leave an organization open to litigation. "Good job descriptions can go far in curtailing subjective judgments and can also be an effective tool for defense of a case as they provide benchmarks by which to judge employees" (Chruden and Sherman 1984: 108). Christenson, Johnson and Stinson admonish:

> If you cannot demonstrate that factors you are using are related to actual job performance requirements, and rejected applicants happen to be women or minorities, you may find yourself in trouble...You may be scaring off applicants with misleading descriptions [1982: 313].

For instance, if a job opening is defined as that of an assistant editor involving frequent travel, when in fact it is only a job as a proofreader who must pick up and deliver copies around town, that organization can be sued by an individual of a protected minority who will claim, if he or she had known the true nature of the position, they would have applied.

The second step is to create a realistic statement of requirements based on the job description. If the job only requires a high school education with excellent spelling and grammar capabilities, posting job requirements of a degree in journalism again leaves the organization open for a law suit. Christenson, Johnson and Stinson warn:

> For a variety of reasons, jobs often appear more glamorous, prestigious, and difficult on paper than they really are. This inflation may satisfy current worker's status needs but it also may keep out qualified women and minorities [1982: 314].

Once the minimum requirements have been established, all applicants who meet the minimum requirements must be considered equally. This practice was made a legal precedent with the 1983 decision by the Supreme Court in *Connecticut v. Teal* (Chruden and Sherman 1984:107). Christenson, Johnson and Stinson advise:

> Supervisors are not required to hire unqualified people. They may, however, have to hire people who possess the minimum qualifications for the job even though there are others more qualified [1982: 312].

If an opening has a minimum requirement of a bachelor's degree and one year of experience, all applications who meet those minimum requirements are separated from those who don't. Now, suppose that only two applicants meet the

minimum requirements. One has a bachelor's degree and one year of experience and the other has a master's degree and five years of experience. If the former applicant is a member of a protected category and the latter is not, then the human resource manager will decide for the former even though he or she is less "qualified." This practice was made a legal precedent with the 1979 U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and United Steel Workers* (Donaldson 1983:321-33; Sisk and Williams 1981:268).

The courts have ruled that it is only important that an applicant meets the minimum requirement. The human resource manager must accept the protected individual to prevent possible litigation. If both applicants are members of a protected minority but one is male and the other is female, all other considerations being equal, then the human resource manager will most likely accept the female to eliminate all possibilities of litigation. This is known as the "two for one" factor.

Mother-Headed Families:

Burns and Scott (1994) present a rather detailed cross-cultural analysis in their book entitled Mother-Headed Families and Why They Have Increased. They cover many different factors related to the increase in mother-headed households both through "ex-nuptial births" and increased divorce rates. They consider the effects of religion, history, means of counting "illegitimacy," social programs, minority relations, economics and changing cultural norms. They do not claim there is a common cause, but their data show that, with the exception of Japan, the industrialized nations saw a dramatic increase in mother-headed families over the last three decades. In Burns and Scott's work, I find a great deal that supports a central premise of this dissertation, that the loss of the male role as family

provider is a contributing factor in the break up of nuclear families. As a percentage of all live births, Sweden's out-of-wedlock birth rate rose from slightly more than ten percent in 1960 to more than fifty percent by 1990 (Burns and Scott 1994: 58). "This occurs in the context of the lowest marriage rate in the industrial world, one of the highest average age for first marriages, probably the highest rate for nonmarital cohabitation and family dissolution, and the lowest teenage pregnancy rate ever recorded anywhere in the world" (Burns and Scott 1994: 59). Although they do not claim this is a major factor, Burns and Scott write, "

> Although there is little conventional pressure to marry, there is a lot of pressure, and encouragement, for mothers to continue in the work force (usually part time). Because a full-time housewife is not considered meritorious, and those who do so incur taxation and other penalties [1994: 59].

Burns and Scott argue against the "welfare dependency" theory by showing that the percentage of single mother families continued to increase among African Americans after the percentage of African American families receiving AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependant Children) payments started decreasing in the early 1970s (1994:63-67). In the case of African Americans, Burns and Scott conclude,

> The main problem, however, is employability. If the minimum prerequisite (for a husband) is that he be gainfully and regularly employed, then almost a majority of working-age black males fail to qualify [1994:68].

A few pages later, Burns and Scott demonstrate that over the last three decades the percentage of female-headed families tracks very closely to male unemployment rates for both white and nonwhite Americans (1994: 70-73). Burns and Scott point out that while the high percentage of female headed households among African Americans gets a lot of attention, over half of the female headed families in the U.S. are white.

Japan seems to be bucking all the trends in Burns and Scott's analysis. Divorce was much higher in pre-industrialized Japan than it is today. Not only is Japan's out-of-wedlock birth rate per thousand live births close to one percent, Japan's divorce rate per thousand population is close to one percent, about one-fifth that of the U.S. (1994: 29-34). Prior to the industrialization of Japan, a man's loyalty was to his lineage. A wife was considered to be a servant to her mother-in-law. Divorce was often similar to dismissing an unsatisfactory servant rather than losing a loyal mate (Burns and Scott 1994: 29-31). After industrialization in Japan, many men moved into cities and away from other members of their lineage. Contrary to what happened in other industrialized countries, Japan's divorce rate decreased. Burns and Scott propose,

> One possible reason was the development for the first time of a nuclear family, one that combined Japanese and imported ideas. In this new type of family the husband -- wife bond was stronger than under the lineage system, but there was a continuing emphasis on men's authority and freedom and female submissiveness and domestic virtue [1994: 32].

Even after the Japanese economic upsurge, starting in the 1960s, increased the educational and job opportunities for women, "Loss of the husband's income is often a key problem for women, and it is not uncommon for a wife to remain in a marriage because of her financial dependency (Burns and Scott 1994:33-34).

There are other examples that can be gleaned from Burns and Scott's book, but the three I have selected should suffice to show the link between the husband's role as the family provider and the maintenance of nuclear families. Blankenhorn, in reference to the U.S. culture, asserts that the removal of the provider role removes men from the father role as well (1995: 107-116).

Another name for mother-headed families is "fatherless families," the subject of David Blankenhorn's book, Fatherless America. Blankenhorn maintains that over the past two hundred years, fathers in the U.S. culture " . . . have gradually moved from the center to the periphery of family life" (1995: 12). Paternal

authority declined as fatherhood became restricted to two paternal tasks, the head of the family and the breadwinner. Both of these tasks are now contested ideas (Blankenhorn 1995: 15).

Blankenhorn contends that as these last two roles for fathers erode away, the U.S. culture is losing any social definition of fatherhood (1995: 16). He asserts that when left with just a biological component, fatherhood becomes nebulous. Blankenhorn writes:

> A decultured paternity necessarily fractures any coherent social understanding of fatherhood. As fewer children live with their biological fathers, and more live with or near stepfathers, mothers' boyfriends, or other male "role models," biological fatherhood is separated from social fatherhood. In turn, social fatherhood, once detached from any one man, becomes more diffused as an idea and elastic as a role, less a person than a style of relating to children [1995:16]

Separating biological fatherhood from social fatherhood also alters the social concept of marriage. Burns and Scott conclude:

> . . . given a really free choice, most men and women would choose the Swedish way, and that it represents the family of the future toward which other industrialized countries will steadily move. In this pattern, families typically will be formed and dissolved outside of marriage, breakups will be common, and marriage will remain as a right of passage celebrated, often quite late, when the couple decides to make a public commitment [1994: 63].

What is wrong with this? Blankenhorn contends that, in the U.S., the increase in fatherless families is closely related to the increase in youth violence, domestic violence against women, child sexual abuse, child poverty and adolescent childbearing (1995: 25-48).

Urban Crime:

Emile Durkheim taught that crime makes an important contribution to the operation of a social structure. The presence of crime helps the culture to strengthen its resolve against crime. Durkheim theorizes:

> In the first place crime is normal because a society exempt from it is utterly impossible. Crime, we have shown elsewhere, consists of an act that offends certain very strong collective sentiments. In a society in which criminal acts are no longer committed, the sentiments they offend would have to be found without exception in all individual consciousness, and they must be found to exist with some degree as sentiments contrary to them. Assuming that this condition could actually be realized, crime would not thereby disappear; it would only change its form, for the very cause which would thus dry up the source of criminality would immediately open up new ones (original translation 1938) [1992:147].

Although criminal and delinquent behaviors occur at all economic levels, in all communities and in both genders, they are most prevalent among lower class, inner-city, males (Cloward and Ohlin 1960:12,28).

Robert Merton's strain theory is one theory that attempts to account for this unequal distribution of crime and delinquency (Lilly, Cullen and Ball 1989:63-71). When the social structure prevents a sub-group from achieving the generally accepted cultural goals and norms, the sub-group will become frustrated and reject or redefine the general culture's goals or norms. Macionis explains:

> Such innovations result from the "strain" experience when the value placed on wealth overpowers the norms that regulate how wealth is acquired. The poor obviously experience this strain to the extent that their aspirations for success are frustrated by a lack of educational and job opportunities. Not surprisingly, some resort to making their own rules, engaging in what is conventionally defined as theft, selling drugs, or other kinds of street hustling and racketeering [1991:206].

Cloward and Ohlin quote R. K. Merton, "Aberrant behavior may be regarded sociologically as a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues of realizing these aspirations" (1960:83). This sub-group will then establish its own goals and norms that may seem deviant to the culture at large. In America it is a commonly stated assumption that everyone can be what she or he wants to be. There are no limits to what one can achieve if one is willing to do the work and develop his/her capabilities. Failure to succeed is often perceived as the consequence of an

individual's failure to study or work. The accepted cultural goal is to be successful. Success is relative to one's sub-group or economic level (see "relative deprivation" below), but it would commonly be to be able to support oneself and one's family. Generally speaking, one would like to rise above the socio-economic level of his/her parents (Cloward and Ohlin 1960:83-84). The culturally approved means to achieving this goal are work, education and self-improvement, and for the majority of a democratic culture this works (Cloward and Ohlin 1960:85).

However, the socioeconomic structure creates limitations, and often blocks the path to success by nullifying the cultural norms. Some people in the lower economic strata cannot raise the money for college, tutors, music or dance lessons, or special summer training camps. They may lack the network and career guidance that leads to better education and better jobs. "The middle class person can generally take advantage of educational opportunities despite the cost; his family may be in a position to finance his beginning in a profession or in a business, or at least put him in touch with established and successful people who can give him an edge" (Cloward and Ohlin 1960: 85).

Working hard in public school does not always guarantee a college education, or a job. Working hard at an entry level service job does not always guarantee continued employment or promotions. When there is a scarcity of jobs and an abundance of qualified job seekers, employers often look beyond the job requirements. They will look at such factors as communication capabilities, personal appearance, composure and personality. People from a lower economic status may feel uncomfortable in an interview for a well paying job even though they meet the qualifications. Their speech and non-verbal communication may be that of the lower class. They may not be able to afford the clothing or the grooming that a person from a higher economic background can afford. Personnel managers from higher economic backgrounds may misinterpret lower class

nonverbals and personalities. In the end, many qualified people do not get scarce jobs and other resources, not because they do not embrace the general cultural norms, but because of the accident of birth. Macionis writes:

> But American society does not provide sufficient opportunity to allow everyone who desires success to achieve it. Moreover, because of the American emphasis on wealth, even relatively successful people may be motivated by the promise of gain to violate cultural norms and perhaps the law. Corporate executives, for example, may engage in dishonest business practices or embezzle company funds; certainly too many wealthy Americans misrepresent their income to the Internal Revenue Service [1991:206].

Because there are contradictions between the cultural norms and the social structure, between cultural expectations and socioeconomic limitation, some individuals look for alternative ways of achieving cultural goals. These individuals are most likely to be those who observe the failure of those who do embrace cultural norms but fail to attain cultural goals. It is quite common for these individuals, especially among the lower economic class, to look to the sports field or entertainment field as an alternate route to success. Cloward and Ohlin write:

> Studies have shown that some lower-class persons orient themselves toward occupations in fields of entertainment and sports. People of modest social origins who have been conspicuously successful in these spheres, often become salient models for the young in depressed sectors of society. The heavyweight champion, the night club singer, the baseball star- these symbolize the possibility of achieving success in conventional terms despite poor education and social origins. The businessman, the physicist, and the physician, on the other hand, occupy roles to which the lower-class youngster has little access because of his limited educational opportunities [1960:104].

In a survey done for the American Association of University Women, high school students were asked "Do you really think you will ever end up being a sports star?" Sixty-seven percent of the African American male students answered "Yes" (Sommers, 1994:149). Eventually, the vast majority of those who try to

succeed in sports or entertainment must fail because of the limited openings in these fields.

When individuals perceive that their chances of becoming successful through hard work, education, sports or entertainment are blocked, and they are still committed to the cultural goal of success, they may redefine what success is or the acceptable means for obtaining it.

This is where we come to delinquent behavior and the formation of delinquent classifications. According to Cloward and Ohlin (1960), delinquents can be divided into three separate, but not mutually exclusive, classifications. The first classification contains delinquents whose activities form around criminal acts, primarily theft. Second, to which they give the label the "conflict groups," are those whose activities center in confrontation, fighting, defending their turf, and showing heart. The third classification contains the retreatists, the group of juveniles who drop out of society into substance abuse (Cloward and Ohlin 1960:161-180).

Conflict between cultural goals and socially structured means is only the motivation for a juvenile to choose among these alternative paths to what is a redefined definition of success. Which of these alternative paths the individual takes depends in a large part on the environment she or he is part of.

According to the theory, those who choose crime as a route to success, have redefined success in terms of personal possessions such as clothing, cars, jewelry, and, in the case of males, fancy women. They emulate criminal role models in their environment. They make connections with older criminals and peers who will teach them the norms of their sub-culture. They seek out others with the same values. They mature in this environment by expanding their networks to include fences, bondsmen, lawyers and connections to organized crime. Eventually, following this path, if they are successful, they will become members

of an organized crime family (Cloward and Ohlin 1960: 161-170). The norms for this group are to be smart, shrewd, resourceful, and organized; these attributes are not much different from those the general society expects for success.

However, this alternative assumes an environment where there is a close bond between criminal age groups and a close bond between criminals and the conventional elements of the culture. Without this highly structured environment, the juvenile who chooses crime as a path to success will soon find this path is also blocked. This appears to be the case in the USF area.

The failure of males to achieve financial stability legally has two consequences. First, since it is impossible for the male to totally support a family on either a legal or an illegal income, he is put into a position of living, at least in part, off a female, first his mother until he leaves home and then a mate, wife or mistress. In a study done in neighboring Pinellas County, Dembo et al found:

> Most of the young dealers report that they did not contribute substantial portions of their crack cocaine income to their families. Other participants supported this conclusion; three out of four dealers' parents and all of the non-dealers' parents felt that 10% or less was contributed to the family income [1993:92].

The male in this case has not gained the self respect some men get from providing for their family (cf. Jessie Bernard 1981:4). At best, they are not draining family resources for their own personal status symbols. Lacking the respect of being the family provider, he seeks the respect of his peers who are also exploiters of women (Anderson 1990; Wilson 1987). What respect he gets from his peers is based on his independence and how well he is exploiting the women in his life. An individual free from the demands of a family, an employer, an education system or any other institutional authority is not constrained to comply with the rules of his or her culture.The greater the independence an individual has, the greater is the individual's attraction to others who also wish to act independent of the conventional system.

In a thoughtful article considering the theoretical relation between reciprocity and autonomy, Alvin Gouldner argues, "It would seem reasonable to suppose that those parts in a system with the most functional autonomy can readily become loci of organized devices and of effective resistance to system controls" (1959:258). Independence for men in this case is measured by how successfully they can "hustle" (cf. Dembo 1993:90) and the fact that they are not being tied down by any woman. If a man in this case can exploit more than one woman at a time, he gains greater respect from his peers. Hustling can involve both legal and illegal activities or a combination of both. The more money raising activities one is involved in, the greater hustler (or wheeler-dealer) one appears to be. However, there is a price to pay for this autonomy. Gouldner writes, "Consequently, there may be some tension between the [social system] part's tendency to maintain an existent degree of functional autonomy and the system's pressure to control the part" (1959:255). In other words, the farther outside the conventional system an individual tries to operate, the greater will be the conventional system's effort to control that individual.

Dembo et al found in their study in Pinellas County that:

> Even though many young dealers are generating substantial incomes, their long-term occupational prospects appear bleak. The potential of perceived high income, combined perhaps with young age, appears to motivate some adolescents into leaving conventional modes of gaining income, such as pursuing their education or seeking career training. This underground business does provide some entrepreneurial training, but the prospect of sizable, steady income from drug dealing is unlikely and the chances of entering the legitimate job market is undermined by the high risk of arrest and other negative consequences of drug dealing, such as physical injury or succumbing to compulsive use. Many are thus trapped into anti-social and unproductive lifestyles that block conventional occupational opportunities [1993:95].

The second consequence is the propagation of this role model. Since boys in this area see women as being primarily successful and males as the failures when it

comes to employment, they lose the incentive for an education. In an article on what has happened to minorities since the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Wilkins writes, "Just as lack of work is the most destructive force in the inner-city, jobs are the central organizing principle of the family. . .and they give children a reason to believe study and hard work gives them a future" (1994:31). This is true regardless of race. In listing the factors working against adolescent boys, Anderson writes, "The main one is the lack of work for fathers and older brothers" (1994). Although boys and girls are brought up in the same economic status, boys from lower economic environments are being turned off to education more than girls from the same environments (Anderson 1994).

This brings us to the second classification, the conflict groups whose activities revolve around confrontation, fighting, defending their turf, and showing heart. Success in this group is redefined as one's ability to show courage, "heart." Courage is defined as the willingness to take chances, the more life threatening the better. Without an environment that allows one to succeed in either legal or illegal enterprises, individuals in the conflict group fight to show their control over a geographic area, their "turf" (Cloward and Ohlin 1960:171-177). Success in this group is very temporal. Even if one does not end up getting killed, there is not much future in defending one's turf without any reward for this effort. So far, gangs have not seemed to develop in the USF area.

The third classification in the Cloward and Ohlin scenario is composed of the retreatists, who perceiving the above paths closed to them, drop out of conventional society into substance abuse. They redefine success as experiencing a new high in pleasure, the ultimate high. The path to their success requires frequent experiments with a variety of substances. By necessity they require an environment where they can obtain these various substances and where they can

use them with little risk of detection by law enforcement agents (Cloward and Ohlin 1060:178-186).

For adolescents to fall neatly into these classifications, that eventually may become sub-cultures, all these special environments would have to be stable. Formal organizations, such as police services, fire services, churches, taxable businesses, social services and other government agencies all operate within the law, or at least that is the expected cultural norm. Informal organizations could be a network of friends, or the organized groups that function outside the law; this ranges from organized crime down to the network of drug users. These informal organizations cannot form or maintain themselves in an environment that is transient, unorganized and lacks forms of social control. At present this seems to be the situation in the USF area. Even in the domain of deviant behavior the options seem limited in this area.

Relative Deprivation:

Relative deprivation is a theoretical concept that may have some bearing on some of the problems this dissertation addresses. Crosby, Muehrer and Loewenstein (1986:17-55) present a basic model that consists of two factors, desire and deserve (Crosby, Muehrer and Loewenstein 1986:17-28). In combination, these two factors contribute to one's feeling of deprivation. Although we may feel we deserve better, if we have no desire to obtain better, then we may not feel deprived. On the other hand, if we desire better but do not feel we deserve better, we may not feel deprived. It is only when we desire better and feel we deserve better that we really feel deprived. The strength of our feeling of deprivation then is the result of how strongly we desire something and how

strong our conviction that we deserve it is. In a slightly more complex model there is a third factor, comparison to others (Suls 1986:95-116; Atkins 1986:117-134; Levine and Moreland 1987:105-127). Are there others that have what we desire and feel we deserve? If we know of no one who has obtained what we desire, then we most likely will not feel deprived. However, if we do know of others who have obtained what we desire and feel we deserve, then we will most likely question whether these others are more or less deserving than we are. In this model the magnitude of one's feeling of deprivation is the result of the magnitude of one's desire, the magnitude of one's conviction of deserving and the comparison to others who already have obtained what we desire. The models become far more complicated as relative deprivation is used to predict behavior (Crosby, Muehrer and Loewenstein 1986:18-20). Feelings of being deprived can foster negative behavior, positive behavior or an acquiescence to one's position (Cook and Curtin 1987:224-226). Under some circumstances a feeling of deprivation may motivate individuals to try harder using legitimate means. For instance, if the desire for greater wealth is accompanied with a strong feeling that one deserves it, and others not much different from oneself have attained wealth through education and hard work, then one may be motivated to greater effort in school and on the job. Those feelings of deprivation may, of course, lead to other behaviors if one feels that one is being unjustly deprived. What may be desired by one person may not be desired by another, and this makes the use of relative deprivation theory very personal and idiosyncratic. Factors that determine the response to feelings of deprivation are many, and few of these have universal agreement on their importance. I hesitate to use this theory for a micro level analysis of the problems in the USF area.

In the final analysis individuals have to make choices. There is nothing in a culture that forces one to make a given choice for his or her life, but one's culture

and social structural situation does present limitations on choices and consequence for choices. The choice between family and career is not an option open to everyone, neither is the option of having both a career and a family a viable choice for everyone. The choice of marriage over remaining single is not an option for everyone nor is it without its consequences. Choices made by individuals at the lower end of the economic scale do not have the same consequences as those made by individuals at the upper end of the economic scale. The increase in economic disparity in the U.S. presents a growing number of Americans with limited choices. Even those who choose to pursue education, personal development and industrious work as a means to success are limited by the employment opportunities open to them. Human resource management does not always allow the brightest and best to get the prize. Limited opportunities for success by conventional means encourage some individuals to choose non-conventional means or alternative definitions of success. Even in a free society, its members are not always free to make good choices with positive consequences, and they are seldom free to make poor choices without negative consequences.

CHAPTER 4

PROCEDURES AND METHODS

Introduction:

Approaching this research from a holistic perspective, I have taken a variety of related pathways. The complex nature of the cultures that influence the problem being studied has forced me to consider multiple factors that interact to form the whole known as the USF area. The definition of the area in the second chapter covers enough of the more pertinent factors so that the reader should already understand the complexity and how these factors lend themselves to forming the existing cultural and social relations in the area.

I used several different methods of collecting data, but in all cases I treated these data in a confidential manner providing the greatest possible protection to my informants. At no time did I use any ruse to gather information. At all times my informants were aware of my intentions for any information they gave me. Where it seemed appropriate, I compensated informants for their participation in the study.

The analysis of these data has by necessity involved a procedure of reviewing data, forming hypotheses and testing these hypotheses. This approach led to new data and the whole process was reiterated until I felt that a comprehensive theory

had developed to account for the condition of the USF area community. The reader will find a schedule of events in Appendix Five.

Method:

The primary method of gathering data was participant observation. Although in-depth interviews were done with a half dozen informants, sharing their life experience in the subject area proved even more fruitful. Because of the nature of the situation, many of my neighbors were extremely cautious in their responses to questions related to criminal activities, although I found them very open about many other subjects such as their personal history. In retrospect I wish I had spent more time on individual histories and life stories, but I felt then, and still feel now, that it was necessary to get a broad picture of the area to understand the basic question of why this area had such a high crime rate.

While most of my neighbors were friendly and willing to carry on a conversation whenever we met, when I suggested that they let me interview them, I got responses from a flat "no" to a polite "Well, I'm pretty busy." The half dozen interviews that I did get took several months of building rapport with the informants. We, my wife Ethel Jane and I, did this in several ways.

Ethel Jane made cookies when she wasn't working and handed them out to both children and adults in the neighborhood. These cookies were especially popular because few residents knew how to bake anything from scratch. It was not uncommon for children to stop on the way home from school to see if she had baked that day. One afternoon a girl, about eight or nine years old, came to our door with her little sister, about six years of age. Both girls were neatly dressed in cotton sun dresses and their hair was carefully braided. The oldest girl asked if

there were any cookies. I told her we were all out of cookies. She then asked if we had any crackers, but we were out of them also. She looked at me and softly said, "We don't have anything to eat at home." Besides the sincerity in her voice and her face, I knew that these kids have a lot of pride and she would not likely say this if it were not so. She and her sister left with some fruit.

One of our neighbors came and asked if we had any band-aids because her child had a cut. We brought them into the apartment, cleaned the wound with peroxide, applied some first-aid cream and a band-aid. This started a trend with the children in the neighborhood and we soon found ourselves the unofficial tenders of children's cuts and scrapes. Having even these rudimentary first-aid supplies on hand seemed extraordinary to some of the residents. One neighbor asked me several times if I was a "doctor." I assured him I was not a medical doctor. I am not sure the man believed me, and to add to his confusion my briefcase looked like a medical bag.

During the first few weeks after our arrival, about a dozen of the resident children found it fun to play on our truck. They would place a couch cushion they pulled out of a dumpster in the truck box. Then they would climb on the roof of the cab and jump so that they landed on the cushion. I believe they were testing us because there were other trucks in the complex and the children left them alone. We never scolded the children and would allow them to ride in the back of the truck as far as the front entrance to the complex.

Very few of the residents had their own transportation. Even though our truck was not air-conditioned, several of the women in our building would ask for rides to the market or to other places in the neighborhood. As this gave me an opportunity to use these women as informants about the neighborhood, the rides were freely given. All offers of payment for the gas were turned down. Most of the neighbors tried not to abuse this system.

Between the cookies, first-aid and the rides, we became good friends with about thirty children and their parents. Not only did the children stop playing on the truck, but a half dozen came to us and said "We'll keep an eye on your truck for y'all and make sure no one messes with it."

The majority of the apartment complexes do not have resident property managers or professional security services. After the apartment office closes, about five in the afternoon, and all through the weekend, the residents are pretty much on their own. Most of the stores and business establishments, with the exception of adult entertainment, are closed by nine in the evening. Prudent residents do not venture out on the streets after dark. Ethel Jane and I were exceptions. We took frequent walks together in the neighborhood both day and night. Not only was this necessary to get a rounded view of the area, but for our own safety it was important that people recognized us. This is part of being streetwise. The bad guys realize that if they recognize you, then there is the possibility that you can recognize them or will recognize them in the neighborhood or a line-up.

On one of our excursions during the middle of the day, a deputy passed us three time in the matter of ten minutes. Finally he pulled over on the fourth pass and asked us if we were lost? When we told him we were not lost, He said, "Well, do you live near here?" We told him that we lived about five blocks from there. He said, "Then you know where you are and what this place is like?" When we assured him that we were well acquainted with the area, he shook his head and said, "OK, I just wanted to make sure." After he left, Ethel Jane said, "I wish he hadn't done that. Now I don't feel safe anymore."

Even after all this rapport building, some neighbors declined being formally interviewed. With one exception, all the informants that did allow me to interview them with a prepared list of questions were visibly unconformable and would

volunteer little information beyond answering the questions. This was not at all the case when we met on an informal basis. They may have been uncomfortable because they associated a formal interview with interviews for jobs or social services. They may have felt uneasy because I was writing down their answers. Most likely they were put off because I started each interview by telling them what they told me was not privileged information and not to tell me anything that they wouldn't want anyone else to know. I had to be honest with them. Of course, I also told them I would not record their names with any of the data they gave me. I soon realized that these interviews were not going to be very fruitful. Most of what they told me I had already learned through informal conversations or observations. They were willing to tell me about their personal histories and their families almost as if it were a pleasure to reminisce. They would also tell me of their hopes for the future. This is good material for an ethnography but told me little of the USF area. They became curt when it came to talking about their present life, life in the USF area or how they were surviving. It is not streetwise to talk too much about what is going on around you or to expose too much of your own weaknesses.

Ethel Jane was present at all the formal interviews. She listened to the responses and observed the non-verbal reactions of the informants while I read the questions and wrote down the verbal responses. We would discuss what we had each observed after the informant left.

Living in the area allowed me to see the environment the way the residents see it. One cannot live in the area without being aware of the criminals and the crime throughout the area. It is not a matter of rumors or hearsay; one needs only to pay attention to the patterns in the lives of one's neighbors. Participant observation, in this case, was more than observing my neighbors and witnessing their first-hand experiences. My wife and I experienced some of the overt acts of

intimidation from the criminals in the area. Mail was stolen, opened and then returned without the removal of checks or valuables. Several dealers have sat in the back of my truck while it was in the parking lot and left their drug paraphernalia. Guns were discharged within feet of our apartment. My wife and I were often followed from the main entrance of the apartment complex to our apartment door. At times, some of the mid level dealers would knock on our door and when we opened the door, they would ask for some fictitious person. Starting with the second day after we moved in, this happened almost daily during our first month in the area.

In 1994, I became an active participant in the process of developing the request for a Weed and Seed grant and an Enterprise Community grant submitted by Hillsborough County for the subject area. I gave Judy Cramer, the project director for Weed and Seed, a copy of my field notes at that time. The county did not get the Enterprise Community grant, but they did get the Weed and Seed grant. There were only fifteen Weed and Seed grants awarded in the whole country that year. I am recognized by name for my contribution on page 114 in the document entitled Hillsborough County Operation Weed and Seed put out by the Hillsborough County Board of County Commissioners Community Action and Planning Agency (see Appendix 1).

Hillsborough County has used these field notes in subsequent grant applications. The most recent one I know of is an August 1994 application by the Hillsborough County School Superintendent Walter L. Sickles for a U.S. Department of Justice grant. According to the copy of the grant application that I received, a copy of my field notes and research proposal was attached to the original and sent to Attorney General Janet Reno (see Appendix 2).

Living in the area was not the only means of participant observation I made use of. I also worked for five months as a volunteer in the Hillsborough Sheriff's

Office in the Crimes Prevention Department. Trying to measure the crime in the area through newspaper reports bore little fruit. I learned very early in my residency that arrests I observed in the area seldom were reported in the paper. I only read what might be considered extraordinary. While working in the sheriff's office, I gained some insight as to how the primary law enforcement agency approaches the problem of crime prevention in general, and how they have grown to meet the need for greater law enforcement in the subject area. Even though the majority of my time was spent in the sheriff's office headquarters many miles from the USF area, I would not have taken the risk of associating myself with a police agency if I had not felt that I had already gathered enough data from my informants. Although the department I worked in, as well as others, was keenly concerned with crime in the USF area, I did not volunteer any information about crime, nor did they seem at all interested in the fact that I lived there. The sheriff's office had their own undercover agents living there.

My immediate supervisor was Detective Georgia Veitch. She had been one of the first six female sworn officers to join the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office. Only she and one other remained of that six, but today a third of the more than eight hundred deputies in Hillsborough are women. Georgia is about six foot tall and commands a great deal of respect even without the 38 cal. she carries in her purse. She deserves respect for her dedication and abilities. She has two degrees, one in social work and the other in criminology. Whenever I rode with Georgia in her unmarked car, we listened to the dispatcher on the police band. If we were in the vicinity of some action, she might respond to assist or as backup. This often required some unorthodox maneuvering through traffic. Georgia referred to herself as "a combat driver." On more than one occasion, she would simply tell me "Close your eyes!" as she wheeled the car around at high speed.

My primary job dealt with crimes against the elderly, but this gave me access to criminal records and an understanding of really how bad the crime was in the subject area. I spent about six weeks in the records department, pulling up all the computerized records from 1994 that involved anyone sixty years or older. The cases had to be separated according to whether the elderly were victims, perpetrators or witnesses. Then the elderly victims had to be cross sorted according to location and crime. Using USF's computer services, I compiled the data into bar and pie charts. Two areas of the county stood out as areas of high crime against the elderly. One area was Sun City in the southeastern part of the county. This is a major retirement community and it is not surprising that there was a large number of elderly victims. The major crime seemed to involve the stealing of golf bags. The other area for high crime against the elderly was the USF area. This area is not densely populated with elderly, it is just a high crime area. Car theft seemed to top the list here.

The sheriff's office did more than just investigate crimes against the elderly. They were often the first agency called for a variety of problems involving the elderly, including medical problems. Where it was appropriate, Georgia involved other county, state and private organization in providing for the needs of the elderly. It was a surprise to me to find out that elderly who are incapable of taking care of themselves are often neglected until the sheriff's office is called in to investigate.

Another of Georgia's responsibilities was to make follow-up calls to elderly victims. This had two purposes. First the calls let the victims know they had not been forgotten. Secondly, it was an opportunity to see if the victim could provide any additional information to add to the initial report. I could handle most of these calls without much trouble, and many of the victims were in the USF area. I was surprised to find victims in the highly secure University Village. I found that

Georgia is much better at handling the calls on domestic violence. Women would open up and discuss things with her that I am quite sure they would not have told me. I think this was when I realized the importance of having women as law officers.

Georgia saw that I was included in many of the inter-agency meetings. One set of inter-agency meetings involved many of the social services. Individual cases of abuse or neglect were discussed and recommendations were made as to what actions would be taken and by which agencies. The other set of meetings involves only law enforcement and security agencies. These meetings were held in a highly secure area of the Florida State Law Enforcement building. Detectives from neighboring counties and the state police, representatives from the state and federal Attorney General's Office, and representatives of private security services discussed ongoing investigations and exchanged data. I was astounded at all the different ways people can be separated from their money.

Although the sheriff's office has its own system of dividing the county up into areas other than census tracts, its statistician was able to provide me with a 1993 report where the crime data had been converted to census tracts. That was a great aid permitting me to make empirical comparisons with data from the 1990 U.S. census. Unfortunately, since making this conversion of data to census tracts is a costly process, it has not been repeated. There are no other reports, previous or prior, that I can use to make a longitudinal comparison.

A number of prisoners from the county jail performed maintenance and housekeeping chores in the same area I worked in. Since we saw each other on a daily basis, it was quite possible that they would recognize me on the outside, and I could get labeled as an undercover law officer. This would destroy any credibility I had with the residents of the USF area. What was even more unnerving was that on two different occasions, two different detectives greeted me

as "Joe" and asked what I was doing in the sheriff's office. On both occasions, when they found out that I was not Joe, they said I looked just like a detective in the Tampa Police Department. This may explain why the dealers kept checking us out when we first moved into the USF area.

Another phase of participant observation started when I began working for USF-FCOPC (Florida Community Opportunity Partnership Center) at the beginning of 1995. The FCOPC's goal is to help the community through university resources. The federal H.U.D. grant that the FCOPC works under covers four communities in the Tampa area. Each of these communities has its own unique set of needs and its own unique social structure. My primary area of responsibility was the USF area. In the USF area, the FCOPC activities must coordinate with the Weed and Seed activities in the same area so as to avoid duplication of effort. This occupation has given me access to much of the planning information and expanded my network of informants working to make a change. In this way, my research was being applied even before my dissertation was completed.

As part of my duties to FCOPC, I coordinated a random sample survey of residents in the area. This included the responsibility for the survey instrument as well as compiling the data. The survey has many purposes, but primarily it was meant to create a better understanding of the employment situation in the community in order to create a strategic economic plan for the area. Although the survey is not central to my research, it does verify much of what I had already learned from participant observation.

The primary objective of the survey was to indicate the employment needs and the employability of the residents. The survey instrument was designed in such a way that the results could be compared to the 1990 census data on several factors. The survey was pretested with students from the USF school of public health.

The original goal was to get 150 samples in total, fifty each from the two largest census tracts and twenty-five from each of the smaller tracts. About a dozen students from the school of public health showed some interest in helping with the survey and added a score of health questions to the survey instrument. I spent about an hour and a half with them one evening explaining the survey instrument, the goals of the survey, the USF area and the need to be streetwise. I told them to dress conservatively and not to wear jewelry. I told them to be out of the area by five in the afternoon. They were to stay in pairs and not to enter apartments where there were two or more adult males. I told them to place their auto tags in their back windows and to keep their car doors locked. If they had a "club" for their steering wheel, they were to use it when they left their car unattended. They would be given plastic holders so that they could clip their picture I.D.s on their shirts or blouses and they would be given a letter of introduction from the FCOPC. However, after this class, these students decided in mass not to take part in the survey. Neither did any of the volunteers from MADDADS (Men Against Destruction Defending Against Drugs and Social disorder) show up as their local president Robert Roberson had promised. In the end, we had to settle for just my wife, Ethel Jane, and myself doing a pilot survey in one of the smaller census tracts. Ethel Jane, having done surveys professionally, was far more experienced than I am. She only needed to get used to the instrument. We did the pilot survey on two consecutive Saturdays to ensure that we had an equal chance of finding employed people at home. We selected the census tract farthest from USF to reduce the prospects of interviewing students. In fact none of our respondents were currently students anywhere.

The number of samples that would be taken in each apartment complex was based on the size of the complex with no more then four samples in the largest

complexes. We limited ourselves to three samples of private residences west of Nebraska Avenue in keeping with the ratio of apartments to private residences. As we entered an apartment complex, we first located the apartment manager, identified ourselves and explained the purpose for the survey. All the apartment managers gave us permission to survey their tenants. Of the people we found home, we had about an eighty-five percent response rate. Contrary to the instructions that I had given to the public health students, Ethel Jane and I would split up after deciding how many interviews each one would try for in each complex. We would meet back at the car and go on to the next complex. The questions, about eighty, were read to the respondents and their answers were written on separate survey sheets. If the respondent wanted to give more detailed answers, their comments were written on the back of the sheets. After covering the whole census tract, we had twenty two clean surveys samples and felt it would be redundant to try for three more.

After the data from these samples were compiled, they were compared to 1990 census data and found to be very close on most of the demographic factors. Some of the factors were within one or two percent of what would be expected from the census data. The FCOPC was satisfied with the integrity of the pilot survey. The resulting data were made into pie charts and tables, and I presented them in a report at a Weed and Seed Steering Committee meeting. Readers who wish more details on this survey report should contact Dr. J. Lieberman at the FCOPC.

The survey was not continued at that time because it would have conflicted with a survey that the Weed and Seed project was required to do in the area. Their survey included about fifty survey takers supported by the Florida National Guard. Later on I found I was too busy with other tasks for the FCOPC to continue with the survey. I attended and became an active participant in meetings with county, federal and university administrators. As the FCOPC's Community

Facilitator for the USF area, I often reported on progress in the area. I attended meetings with county officials such as: Vince Pardo, Director of Community Action and Planning Agency; Janet Austin, Executive Planner; Jeanette Fenton, Director of Commerce Department; Patricia Cutrono, Supervisor Department of Social Services; Mario Rendina, Deputy-Director Employment & Training Department and Ned Baier, transportation Demand Manager. I met with community workers such as: Lori Evans, Manager of the University Community Resource Center; Peggy Krotz, Department of Social Services; Bobbi Davis, YMCA's Director of Grant Development and Training; Anneliese Meier, Neighborhood Program Coordinator; Larue Dorsey, Case Management Supervisor and Diana Carsey, HARTLine Director of Planning. I attended nearly every meeting of the USFACCA (USF Area Community Civic Association) during the time I lived in the USF area.

Most of my time working for FCOPC was spent in trying to find some basis for a grass roots effort in the USF area. The USFACCA did not seem to be representative of the community. Out of about two hundred attendees, there were never more than two African Americans present where, according to the census, 40% of the residents are African American. To the best of my knowledge, there were never more than three renters present where the majority of the residents are renters. Landlords made up their own association within the USFACCA, and their concern was not community action but rather simply changing the public's perception of the community. They were not concerned with changing the transient nature of the residents, but they wanted to change the appellation "Suitcase City" to something that sounded more attractive. Instead of praising the sheriff's office for reductions of crime in the area, they often berated them because their officers discussed crime in the area with the news media. They demanded a gag placed on deputies concerning the USF area.

Although there are people in the USFACCA who sincerely want to make changes in the community, the organization seems to have a top down mentality. They perceive the government agencies as orchestrating changes and community volunteers lending assistance when they are called upon. The USFACCA does not provide a forum for individual resident concerns such as, "I have guys dealing dope in front of my apartment", "We have homeless people camping in the vacant lot next door" or " People are dumping trash at the end of our street." There was never any discussion of what residents could do or wanted to do independent of a government agency.

In an effort to find a grass roots basis in the area to build community action on, I had private meetings with MADDADS, local church ministers and individual residents. MADDADS seems to be more of a concept than an actual organization. The church congregations consisted primarily of nonresidents. Some of the residents had had bad experiences on previous attempts to become proactive.

Lori Evans, the manager of the University Community Resource Center, also known as the Safe Heaven, along with two sheriff's deputies, Sonja Shepherd and Laz Andino, understood what community action really meant and attracted a group of about twenty home owners and renters that wanted to change the area. This group elected to call itself the University Area Action Committee (UAAC). This group was not formed until late in the Spring of 1995. I attended all of its meetings until I left the area in the fall of 1995 and helped write its mission statement. One of its early actions was to target a particular area for an anti-drug march. This march was repeated three times over a month in the same area. The resident that had made the original complaint said five months later the dealers had not returned to her neighborhood. Other actions targeted code enforcers to specific sore spots and forced non-resident property owners to take care of their

property. About the time the members in the UAAC began to feel that residents could empower themselves to make a difference in the community, other agencies decided to co-opt this grass roots organization. First Amy Rabeck, Legislative Assistant to Victor Crist, attended a UAAC meeting and said we had no business forming this group outside of the USFCAAC. Amy said that if we wanted to continue as a group, we could come under the umbrella of the USFCAAC. The UAAC voted to stay autonomous. Shortly after this, Captain Carl Hawkins of the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office started attending UAAC meetings. In the first meeting he attended, Captain Hawkins gave a speech on community empowerment and then proceeded to tell the group that first they must change their name, second they could not remain autonomous, third they would only work on projects selected by the sheriff's office and lastly the sheriff's office would rewrite the UAAC's mission statement. Captain Hawkins and I had many heated arguments, both public and private, over the next three weeks. Fortunately, I had the backing of Terry O'Brien, an influential resident and property manager who understood what community empowerment really meant. Captain Hawkins was finally persuaded to back off, but attendance at UAAC meetings had dropped to about six residents in the meantime. The UAAC was in the process of rebuilding itself at the time I left the area.

Data Collection and Treatment:

Interviews with informants were mostly informal, but on occasions the interviews followed a prepared list of questions. The informal interviews mostly took place in residents' businesses, homes, parking lots, or in their front yards. These were casual interviews, but the informants were always told that I was an

anthropologist, and that I was researching the area. Notes were written down later the same day while the conversations were still fresh in my mind.

I would have liked using a tape recorder, but this would have put many of my informants on their guard. Even when I interviewed an informant in my living room, they would become cautious about answering some questions. I could not blame them for being cautious, because they often could not be sure that I was who I said I was. I could be a police informant, someone working for the dealers trying to find police informants or I could have been someone concerned about child welfare and their fitness as parents. Part of being streetwise in the USF area is to keep quiet about crime and never get too friendly with government agencies.

Residents' desire for anonymity was obvious when I used my camera in the USF area. I would sometimes drive up to an apartment complex where six to a dozen men were congregated. As soon as they saw my camera, they would disappear. On one occasion I wanted to take a picture of an apartment sign that was erected behind a bus stop. When the man, who was sitting on a bench waiting for the bus, saw my camera, he jumped up and ran down to the next bus stop. I have very few pictures of the USF area with people in them. Even in some of the pictures of truants, the children would turn their heads or cover their faces.

Before doing a scheduled interview with prepared questions, informants were advised that what they told me could not be considered privileged information. They were told not to tell me anything that they would not like others to know. None of my informants' names are associated with my notes. I worked out some type of compensation for the prepared interview in advance. Usually this compensation was a service such as providing transportation, or baby-sitting. In the case where money was involved, it was no more than five dollars for an hour of their time.

Other Local Sources and Surveys:

By sheer good fortune, my research took place during a time when Hillsborough County, the USF Area Community Civic Association (USFACCA) and the Florida Community Opportunity Partnership Center (FCOPC) at USF were becoming active in solving the problems that are resulting in a negative development of the area. This has made available to me information that would have taken me years to gather if I had to do it alone. As part of the Weed and Seed grant, the county did a 1995 resident survey on crime. The FCOPC did a survey on employment and businesses in the area. The USFACCA holds regular meetings featuring elected politicians and state and county administrators as speakers.

The most comprehensive data the county has available is based on Steve Gouldman's internship (1994). All of the county's needs assessment data are the result of research done by Gouldman. The plans going forward at this time are a product of that needs assessment.

National and State Sources of Data:

The USF library has statistical data, both printed and computerized, that have been of great value to me in understanding the broader nature of what is being observed in the USF area. Primarily I used data from the 1990 census and was able to extract data specific to the five census tracts associated with the USF area.

I was able to review national gender and racial divisions of labor by job occupations in the Statistical Abstract of United States, a yearly publication published by The National Data Book, U.S. Department of Commerce, Economic and Statistics Administration, Bureau of Census. I reviewed selected years between 1960 and 1993.

The Florida Statistical Abstract, compiled by the Bureau of Economics and Business Research, College of Business Administration at the University of Florida and published by University Press of Gainesville, provided county by county data on employment by gender and major races.

The University of South Florida Fact Book provided data on the student body, staff, faculty and administration. The Annie E. Casey Foundation in Baltimore, Maryland was kind enough to send me a copy of their 1995 yearbook Kids Count that gives national and state statistics on health and social conditions of children.

The Department of Child and Family Studies at the Florida Mental Health Institute provided their 1994 yearbook Key Facts About the Children and other more recent material covering the education, health and social conditions of children in Florida in a county by county representation.

Bias:

In any social analysis, one must be careful about introducing his or her own bias into the interpretation of the data. One might assume that I had no experience in economic deprivation and had no business studying the economically deprived in the USF area. One also might assume from the contents of this dissertation that I was brought up in a culture where men went to work and women stayed home and made cookies. Such assumptions are only partially valid. Although this

dissertation is not about me but rather about the residents in the USF area, I think it would be helpful to the readers to understand a little of my own background. My maternal grandmother, who died of heart failure before I was born, was a school teacher. My maternal grandfather was a railroad engineer. He disappeared before I was three so I never really got to know him.

My paternal grandparents met while they were both working in a shoe factory. My grandfather started selling door to door a new product called "oleo margarine." He was so successful at this that he was able to quit his day job in the shoe factory and eventually built his capital into owning four grocery stores, a meat market and a delicatessen. My paternal grandmother did not leave the shoe factory immediately after they married, but continued to work outside the home until her first pregnancy in 1902. My grandmother didn't restrict herself to just taking care of her home and five children. She was an active participant in the family business, especially the delicatessen. She not only sold prepared food out of one of the stores, she supplied hundreds of pounds of baked beans and salads, that she and my grandfather made together, to several local restaurants each week.

My mother left school after the eighth grade to help take care of her ailing mother. My father left school after the eighth grade to work in the family business. They met and married in the late 1920s while the U.S. still had a growing economy. However, in 1933 the bottom fell out for the family fortunes. My grandfather had invested too heavily in stock that became worthless and extended too much credit to his customers, including restaurants and hotels. As his customers lost employment and restaurants and hotels filed for bankruptcy, my grandfather could not collect and in turn could not pay his creditors. The family business filed for bankruptcy and my grandfather and his four sons had to start working for wages. My grandfather worked nights in a bakery for $15.00 per week. However, with the whole family contributing, every creditor was

eventually paid in full. During this time, my grandmother worked at home to stretch their income. She canned and preserved meat from the animals my grandfather raised. She cleaned and dressed chickens. She canned fruits and vegetables when they were in season. She sewed and mended clothing to make it last longer. She cleaned and sorted eggs that my father sold in town.

My grandfather had been able to save five acres, a house and barn in the hills south of Binghamton, NY. The land was a mixture of hardpan clay and rock that had been dumped there by a glacier eons ago. In the spring the ground turned to mush and by the end of summer it set up like concrete. There seemed to be no end to the rocks we had to deal with. My father built the small house where I was born across the road from his parents. The house was twelve by twenty feet and divided into three rooms. My current living room has more floor space than that entire house did. The house was heated by a wood stove in the kitchen and a potbelly coal stove in the living room. At night, it was lit by kerosene lamps. The toilet was about thirty feet behind the house. The nearest running water was in a creek at the foot of the hill. The house had a cellar with a dirt floor. The cellar was used as a coal bin and storage for canned fruits and vegetables. There was no insulation in the walls, and the outside of the house was covered with rolled roofing. In the sub-zero weather of a northeastern winter, with both stoves glowing a cherry red, we still had to bundle up in blankets while we sat and listened to my mother read to us. Until I was six, I had to share a bed with my two older sisters at one end of the living room. Then my father built a room for me just large enough to get a cot in.

My mother, like my grandmother, canned fruit and vegetables in season. She picked wild raspberries, blackberries and blueberries to supplement our diet, and she sewed, darned, knitted and crocheted to keep us warm in the winter. In the late summer, she would pick apples off the ground in a neighboring orchard and

the owner would pay her a nickel a bushel for this back breaking labor. Still, she found time to read and instilled a love for books in all of her children. She also taught me how to shoot a rifle. When her brothers would come to visit, they would have a contest to see who could break the most matchsticks at fifty yards. My mother could hold her own in these contests.

Were we poor? I didn't think so at the time. Many of my peers were in worse situations than we were. They lived in smaller one room tarpaper shacks set up on cinder block piers. If they had gloves at all for winter, they usually were torn with fingers missing. They often had little or nothing to bring to school for lunch. Their faces and hands were chapped in the winter with coal dust ground into the cracks of their skin.

When the second world war broke out, my father tried to enlist, but he was declared "4F."However, he found work in a defense plant and suddenly life got much better. We moved into what seemed to be a mansion next to the railroad switching yard in Binghamton. My mother, no longer tied down by the necessity to economize, found a job managing an ice cream parlor. My two older sisters were old enough to help with the housework and they made sure I did my share. While I was living in roses, many of the children I went to school with lived in rat infested cold water flats contiguous to the city garbage dump.

After the war, the U.S. experienced a recession. With defense contracts drying up, many factories were having a hard time changing over to domestic products. My father's work was being cut back and some of his coworkers were laid off. About this time, my mother, who was still young and attractive, decided she wanted more out of life. My parents were divorced when I was eleven, and my father was left with their three youngest children. My oldest sister had just graduated from high school and could support herself. The house was sold and we went to live with my paternal grandparents. The profit from the house sale was

soon eaten up when my father was laid off and went through a period of unemployment. He finally found work in the same bakery that my grandfather worked in.

In my fourteenth summer, I worked, without working papers, for a building contractor. At that time the Korean War was on and I was allured to the military while listening to the exploits of U.N. forces that came over the radio while I worked. Before my junior year in high school, I quit school and joined the Marine Corps. I did a lot of growing up in a short time. When I got an early discharge for medical reasons, I went back to finish high school. I was a little older than most of the students, but I wasn't the only ex-service person there. It was about that time that I met the woman that I promised to love, honor and share the rest of my life with. At that time, Ethel Jane worked for Security Mutual Life Insurance Co. calculating the premiums for large policies. When we married, I was working as a machinist in a bottling plant. However, before our first child was born, I went to work for IBM as a janitor. Ethel Jane left her job when she was six moths pregnant and started her career as a full time mom. Between hard work and going to college part time, I worked my way up to Staff Engineer. In my spare time, like my father before me, I built a house for my family, but on a much grander scale with inside plumbing and electric lights. We needed a large house for our six children, four boys and two girls. When our youngest was in second grade, it became apparent that Ethel Jane needed a career change. We didn't need the money at the time, but we saw it as added insurance that if anything happened to me, Ethel Jane would have the job skills and experience to take care of the family. At first she worked part time temporary through a job agency. Then she worked part time permanent. She didn't start working full time until IBM transferred me to Germany as one of their European liaisons. Ethel Jane found a job on a U.S. military base as a bookkeeper. Between my salary and overseas allowance, we

were making about a hundred thousand a year, but Ethel Jane's job gave the whole family base privileges and that was something money alone could not buy. When we returned to the U.S., Ethel Jane found her niche as a bookkeeper for small contractors. Because many small contractors cannot afford a full time bookkeeper, Ethel Jane worked out a schedule with several different contractors according to their needs. Ethel Jane had no desire to get a degree, but she did study accounting to improve her skills and maintained a 4.0 g.p.a.

Our eldest daughter, Susan, decided that she wanted to join the army after high school. When she asked my advice, we discussed what it meant to be a woman in the military. She enlisted with her eyes open and her parents' support for making this choice. The Army trained her as a medical laboratory technician, and on her own she got a B.A. in accounting. After reaching the rank of E 6, she left the military with her green beret lieutenant husband to start life on the outside. I think I was the most proud of her when she was called back during the Persian Gulf War and was placed in charge of the medical laboratory at Walter Reed. Presently, she is the main support for their family while her husband goes to law school. They share the responsibility of taking care of their two sons.

Our youngest daughter, Mary, put herself through college by working in a small manufacturing company as an assembler. She met her husband there and is presently a full time mom, home schooling her four children and providing day care for several mothers working outside the home. Her husband now runs their audio business.

When I took an early retirement from IBM and started grad school full time, Ethel Jane's income became very important to the family. Three of our sons subsequently experienced periods of unemployment as local businesses started down sizing. They and their families needed help through the rough times. I would never have been able to stay in grad school if she had not been working.

The point is that my cultural experience has been with both the rich and the poor. While it has been my cultural experience that a man should work and support his family, it has not been my bias that a woman should be relegated to the kitchen to make cookies. All the women in my life do make great cookies, but then so do my sons and grandsons.

Families and their needs change over time. Their economic needs change as the family grows and then diminishes. The attention and social needs of each member of the family changes as the family matures. As a wise man said "For all things there is a season." Each member must do what it takes to preserve the family (Etzioni 1993: 55-57, 64-65; Gallagher 1996: 173-184; Popenoe 1996: 197-199). The reader might also be interested to know something about my experiences in human resource management. I have a certificate in business from the State University of New York at Binghamton, and my management training centered on human resource management. Although at one time, I would have liked to pursue human resource management as a career, I have never actually held that title. However, like many managers and staff in IBM, I was often called upon to work with the personnel department during recruiting drives. Because I had an engineering background as well as being trained in human resource management, I was often called upon to assist and give guidance to engineering and programming managers in selecting new personnel. Normally, I would interview the candidate separate from the potential manager and then compare notes after the manager interviewed the candidate. This experience gave me an opportunity to correct some acts of prejudice, but it may have jaded my opinion of affirmative action programs. On one occasion, it was pointed out to a manager that while the nine engineers that he had just recruited were eminently qualified, they were all blue eyed, blond haired males. I don't believe he realized what a "coincidence" this was until then. But, he quickly understood what this apparent bias could mean to his

career as a manager in a corporation dedicated to equal opportunity. The next engineer he hired was an African American male who was also eminently qualified. On another occasion, with a different manager, after we both had a chance to review the personnel file and interview an African American male candidate, I met with the manager. I told him I believed the candidate had impeccable credentials. He had a 3.8 g.p.a. in computer science from one of the better universities and had several letters of recommendation from his professors. In the interview, I had found him knowledgeable and articulate. But when I asked the manager if we were going to make the candidate an offer, the manager replied, "I don't think so. All through my interview with him, he never looked me in the eye. I don't trust anyone who won't look me in the eye when they're talking to me." I pointed out to this manager that this was a cultural norm among some segments of African Americans (Eschholz, Rosa and Clark 1982:25-26; Condon and Yousef 1975:139). I don't think he believed me until I showed it to him in a book on nonverbal communications. Fortunately I had studied linguistic anthropology. The candidate was hired and proved a great asset to the company. Things did not always turn out this well. On another occasion with the same manager, we discussed a Vietnamese immigrant who also had a respectable g.p.a. and letters of recommendation. The manager said "I can't hire him. You know the job description. My department interfaces with many other projects and locations. I require someone with excellent communication skills. This guy's English is not good enough." I could not argue this case and since the man was not interviewed by any other manager, he was not offered a position with IBM.

There never was any problem in finding enough minority male engineers and programmers to meet or exceed community representation. Finding female engineers and programmers was another matter, especially in the late 1960s. The earliest female engineers and programmers I worked with came from Canada. Even

today, women are a minority in graduates with engineering or computer science degrees. However, community representation goals could not be met with less than a fifty percent female engineering and programming staff. This may be an impossible goal, but one that favored the hiring and promotion of women. Personnel folders of candidates were sent to each manager that had an opening and they selected who they wanted to interview. Male candidates usually had one to three interviews in which they may or may not get a job offer. However, I never knew of a female engineer or programmer that had less that a dozen interviews with the majority of the managers making an offer. High profile projects, projects that had the most attention from upper management, received greater funding and resulted in the greatest opportunity for promotion for participants at completion of the project. Engineers and programmers naturally preferred high profile projects when they were given the choice. Female candidates had more opportunity to choose high profile projects.

Hiring women and minorities into entry level positions alone does not demonstrate equal opportunity. Women and minorities have to be represented at all levels of an organization. Moving women into management seemed to be a problem. It was not a problem to find capable women within IBM, the problem was keeping them in a first level management position long enough to gain the experience needed to move up the management ladder. As one personnel manager told me, for every four women put into first level management, three asked to be relieved of the position within the first two years. First level managers in IBM have great responsibility, little authority and almost no discretionary power. They cannot unilaterally hire or fire anyone. Hiring or firing must be reviewed by human resource managers in personnel to protect the company against law suites. Salaries are controlled by salary administration. Overtime must be cleared through middle management. Employee performance appraisals must follow a bell curve

for each department no matter how many exceptional people a manager really has. Petty cash vouchers over fifty dollars must be cleared through second level management. However, the first level manager is held responsible for the performance of her or his department. Without additional pay, they must cover overtime and weekend operations. They must be ready to travel to other locations or overseas at the discretion of upper management. They must deal with subordinates' personal problems, family illnesses, deaths, family breakups and legal problems. Often in technical or engineering departments the first level manager has a lower salary than many of his or her senior staff. First level managers, especially if they start on one of the night shifts, have meager social lives and little time for their families. It was not uncommon for both men and women to ask to be relieved of management responsibilities. However, in order to demonstrate equal opportunity, IBM makes a greater effort to keep women in management. One case I am familiar with, because I was copied on the memo from my fourth level manager to a second level manager in another project. The fourth level manager had a woman, a first level manager in one of his high profile departments, who wanted to leave management. The second level manager being addressed in the memo had an opening for a first level manager in a smaller department. The fourth level manager told this second level manager that if the woman would accept this opening, she was to be given preference over any male candidates no matter what their qualifications. He clearly stated he had no intention of being called in question by the human resource manager for losing a woman manager. The woman had two years experience as a junior programmer and two years experience as a manager. By reputation, she performed excellently in both of these positions, but whether or not she was better qualified than any of the male candidates, who had more years of experience, could be argued, but to no avail. So long as she met the minimum qualifications, a human resource manager

would agree that she must be given preference (Christenson, Johnson and Stinson 1982:312). She did take the new management position. Did the male candidates feel deprived? Should they feel deprived (Crosby, Muehrer and Loewenstein 1986:19)?

I support the fairness of equal opportunity in the work place; that is that each individual should be appraised for her/his individual abilities regardless of race, sex, color, religion, age etc.; this is equity based on equality offering opportunity to those who have need. On a personal, level my experience has been that affirmative action programs, the way they work presently, are unfair; that is, they often ignore an individual's ability and performance, making race and gender the predominant factors. This is equality regardless of equity with no consideration of need.

Analysis:

Taking a holistic approach to my research meant I had to look at the situation in the USF area from many different aspects. Almost every aspect I considered offered contributing factors, but none offered a single-underlying-factor that would explain why the USF area developed to its current state. However, analysis has yielded a hypothesis of what the major contributing factors are.

A more detailed discussion of the use of anthropological theory is presented in the fifth chapter; let it suffice for now to say that I considered several theories and borrowed parts that I thought were appropriate. The analysis of what I observed led me to study social theory on crime and adolescence, literature on work and gender and recent literature on the value of a biological father in a home (e.g. Biller 1993; Blankenhorn 1995; Musik 1993; O'Hare 1995;). Understanding today's

situation in the USF area required that I research both local history as well as national history that has helped to shape the current social structure and economy.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction:

The complexity of the social environment of my research area has brought me to a multi-faceted theoretical perspective on the situation. That perspective is based on a set of events and ideas that signal a nationwide shift in ideology level over the past thirty years. To a great extent males lost the role of family provider, and there was acceptance of the idea that a woman could "have it all." The structure of the local job market is such that males, and especially minority males, have found it increasingly difficult to find employment that can support a family. It has been necessary to view the situation in the USF area from the macro national level as well as at the micro local level because the problems are not just local problems. Residents cannot change their lives by simply moving out of the area, and policy makers cannot hope to solve all the problems on a local level. While the job market in the USF area predominantly favors female employment , the research area is only a little over four square miles. Since approximately eighty-five percent of the resident families do not own property in the area, there is little to prevent them from moving if they were cognizant of an area with greater male employment. The data presented in the first chapter show that the problem

of male unemployment and underemployment is widespread, a national problem, leaving little choice for the residents other than maximizing within the existing situation. The lack of male employment, in turn, has a detrimental effect on the social structure. Male unemployment or underemployment leads to an increase in single-parent families. The high number of single women in the area, the low expectations of male employment and an available market for drug sales combine to facilitate crime in the area. The high level of crime, combined with non-resident property owners and businessmen, has allowed the area to "develop" in a negative fashion economically. This negative economic development has resulted in creating an area that allows the residents to live at a higher material standard of living than they could normally afford. In order to take advantage of this economic situation, residents must adapt to the local environment. This adaptation, in turn, tends to stabilize and maintain an environment that is conducive to crime. The complexity of the multi-level situation requires reference to a number of different theories to explain what is occurring sociologically and economically in the USF area.

Hypothesis:

My original hypothesis had been that there is a third culture that acts as a buffer between the criminals and the larger culture. Without this buffer culture, I hypothesized, criminals could not find sanctuary in the area. My intention was to research this buffer culture and its networks. As I will explain under the heading "Application of Anthropological Theory," what I found is not a true culture as would be defined by an anthropologist such as Edward Sapir (Sapir 1924:401-429; Preston 1984:197-198; Sapir 1994:38). Nevertheless, this research has led me to

an understanding of how this situation developed in the subject area. Taking a holistic approach to my research meant I had to look at the situation in the USF area from many different aspects. Almost every aspect I considered offered contributing factors, but none offered a single-underlying-factor that would explain why the USF area developed to its current state. Still, analysis has yielded a hypothesis of what the major contributing factors are. My hypothesis is that there are two underlying factors, which, in combination with the other contributing factors, allowed the USF area to develop as it has. These two factors are (1) a high male unemployment rate in the USF area and (2) a low ratio of resident property owners relative to tenants in the area. I theorize that the high male unemployment is the result of a shift in ideology at a national level exacerbated by the particular development of the local economy. The low ratio of resident property owners to tenants in the area is a direct result of unplanned development.

A shift in ideology at the national level was discussed in the first chapter under the heading "Unintended Consequences of National Changes 1960-1994." This shift in ideology has contributed to increased unemployment for males nationally. As discussed in the third chapter under the heading of "Socioeconomics and Disparity," the greatest effect has been felt by minority males. The local job market compounds this problem since it is primarily oriented toward female employment as discussed in the second chapter under the heading of "Local Job Market." In short, due to a shift in ideology at a national level over the past thirty years and the structure of the local job market, males, and especially minority males, are handicapped in gaining employment that would support a family (cf. Newman 1994:129-137). If this were just a local problem, the reader would be justified in asking, "Why don't they find jobs in other areas?" Understanding the national situation satisfies that question.

The lack of male employment is having a detrimental effect on the social structure. Over sixty percent of the households in the subject area are headed by single adults. As stated in the first chapter, families with unemployed males are twice as likely to end in divorce as families with employed males. Unemployed and underemployed males are reluctant to take on the responsibilities of a family (O'Hare 1995:6). Male unemployment or underemployment contributes to an increase in single-parent families.

As I demonstrated in the second chapter under the heading of "Local History 1960-1994," the high number of single women in the area, the low expectations of male employment and an available market for drug sales combine to facilitate crime in the area. Single women who think about having a "real family," are exploited by the area's unemployed males. Many of these males, who have redefined masculinity as the ability to hustle, supplement their income through drug sales and other criminal activities as was described under the heading "Urban Crime" in the third chapter.

Approximately eighty-five percent of the area's resident families are tenants. In most cases the apartments are owned by non-residents and all of the retail stores are owned and operated by non-residents. Since many of the apartment owners do not have resident property managers, resident tenants are left on their own after the apartment office closes. By ten in the evening most businesses are closed, leaving large sections of the neighborhood without anyone with a vested interest in it. This leaves the area open to criminal activities and vandalism.

The high level of crime, combined with non-resident property owners and businessmen, has allowed the area to develop in a negative economic fashion. Car thefts, muggings and robberies in the area have been detrimental to both private property owners and local businesses. Property values have dropped, and it has been increasingly difficult to find buyers for the many properties on the market.

The customer base for some retail stores has dropped off, and a number of businesses have left the area further affecting the local job market.

Crime has had a detrimental effect on landlords. The number of USF students who live in the area has steadily decreased as crime increased. It has been increasingly difficult to find tenants who are desperate enough, or foolish enough, to move into this high risk area. Apartment complexes find themselves in competition with each other and have reduced rents to about seventy to eighty percent of what equivalent apartments would get elsewhere. This negative economic development has resulted in creating an area that allows the residents to enjoy a higher standard of living than they would normally afford in another area.

In order to take advantage of this economic situation, residents must adapt to the local environment. This adaptation, in turn, tends to stabilize and maintain the environment that is conducive to crime.

Early in this study, I argued that criminals cannot exist in an otherwise law abiding community without the existence of a buffer group of people to mitigate the differences between these two cultures. It is not too different from the situation of guerrilla warfare. A guerrilla army cannot maintain a sanctuary that is not surrounded by an area that will at least remain neutral (Klonis 1972:120,149; Waghelstein, Harper and Bernstein 1989:416-418). In order for criminals to operate in a given area, there must exist a neutral element that buffers them from the law abiding element. The buffer element must be able to function both in the criminal culture as well as in the law abiding culture.

This buffer element is not really a culture itself. It is not even a subculture as Valentine would define it (1968:113-120). It is a culture in transition. It consists of segments of the other two cultures. It is not a unique culture itself, although it has some distinctive cultural traits. It cannot be defined as a unique culture because the cultural traits and norms that set it apart are not handed down from

one generation to another within the same family or group (Sapir 1924:401-429; Peston 1984:197-198; Sapir 1994:38). Many of the people in this group have come to their present social state after being raised in a more affluent family. They can be best described as *nouveaux pauvres*. There are no institutions that are characteristic of this buffer group; that lack of institutions makes it unique. Although individuals are capable of carrying out actions and goals, they are not organized as a group for any established purpose. They are not associated with one ethnic group, one religion or one economic class. One of my greatest frustrations, as a community facilitator for the Florida Community Opportunity Partnership Center, has been that there is no grass-roots organization that represents the majority of the residents, the renters. This was also a concern of Steve Gouldman (1994).

On the other hand, in the USF area, this buffer group can be defined as a community if not a society. The residents have unwritten rules that generate and guide behavior. They have unique standards of perceiving, predicting, judging, and acting. They possess unique knowledge of what goes on in their community. They have beliefs not shared by representatives of either of the cultures they deal with. They are street wise and share experiences with other members of their community. They have a standardized way of seeing and thinking about the world and understanding relationships among people, things and events.

Some of the actions of this buffer group are criminal in a passive way. They aid and abet known criminals although they may see it as helping a friend or relative. They are purchasing or redistributing stolen goods, although their consciences are clear because they didn't ask any questions. They fail to report criminal actions because they see it as none of their business. At the same time, they are not actively committing crimes such as drug dealing, theft, robbery or prostitution. They may have full-time or part-time jobs and even attend religious

services. They appear to be part of the law abiding community who mind their own business, while in fact, they are existing in both cultures.

Single women seem to be a central factor in the USF area community. These women fall into several overlapping categories. There are the single mothers living with their children, single mothers living separate from their children, non-mothers, women without jobs, women with jobs and students. The thing that they all have in common is that there is no husband.

The lack of a husband or any relatively stable male partner puts them in a state of vulnerability. They are more economically vulnerable than married couples. They are vulnerable to exploitation by self-centered males. They are intimidated by criminals more easily than a married couple is.

The male elements, in the buffer group, fall into two categories. There are the single males who live alone and support themselves, and there are also males who live with and exploit single women in the area. These males are usually unemployed or under-employed. Unemployed lovers exploit these single women in either active or passive ways. The unemployed live-in lovers will watch the children, do some cooking (especially grilling) and generally play the game so long as it is to their benefit. If a single woman has some savings or her credit is good enough to get a loan, the more exploitive fellows will talk a single woman into "lending" them money for very pressing reasons, and then they will disappear. Single women who are the objects of these scams seldom report them, either because they have some residual attachment to the men or because they are too embarrassed. Thieves, robbers and drug dealers will also exploit single women, but I consider them as part of a separate, but overlapping culture.

One of the surprises of this research has been that many of those in the USF area, who are presently living near or below the poverty line, do not have a history of poverty. Their present situation started with loss of a husband,

unexpected pregnancy or loss of a job. Newman (1988) gives numerous examples of similar situations in her research on a national basis.

One of my neighbors had her electricity turned off for a month for lack of payment. I later met her parents. Her father is a retired non-commissioned officer who after retirement had owned and operated his own business overseas. Her mother, a college graduate, member of the Phi Beta Kappa honorary society, currently teaches school and runs her own business in Tampa. Both parents drive expensive late model cars. The neighbor herself has one year of college. The father of the youngest of her three children, she told me, owns several dry-cleaning establishments. Another neighbor receiving aid from HRS has two years of college and up until her first pregnancy, held a supervisory position with a pharmaceutical company. Another neighbor who was always behind in her rent was, on occasion, visited by her mother and an aunt, both driving new cars. A middle aged male, living alone, was sporadically unemployed. He was a skilled maintenance man who at one time supported a family. These are a few examples of people in the USF area who have fallen into poverty. Although poverty is not a situation they chose, it is often the result of poor choices or limited opportunities.

Cultures can ordinarily be characterized by their institutions. This buffer group is characterized by what it lacks. Marriage generally is an institution that binds not only a couple together but families as well. Each partner in a marriage brings the resources of their family, friends and business associates to the union. Attendance at the wedding ceremony and the wedding gifts are investments of time and money in this marriage. These investments represent a pledge of support for this couple. However, the absence of the institution of marriage has left many of the single mothers in the USF area without these resources or support. Wedding showers and baby showers are institutions that reinforce the

connections to these resources as well as redistributing wealth, but these also are absent for most of the single mothers. Christenings, circumcisions, and baby dedications are institutions that establish a commitment between one's religious organization and the children as well as reinforce ties with family and friends. Most of the single mothers in the USF area are missing these resources as well. A birthday party for a child creates friendships among parents and neighbors. Few of the single mothers in the USF area can afford presents for their children, let alone a birthday party.

Networks represent resources. They provide jobs, loans, transportation, advice and moral support. The larger one's network, the greater is one's chance for success; the smaller one's network, the more limited one's chance for success. I did not collect network data per se. From observing my neighbors and asking specifically where they go when they need help, I have what I feel is a fairly accurate concept of what their networks look like.

Single mothers and their children start out with less than half the network available to most two-parent families. The networks of the father and the paternal grandparents are missing. In addition to this, it appears in the USF area, many of the more than fifteen hundred single mother families area are missing much of the support from the maternal grandparents and their networks. Gonzales and Lamphere (1993:267) found in their study of single mothers that many single mothers were somewhat distant or even estranged from their own parents. "In general, single mothers were thrown on their own in forging a support network" (Gonzales and Lamphere 1993:270).

It appears that since their daughter's lifestyle is outside the parent's cultural norms, they are punishing their daughter by holding back support. Naturally, few in the parents' network will feel free to give support to the daughter without the parents' approval. Support from married friends is also limited. As many

divorced or widowed women discover, married couples who were friends of the family before the loss of the husband, often find it awkward to include the single woman and her children in their family activities. This dearth of a social network greatly limits the chance for these women or their children to rise above their present economic status.

The quality or richness of one's network also makes a difference. To compensate for these limitations on their networks, these single women and their children reach out to those around them. Making networks of single mothers does little to improve their material situation although it may fulfill some psychological needs. All these women lacking resources are in the same boat. They can do little except lend a sympathetic ear, and since they have their own problems, they are reluctant to do that very often.

Male relationships tend to be unfruitful also. In their present economic state, living in the USF area, the majority of the single males are unemployed or under-employed, and close to poverty themselves. Lacking the ability to support a family, these males will often run out on the single woman, when she becomes pregnant. Even if a "lover" is gainfully employed, he is often reluctant to take on the responsibility for someone else's child. Bearing children by different men drives a bigger wedge between these single mothers and their parents. The grandparents of these children do not want to be placed in a position where they will have to bring up their grandchildren.

Single males in this buffer group are also often limited in the size and richness of their networks. Males in single mother headed households suffer the same limitations as their mothers. Divorced or widowed males often lose the support of the wife's network and if they are having trouble keeping permanent employment, they probably have not built a network around a job or career. While a limited network can be just as detrimental to males as it is to females,

males seem to respond differently. Males in the dominant U.S. culture are expected to be independent and self sustaining. They are often not seeking permanent relationships that would place a commitment on them. Since in most cases in this buffer group, the male is not taking, or cannot take the economic responsibility for the children, he has only a temporal connection with women based on self gratification. Emotional ties would mean a loss of independence.

Networks between males, other than male relatives, are usually based on business relationships or organizational relationships. Lacking permanent employment, the males lack a network that comes with a job. Most males in the buffer group of the USF area do not belong to religious organizations, sports clubs or fraternal organizations.

The boys in these families look to create networks among their peers. In some cases this may lead to gangs as a replacement for the family ties they do not have. Girls appear to bond with female teachers or other professional women. This may be one of the many reasons why young women do better in school than boys do (cf. Sommers 1994:157-187).

Children have networks created through school and play with other children. Although most parents try to limit their children's interaction with unfamiliar adults, children do make friends with the parents of their playmates. In some cases this can have a positive effect on the child if their playmates come from stable families.

Starting with a multi-faceted hypothesis leads to employing a number of different theories to explain the different levels of what is occurring sociologically and economically as they pertain to the USF area. My application of anthropological theory may seem to be an application of bits and patches. Such eclecticism is not uncommon in the social sciences (Kaplan and Manners 1972:19), although it is harshly criticized by Marvin Harris (1968). Having spent decades applying the hard sciences as an electronic engineer, the transference has not always seemed natural to me. However, I feel that this patchwork is appropriate in this case because what I have researched is not a culture in a complete sense. To explain what I mean, I must use a metaphor borrowed from linguistic anthropology. I feel I am in good company in making the analogy. Kaplan and Manners write:

> Our emphasis is determined by the fact that both Levi-Strauss and the new ethnographers rely heavily on the linguistic analogy. Conceptually they view culture as a logical grammar, as a code, or as a set of structural rules for generating culturally appropriate behavior [1986:163].

We know that when two or more mutually unintelligible language groups are brought together in an environment where they interact on a regular basis, a common language called a pidgin language is developed. This pidgin language is ordinarily a combination and corruption of elements from the various language groups. The pidgin language, or "trade language" as it is often called, is used to carry on everyday interactions, but the native languages are used at home or with other members of the same language group. A pidgin language becomes a creole language when succeeding generations forget their original languages and speak only this common language (Goodenough 1981: 41-45). The common interaction

that is going on in the USF area is like a culture at the "pidgin" stage. It has not developed to the creole stage. The area is made up of different ethnic groups, with different religions, socio-economic backgrounds, politics, and education levels. The residents have a choice of isolating themselves from the community at large, forming their own little cultural enclave, or finding common cultural grounds for interaction with their neighbors. Examples of people taking any one of these options can be found in the neighborhood. What has developed for many residents is a transitional culture that is used for everyday interactions from which they return to their own sub-culture at home, or with peers from the same background. In this respect the transitional culture is like a pidgin language. Steward writes:

> The individual, of course, reacts as a total person in his functions as a member of the family, community, and nation. Nevertheless, community functions may develop without completely altering the family. New patterns of co-operation and social interaction lift certain responsibilities from the family and make it a specialized dependency of a larger sociocultural unit. But they by no means supersede all of its functions [1955:62].

Individuals cannot totally isolate themselves from their community or their nation. Even in a high crime area, each individual must follow some pattern of co-operation and social interaction with the immediate community. In some cases, this may be just avoiding certain areas when drug sales are being conducted. In other cases it may be necessary to establish a casual acquaintance with the local criminals to let them know that you are not going to be a problem to them. This provides you with a certain amount of protection. However, these may not be in keeping with the norms taught to children at home.

A second factor that makes the application of anthropological theory problematic is that we are dealing with phenomena that are the result of local development on the micro level and national development at the macro level (cf.

Forman 1994). In choosing this area of research, I am of course ignoring the wisdom of Claude Levi-Strauss, who in commenting on urban research wrote:

> It would perhaps have been wiser, instead of starting with complex communities hard to isolate from external influences, to approach first -- as suggested by Marcel Mauss -- those small and relatively isolated communities with which the anthropologist usually deals [1963:291].

While I believe that the phenomenon we call the USF area reflects what is happening at a national level, trying to prove that proposition is not a task to be taken lightly. Kaplan and Manners illustrate that in the following manner:

> Thus, trying to deduce or understand the nature of the macrostructure from the nature or behavior of the social particles (individuals) is like "looking through the wrong end of the telescope" [1986: 109].

However, approaching the problem from the other direction can be equally unsatisfactory as Kaplan and Manners point out:

> But theorists who have conceptualized social structure macroscopically- that is, in terms of the functioning groups and institutions rather than in terms of individual actors -- have tried to formulate theories in which the structural features and variables are used for explanatory or causal analysis [1986:109].

Individually we make choices and we are responsible for our own choices; albeit the culture at large and our position in the social structure may determine whether or not these choices will be beneficial or detrimental to us individually. Dropping out of school may not be detrimental to the individual who can be trained in the family business. Dropping out of school for the individual that must compete with graduates for employment in a weak economy may lead to a lifetime of poverty. The social and economic structures do not cause individuals to make specific choices. Knowledge of the economic and social structures and the probable consequences of a choice should lead individuals into making choices that are most beneficial to them. Unfortunately, ignorance of alternatives often leads many of us into making the wrong choice.

The third factor making the use of anthropological theory difficult is that the dominant U.S. culture as a whole is changing with time. These changes are best described as a three dimensional Hegelian dialectic. Instead of dealing with a two dimensional thesis and antithesis developing a synthesis that becomes the new thesis (Harris 1986: 66-71), we have ideology, economics and social structure acting and interacting with each other. I borrow the concept of three cultural components from cultural materialism (Harris 1986:240). These three aspects, ideology, economics and social structure are not opposites, "antitheses," but overlap and often restrict each other or exert control over each other. Change in one sphere often brings about a change in one or both of the other two spheres, which in turn may bring an additional change to the first sphere. Contrary to Hegel's theory, I do not necessarily see this as an evolutionary process leading to a more perfect culture, but perhaps to some state of equilibrium.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, while he was an assistant secretary of labor in the early 1960s, found a correlation between non-white male unemployment and the marital separation rate of non-white females. All through the 1950s they track each other with a correlation of 0.91 to 0.94. This was a statistical artifact of the effect of economics on social structure. However, Moynihan found that in the early 1960s, this correlation disappeared. Marital separation rates continued to increase even when non-white unemployment decreased (Moynihan 1995:38-41). What shattered the correlation was a shift in ideology that occurred in the 1960s.

Prior to 1960 the predominant ideology held that it was a man's role to be the family provider, and a mother's primary responsibility was to her children. The ideology no longer fulfill their role as the family provider, mothers had to seek other options to fulfill their responsibilities to existing and future children. In the early 1960s, the new ideology of gender equality eliminated the relationship of a

man's income and a mother's responsibilities. In this case it was a change in ideology that promoted a change in social structure.

Moynihan (1995) refers to additional data that relate male income to social structure and social norms. In a comparison of fourteen countries, Japan is the only country that has not seen a dramatic increase in out-of-wedlock births. Japan's out-of-wedlock birth rate has continued at one percent over the last thirty years, while the U.S. and U.K. have both increased from five percent to thirty percent in the same time period (Moynihan 1995: 41). One difference making Japan distinctive from the other countries in the study is that Japan is the only country where it is not uncommon for women to stop working for wages when they get married (Newman 1993:153; Allison 1994 107-110). While it is hazardous and inconclusive to make a cross cultural comparison of two traits out of context, there is at least a potential significance in that Japan is the only one of the fourteen countries that has not had a major shift in the ideology concerning work and gender. Their social structure has remained constant and their economy has prospered.

Marion Levy has made a convincing argument pertaining to why industrialization progressed faster in Japan than in China. The ideology in China was based on family responsibilities and loyalties taking precedence over other loyalties and responsibilities. If a man was successful, he was expected to share his economic success with all of his relatives. This led to nepotism as well as a lack of investment. A man's family loyalties tended to impede his ability to get ahead. In traditional Japan, a man's loyalty to his ruler took precedence over family loyalties. Shifting that loyalty to a corporation, university or government bureaucracy seemed quite natural. Accumulation of economic wealth that can be used for reinvestment was not a violation of cultural norms (Kaplan and Manners

1986: 109). Both of these Chinese and Japanese cases illustrate the possible effect that ideology and social structure may have on the economic sphere.

While I am borrowing components from cultural materialism, I am not accepting the argument that the economic sphere is more dominant in a culture than the other two spheres, ideology and social structure. In this study, I hypothesize that a shift in ideology has affected both the economic base and the social structure. I believe there is enough empirical data to support the theory that over the last thirty years, the shift in ideology at the national level has made it increasingly difficult for males, especially minority males, to find gainful employment. The lack of gainful employment has, in turn, led to changes in the U.S. social structure.

The employment structure of the subject area, consisting predominantly of occupations traditionally open to women, tends to exacerbate what is happening at a national level. It is necessary to consider this local history in addition to what has happened on the national level. Had the local area developed predominantly male occupations, the national developments would likely be masked. On the other hand, if the male employment rate had been maintained at regional and national levels, the local occupational development probably would have had less effect on the local culture because males would be commuting out of the area for jobs. Historical circumstances have a great deal to do with the present area's development.

To explain the effect that wide scale unemployment and underemployment have on the social structure, I look to theories of kinship and arguments for the basis of monogamy. Schneider (1984) argues that many early anthropologists dealt with kinship from a very Eurocentric perspective, assuming that there was a biologically determined bond between parents and their children. While a good case can be made for a psychobiological bond between a mother and her child,

there seems to be little evidence for such a bond between a father and his offspring. In other words, a mother bonds with her child while carrying it and during the nursing process. The father's relationship to his child is more of a cultural construct than a biological reality. While fathers can care for, and nurture their children, thus building a psychological bond, this is done within culturally determined bounds. Schneider writes:

> But those who follow McLennan and Morgan rest their case on the separation of ideas from action: it is ideas that make culture. The relationship between mother and child as an instinctive one does indeed exist, but the *idea* does not necessarily exist at the same time. Indeed, this remains true even of those societies which reach the state of partriliny: the mother-child relationship remains in force, but the social forms or ideas of descent are partrilineal, not matrilineal (italics in the original) [1984:169].

As should be obvious today, just the act of procreation does not produce a bond between a parent and his or her progeny. Men can, and do prevent bonding with their progeny by deserting their pregnant partners. Women can, and do thwart bonding with their progeny by seeking abortions or committing infanticide. However, if a pregnancy is allowed to go full term, the mother is in a better position to bond with the child than the absent father is. Schneider explains:

> If in the nineteenth century the bond of kinship was treated as a biological given, a sort of instinct, a state that was inborn, by the third or fourth decade of the twentieth century the biological mechanism tended to be seen somewhat differently. The nature of kinship remained the same: it was a bond that derived directly from the nature of human nature. But the bond now emerges out of certain human predispositions and capacities that develop, mobilize, and emerge in interaction particularly during infancy and early childhood. There remains a notion of something like an instinct of motherhood, but this alone is not responsible for either the social constitution of the bond of kinship or the actual relationship which emerges between mother and child. The fact that the child is part of the mother's body at first, emerges from it, is cared for, nurtured, and fed by the lactating mother, all constitutes essential parts of the process which takes place during the interaction between infant, and then the child and the mother, and which in turn establishes and develops the bond between them [1984:170].

Prior to 1960, the general cultural norm in the U.S. was that a father was the family provider. This was the foundation on which a father's relationship to his children was based. It was a patrilineal concept. I use patrilineage here in the sense of inheritance and the responsibility for the economic well being of the children as opposed to patriarchy which deals with the center of power. When the good provider role was taken away from men in the U.S., the basis for this partriliny disappeared, and with it many of the associated cultural norms governing a man's relationship to his children and their mother. As we know from cross cultural comparisons of matrilinies and patrilinies, the male who is responsible for the financial support of a child is also ordinarily responsible for that child's social development.

The basis for monogamous relationships, although never perfect, was greatly weakened with the loss of the man's role as the good provider. Although many early anthropologists looked at the relationship of child support and monogamy from a direction opposite of mine, there is no doubt that they did see a connection. Schneider writes:

> Here Morgan implies that if a man knows his own son, then he naturally wants to leave his estate to him. But if he cannot know that his son is indeed his own son, then he cannot have this desire. Notice that Morgan is discussing the father-son relationship. He and McLennan, and others, agree that it was a wise man who knew his own father, and that unless and until there was monogamous marriage with the restraints on sexual access, this state of uncertainty was unavoidable, and necessarily marked in kinship terminology. Only the advent of marriage in pairs, that is monogamy, was there a likelihood that the child of the wife was the child of the husband too [1984:168].

Looking at monogamous marriage from the other direction, if it is no longer a man's responsibility to provide for his children, be the family provider, then there is little reason to determine the paternal lineage of the children. If paternal lineage is no longer a concern, then there seems to be less of a compelling reason for monogamous marriage.

Unfortunately, there was no matrilineal structure in the U.S. waiting to replace the patrilineal structure. Mothers' brothers were not there, in many cases, to take over the financial and developmental responsibility for their sisters' children. Single mothers were left with the responsibility of both the financial support and the social development of their children.

The lack of male employment is having a detrimental effect on the social structure. Male unemployment or underemployment leads to an increase in single-parent families. When men cannot fulfill the role of family provider because they are prevented from doing so by either ideology or economic limitations, then they have no basis for a monogamous relationship, or for bonding with their progeny.

The high number of single women in the area, the low expectations of male employment and an available market for drug sales combine to facilitate crime in the area. Crime, like any other deviancy, is a cultural construct. There is no single act that is inherently a crime per se. Different cultures will view the same act in different fashions. In some eastern cultures it is acceptable to execute a sister or a daughter who has brought disgrace on the family honor. In the dominant U.S. culture that would be murder. Even within the same culture, the context, or situation, in which an act is carried out makes a difference. A vagrant standing in front of city hall shouting out his displeasure with the local government, may be arrested for disturbing the peace. However, a politician shouting the same thing at a political rally will be guarded by the police.

Understanding crime as a cultural construct makes it a little easier to understand how the buffer group in the USF area came to adapt to crime. Contributing to this analysis are thoughts from Geertz on involution and cultural ecology (1963). For those in the subject area who have fallen out of a higher economic background, there is a new environment to which they must adapt. Individually, they cannot change the environment. If they are to remain in this

environment, they must find a niche, even if it is only temporary (cf. Geertz 1963:17). The high level of crime, combined with non-resident property owners and businessmen, has allowed the area to develop in a negative economic fashion. The criminal culture has become more entrenched over time because the dominant materialistic culture does not accommodate change in the criminal culture at the same time they are trying to restrict the criminal culture. This is very similar to Geertz's "involution" (1963) in that the entrenchment of the criminal culture is in conflict with the development plans that were visualized for this area by the many non-residential investors. The absent landlords are like the Dutch rulers who did not attempt to transform or integrate the local social structure into the commercial sector which they had organized on different principles than those applied by the local residents (cf. Geertz 1963:47-82). There are two major economies at work in the USF area. The landlords operate in a capital intensive extractive economy. The residents have an indigenous economy that involves hustling.

Like Dutch colonialists, the non-resident landlords have no interest in changing the lives of the residents; their only interest is in extracting wealth out of the community. How the residents obtain the money to pay their bills is of little concern to the landlords. If rents cannot be paid, the resident is evicted, and security deposits are forfeited to the landlord. If the apartment cannot be rented right away, the former tenant is liable for each month's rent the apartment stays vacant for the remainder of the lease. While the tenant's security deposit is held in a no-interest account, late rent payments are heavily penalized at better than 10% per week.

Like Dutch colonialists of Geertz's study, the non-resident landlords have no interest in improving the economy of the people who are supplying their wealth. In fact, it is in the landlords' interest for the residents to remain in a lower income bracket. They can make enough money to pay the rent, but they are not making

so much that they can afford to move out and buy their own home. This criticism may seem a little harsh considering that many landlords are not presently making as much profit as they might if they invested their money in other locations. The point is, they are not investing in enterprises that would put money directly back into the local economy of the residents.

The residents' economy is a structure of hustling. The majority of the jobs in the community are held by nonresidents. Most residents have to seek employment outside the community. Since they are already strapped for income, transportation becomes a problem. Many of the jobs that are open to the residents involve shift work or weekend work. Few residents can afford reliable personal transportation. Public transportation does not run in the late evenings and is greatly reduced on weekends. About the only enterprises that are open to the residents in the community are criminal, drug dealing, prostitution, and dealing in stolen property. None of these informal occupations are especially rewarding for the local residents. As the number of unemployed adults and adolescents increase in the area, the increased competition in the informal sector insures that these activities can only be supplemental in any family's income. However, with few other alternatives, crime has become more entrenched in the area, or as Geertz would put it, it has become more involuted. Just like Geertz's Indonesians, the local residents are stuck in a stagnant economy, while at the same time they are increasing in population.

The growing criminal culture in the area has resulted in negative economic development. I define negative economic development as changes that leave the general economy of an area in a lower position than it would be without the changes (cf. Lewis 1994). In the USF area, as a result of crime, property owners see their property values drop, landlords see smaller returns on their investments,

retailers lose their customer base and closed businesses result in fewer jobs for the residents.

This negative economic development has resulted in creating an area that allows the residents to live at a higher standard of living than they could afford in another area. Lower property values mean lower cost for home buyers. Landlords must reduce rents to maintain occupancy rates. Retailers run specials and sales to maintain their customer base. Individuals who have fallen into poverty are attracted to the area because it allows them to stretch their limited resources and still maintain some semblance of their previous standard of living.

In order to take advantage of this economic situation, residents must adapt to the local cultural environment. This adaptation is consistent with Terrance Albrecht's discussion of social feedback:

> . . . social feedback is a device for describing how support networks can function through influence and uncertainty reduction to control community problems . . . Thus the model is consistent with our theme of communicative influence; social attitudes and behavior are shaped over time through feedback communicated from one's fluctuating structure of ties. The communication process occurring in networks is the means to acquire and reinforce social skills. These skills are grounded in appropriate behavioral norms of the community. The organized network plays a significant role as a mechanism for absorbing uncertainty in the community about socially acceptable behavior patterns [1987:46-47].

This adaptation tends to stabilize and maintain the environment that is conducive to crime. Here we have an apparent circularity such as Kaplan and Manners write about with respect to culture and environment:

> For the interaction between the natural habitat and a cultural system inevitably involves a dialectic interplay of elements or, in modern terminology, what is called *feedback* or *reciprocal causality* (italics in the original) [1986:79].

The theoretical analysis of the data in the first three chapters of this dissertation leads this author to conclude that time alone will not lend itself to improving the present conditions in the USF area. The housing will age and

natural deterioration will make it less desirable to live in the area. Unless the present culture in transition is altered in a positive direction, it will only become more deeply entrenched as the result of reciprocal causality. Policy makers need to understand that concentrated efforts in this small area will not create sustainable improvement unless they first solve the problems on a national level.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction:

The history of the development of the area west of the University of South Florida is a prime example of how not to develop a community. The socioeconomic structure inhibited the development of community spirit. With about eighty-five percent of the residents being tenants, there was little opportunity for residents to feel that the community belonged to them. With few of the investors residing in the area, the economic structure was extractive right from the beginning of concentrated development in the early 1960s. The area consists primarily of service industries, retail stores and rental properties. There were no plans to provide an employment base that would put money back into the local economy. The local economy developed at a time when the national economy was providing fewer opportunities for men to make a family supporting wage. The 1990 census data for the area show that sixty percent of the unemployed are males. A review of the occupations in the area shows that predominantly 75% of those employed in the area's occupations are women, as it was discussed in detail under the heading "Employment" in the second chapter. Eighty percent of the school teachers in the public schools in Hillsborough County are female. Sixty percent of the public school administrators are female.

I was told by sheriff's deputies I worked with that in primary school most of the resource officers (sheriff's deputies) are women. According to The University of South Florida Fact Book for 1994, the student body at USF was only 44% male. Male children brought up in this environment do not see a promising future that would lead to establishing a stable family life. The local culture, still in a transitional state, will no doubt become more entrenched unless the environment is radically changed.

In the first chapter, historical developments at the national level were described as a generalization of the trends that explain how many of the residents may have come to their present economic condition and have adapted to the poverty and crime that is prevalent in the USF area neighborhood. The national trend shows that the USF area is not just a local phenomenon that the residents could move away from.

In the first chapter, I avoided using the deindustrialization paradigm (cf. Bluestone and Harrison 1982; Newman 1994; Rodwin 1989; Thurow 1989) for several reasons. First, it does not fit the Tampa area. Tampa lost its historical cigar making industry more than a generation ago, and although its shipyards closed in recent years, Tampa has not had a history of local industries moving offshore. It has not suffered from significant corporate downsizing. The city's many businesses tend to be growing and expanding. Neither does the deindustrialization paradigm explain why the U.S. economic changes have had a greater negative effect on male employment than on female employment. A new paradigm that better fits the problems had to be developed.

Both local and national factors have produced an area with an increasingly high number of households headed by single parents (cf. Bernard 1981:4,11; Gilder 1995:24-27; Murray 1994:13; O'Hare 1995:5-9; Schorr 1983:578; Sommers 1994:255-256). Single-parent households contribute directly and indirectly to the

increase in social problems in the area. Both domestic violence and child abuse are more than five times as likely to happen in single-parent families (Blankenhorn 1995:35, 39-40). School drop-out rates, poor school attendance and poor school performance have a strong correlation to single-parent families (O'Hare 1995:7,13). Teen pregnancy not only results in single-parent status, it is more likely to occur when the teenager has been raised in a single-parent household (Blankenhorn 1995:46; Musik 1993:83; O'Hare 1995:7,12). Juveniles involved in crime are more likely to come from single-parent homes (Biller 1993:2; Blankenhorn 1995:27-32; Gilder 1995:25; Murray 1994:11; O'Hare 1995:12-13).

The first chapter argued that a shift in ideology resulted in creating greater economic disparity for many American families. Those who find themselves blocked by the social structure from achieving economic security find themselves redefining success and cultural norms. This redefinition of success and cultural norms has, in many cases, been the basis of urban crime.

The review of the literature presented in the third chapter made it evident that efforts to develop an area are often co-opted to benefit the most powerful, or at least the efforts have unintended consequences. Affirmative action programs, as they are presently implemented, provide equality without equity and with no concern for needs. Prior to the 1960s civil rights action the U.S. had, in theory, an employment system that supported equity and responded to need but it was often based on inequality. Some women and minorities felt deprived and rightfully so. This is not a condition that the U.S. needs to, or should return to. *Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of* 1964 promoted an employment system that supported equity based on equality. That is, employment was to be based on individual ability and effort regardless of race, color, sex, religion or national origin. An employment system that supports equity based on equality reinforces the cultural norms of education and hard work by rewarding individuals based on their

ability and effort. However, it was quickly observed due to prior discrimination, not everyone was starting equal. Affirmative action programs were started and redefined through the courts in an effort to compensate for this prior discrimination. Albeit, until recent court decisions (e.g. *Adarand vs. Pena,* 1995), it was not necessary to demonstrate that there was prior discrimination or to demonstrate that the affirmative action program narrowly corrected any residual effects of that prior discrimination. Affirmative action programs as they are today support equality regardless of equity and with no regard to need. As pointed out in the third chapter, a member of a protected group needs only to meet the minimum job requirements to be considered over a more qualified non-protected candidate for employment or promotion. This is not equity, and some members of the non-protected group rightly feel deprived (Prentice and Crosby 1987: 166-167). Immigrant professionals are counted as part of minority representation. This is not correcting for prior discrimination. Need is never an issue in affirmative action programs. Bankers' daughters are counted the same as the daughters of migrant field workers. Some minorities and women still have reason to feel greatly deprived (Cook and Curtin 1987:233-234).

Like many economic development projects that ignore the cultures under change, the programs aimed at abrogating all gender division of labor have occurred with little concern for their effect on the economic structure, social structure or cultural norms. While affirmative action programs were intended to correct or compensate for prior discrimination, there were no safeguards that prevented those who were already in a powerful position, by virtue of their wealth and family connections, from taking advantage of these programs. As pointed out in the first chapter, over the last three decades, the nation's wealth has been concentrated in fewer families while there has been an increasing number of families falling into poverty.

The fourth chapter covers my research in the local area and how this research has been applied. The field notes that I shared with the Weed and Seed coordinator in 1994 were used when Hillsborough County was applying for the Weed and Seed grant and have been used by the county in subsequent grant applications. It is fitting that even in that embryonic state, my applied research had some benefit to the community. However, it was only after laborious effort devoted to analyzing many observations in the light of anthropological theory that a picture of the area's culture and problems became clear to me.

Understanding the problem is half of finding the correct solution. Unfortunately the bureaucracies that make up our local, state and federal governments tend to apply standardized solutions regardless of what the problems really are. For example, while talking to two representatives from the Hillsborough County School System who were planning GED (general equivalency diploma) training classes for the USF area, I pointed out that there were residents with high school diplomas who were unemployed. They thought that was regrettable, but their job was to prepare school drop-outs for their GED, and they did this very well. When I asked them if they had any idea how many residents of the USF area needed an equivalency diploma, they said, "No, but if twenty residents get their GED each year, we will feel we have accomplished our mission."

The situation in the USF area can be understood only by reviewing conditions far beyond the area itself. In part, it involves changes at the national level. Those changes, as discussed in chapter one, limit the choices available to many of the residents and over time have altered the consequences for some choices. In today's economy, a decision not to go to college has a greater impact on an individual's life than it did three decades ago. There are fewer good paying blue collar jobs today because less of a family's income is going for goods, while a

greater portion of a family's income is going for services, as shown in Table 7. The choice of moving to where the work is has been greatly reduced since major employers of blue collar workers, auto manufacturers and steel manufacturers, have decreased their product output due to changes in U.S. purchasing patterns, as pointed out in the first chapter. The shortage of well paying blue collar jobs is reflected in the increased presence of males in low-paying service sector jobs as can be seen in Table 3. In many cases the individual with a high school diploma has no more in the way of job opportunities than the high school drop-out. The shortage of blue collar jobs also affects those who would like to go to college but cannot afford to do so, especially members of a blue collar family. The competition for blue collar jobs greatly reduces the chances of finding a summer job that will pay enough to cover a year's tuition and expenses at college.

Those who do successfully complete their college education find themselves in greater competition for the higher paying career positions (Kanter 1993:310; Summers 1994:22). Since gender affirmative action programs gave women a definite advantage, as is shown in table 1 and table 4, some men with college degrees found themselves unemployed or underemployed.

As pointed out in the first chapter, increased competition for jobs has resulted in lower real wages for individuals (U.S. Department of Labor 1994:21-24; O'Hare 1995:6). As the number of two income families increased, the labor supply became greater than the job market demand (p.14-17). At the same time, changes in family purchasing patterns reduced the demand for durable goods (p.20-23). As the market for durable goods decreased, "the economy of scale" reduced profit margins, forcing producers of durable goods to become more competitive. With an ample supply of labor available, it was advantageous for corporations to "down-size" by replacing experienced, higher paid employees with new labor to be employed at entry level wages. This did not greatly reduce

the labor supply because the unemployed experienced workers were back in the laborer market looking for jobs. This in turn has brought the average real wage down (U.S. Department of Labor 1994:21-24). The reduction in the average real wage made it more difficult for individuals to support a family (p.17-20). The lack of a family supporting wage reduces the option of marriage in some cases (O'Hare 1995:6) and for existing families increases the need for two incomes (Newman 1994:125). For some women the choice of being a full time homemaker and mother is just not available (Burkett, 1995: 11-13, 85-98).

There appears to be a connection between male unemployment, male underemployment and single female heads of households (Bernard 1981:4,11; Gilder 1995:24-27; Murray 1994:13; O'Hare 1995:5-9; Schorr 1983:578; Sommers 1994:255-256). O'Hare explains:

> Almost no one volunteers for roles and duties they cannot fulfill. And the simple truth is that disadvantaged young men who do not have the examples, education, or opportunity to succeed in today's economy are not prepared to contribute as providers, protectors, and mentors to their children. . . . And as long as that remains the case, the problem of father absence -- of too many fragile families -- will continue to disadvantage millions of our kids [O'Hare 1995:8].

In the USF area, the 1990 census showed that there were 898 unemployed adults of which 539 were males. The census data do not show underemployment, but when one considers that the same census shows that more than twenty percent, about 6,000 residents, live below the poverty line, there must be considerable underemployment.

The 1990 census data for the USF area show that there are 3,834 families with children, more than 1,500 of which are headed by a single parent. There are 2,033 single males living alone, 1,140 single women living alone, and 1,327 cohabiting couples without children. Less than twenty-two percent of the households are

two parent families. Unemployment and underemployment are reflected in the area's family structure.

There are more than 1,500 single parent families, 1,300 couples cohabiting and 1,100 single women living alone in the USF area. National data show that domestic violence is seven times more likely to occur to a single woman than it is to a married woman (Blankenhorn 1995:35). The correlation between single female headed households and other crimes is not as clear due to confounding factors. For instance, drug sales seem to correlate with single female headed households, but that relationship is weaker in census tract 108.06. However, this census tract has a number of apartment complexes that employ a high measure of security adverse to the drug traffic; even there, it is still 158% higher than the county average. There is a relationship between single female headed households and forced sex, but that relationship seems weakest in tract 108.05, and this is the tract with the highest rate of prostitution; it may be a matter of how the case is being recorded in the police report. In regards to auto thefts, for example, the highest ratio of auto thefts occurs in census tract 108.06, because this tract includes one of Tampa's largest shopping malls, the location of many auto thefts. Auto thefts are reported in the area of the theft and not where the thief lives. Perhaps some similar phenomenon is true with regard to prostitution.

The deficiency in positive male role models affects school attendance and teen pregnancy. When male students look at their environment, one that favors females, they have little reason to believe that education will further their chances of economic and social success. The 1990 census data for this area show that for persons 16 to 19 years of age, not enrolled or graduated, this area has a 19.2% school drop-out rate. The Annie E. Casey Foundation report for 1995 shows a Florida average of 11.9% and a national average of 9.3%. "Kids growing up in single-parent families are twice as likely as those in married-couple families to

drop out of school" (O'Hare 1995:13). The percentage of single-parent families in the area is almost one and a half times higher than the Florida average, 42.2% compared to 28.6%. The school drop-out rate for the area is slightly more than one and a half times the Florida average, 19.2% compared to 11.9%. There is no mistaking this relationship.

Teenage girls brought up in fatherless homes are many times more likely to become teenage mothers (Blankenhorn 1995:46; Musik 1993:83). I do not want to reduce teen pregnancy to a single factor, for there are a multitude of other factors, including cultural acceptance. We see a growing number of teen pregnancies in middle class, two-biological-parent, homes. Nor do I desire to trivialize this as simply a moral issue of illicit children. Children of teenage mothers are far more likely to have health problems, education problems, live in poverty and have problems with the law (Lindbald-Goldberg 1987). Still the single most prevalent factor in teen pregnancy is the absence of the teen's biological father (Blankenhorn 1995:45-48, 191-192). The inverse is also true. Not only are teenage girls from single-parent families more likely to become teenage mothers, teenage mothers are also more likely to become single parents heading a household. This becomes cyclic according to Jemail and Nathanson:

> In a study of teenage mothers in an urban, low income community on Chicago's South Side, Kellam, Adams, Brown, and Ensinger (1980) examined the various combinations of adults present in the household. They noted that, over time, teenage mothers tended to become the head of single-parent households more often than did older mothers who were living with older adults initially. As single heads of their households, these mothers were often socially isolated in terms of help with child-rearing, participation in organizations, and church attendance [1987:62].

The conditions nurtured by the crime and social conditions in the area are felt in the economic sphere, as I discussed under the heading "Economic Situation" in the second chapter. Many retail establishments hire private security guards and

off-duty policemen to protect their property and customers. This cuts into profits in an already competitive market. Even the local McDonald's restaurants hire off-duty Tampa policemen to work in plain clothes. Landlords in the area find that they must compete for tenants, thus reducing both their profits and the quality of their tenants. In order to protect both their property and their tenants, they must invest in security. In any case the continuing downward spiral of social decay in the area has reduced property resale values.

The cost to the general public can be better appreciated when one considers the more than five million dollars of public money that is scheduled to be spent in the area over the next two years. In addition to this money that is already allocated, there are plans that will require at least another ten million dollars to complete.

Social cost to the residents is seen in loose and ineffective social support networks and in school performance. Since the area is divided among five primary schools, three middle schools and two high schools, and there is continuous movement of family residence both within and outside the area, eighty percent of the children change schools each year. School performance suffers under these conditions (Miller and Cherry 1991:7-54; Jalongo 1994:80-81).

A simplified synchronic model showing the approximate present relationships of the negative factors in the research area can be found in Appendix 4. I offer this simplified version to demonstrate the conditions that must receive high priority. In fact the situation in the USF area is far more complex than I have shown, and it changes over time. School performance affects male employment. Low rental costs attracts low income single parent families. Crime drives out affluent families who can afford safer housing. Teen pregnancy will eventually lead to more single parent families. More public funds going into crime prevention will have some effect on crime. Private investments into apartment security will probably drive up rents and may drive out low income families. Building more private homes and

turning some apartments into condominiums would probably bring greater stability to the USF area. Building retail business in the area may provide more low income jobs for the residents. There are many variables that come into play and many possible scenarios for the USF area's future. However, I see no purpose that can be served by making it a more complicated picture. If this research is going to be used in policy making decisions, then it is important to break it down into its simplest form. Getting our research used should be the goal of every applied anthropologist (Chambers 1985:140-149).

Discussion of the Findings:

Those who follow "Calvin and Hobbes" have seen the game known as Calvin Ball. The only fixed rule in this game is that there are no other fixed rules. Each player makes up new rules as the game is being played. Naturally the new rule benefits the player who makes up that rule and negates rules made up by other players. This impossible exaggeration of children at play seems humorous because most of us can remember playing something similar.

In real life child play, rules are changed, teams are chosen and what is fair is agreed upon. After the game gets under way, if it becomes obvious that one side has an overwhelming advantage, rules are changed or players change sides to even the contest. Everyone wants a fair chance of winning based on skill. In child play, if one side is given all the advantages, then the other side will soon get tired of the game and withdraw from play to go play a game of their own (Santrock and Yussen 1987:418-425).

As we grow older, we participate in formal games with fixed rules where only those with skills will be allowed to participate. This encourages those who wish

to play to develop their skills. The outcome of the contest is no longer based on compensating for the disadvantages of each team; it is only based on which team has the most skill, and to some that is considered fair.

Life, of course, is not a game, although that is a useful analogy. As I pointed out in earlier chapters, the rules were changed in 1964. There should be no doubt in anyone's mind that prior to the Civil Rights Act, there were definite disadvantages for minorities and women. Outlawing discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin or gender (Koontz et al. 1985: 387-8) was right and best for the U.S. This law made it possible for those with the skills to succeed. It meant that the best would be the most successful regardless of their race, color, religion, national origin or gender. This not only strengthens the U.S. as a nation, it encourages everyone to develop her or his skills. However, it was argued that some groups were at a disadvantage because they had been previously discriminated against. These groups had to be given advantages to compensate for inherent disadvantages. This was likened to giving a runner a head start because he or she had previously been wearing shackles. This analogy makes sense. Because minorities had been suppressed economically and socially for generations, many had not been given the employment opportunities that money and social connections bring.

However, this analogy becomes problematic when applied to gender. There can be no argument that women had been denied equal opportunities in many occupations. Albeit, this did not mean that they had suffered economic and social disadvantages in the same way minorities did (Farley 1996:34-36). The effect of a woman's economic or social disadvantage was not limited only to her daughters; it created a disadvantage for her sons as well. Daughters of a successful male have more advantages than sons of the unwed teenage mother. Using the analogy of a track meet, the rules were now being applied such that the same head start was

given to a portion of the never shackled group as was given to the previous shackled participants. It is obvious, in the aggregate, which group is going to win. The way this works in real life is through programs of affirmative action. Farley writes:

> For a decade after the civil rights revolution of the 1960s, blacks continued to catch up with whites on important indicators. The trend toward convergence ended in the 1970s, and only someone with rose tinted glasses would argue that recent decades have been good ones for African Americans [1996:345].

Since, by sheer number, white women are most likely to be competing against white males, they are the most likely to benefit from affirmative action programs, and that is what the data show in the first chapter of this dissertation. On the other hand, minority women have a slight edge over minority males because of the two for one factor, and this is also shown in employment data in the first chapter.

One would expect white males to suffer the most from this system, but the data show that it is the minority male that suffers the most. On the basis of demographics, the minority males have almost as great a possibility to be in competition with white females as with white males. In the case of competing with white females, they are both members of a protected group which should give them both an equal chance at a position, or promotion. However, this is where prior discrimination is most likely to affect the outcome of this choice (Farley 1996:349). Under these conditions, superior qualifications are considered (Pursell, Campion and Gaylord 1984:89-99; Petit and Mullins 1984:100-105). Minority males from a lower income group who have not had the advantage of white females from higher income families are handicapped in this situation. They are again at a disadvantage when they must compete with minority females because of the two for one factor.

This still does not explain why white males are not the greatest losers to affirmative action until one considers how minority and gender representation

(also called "proportional representation") is often met. Having your organization representative of the community distribution of minorities and gender is one of the best defenses against discrimination litigation. If minorities represent 20% of the community and each ethnic group is evenly divided between genders, then ideally each organization should be 40% white male, 10% minority male, 40% white female and 10% minority female. The organization would have a twenty percent representation of minorities and a fifty percent representation of each gender. However, both my experience and training in human resource management leads me to believe that courts seldom consider the complete picture. A discrimination suit will normally be brought on only one factor of discrimination. That is, the court will decide if the organization discriminated based on race or gender, but seldom both at the same time. If an organization used the two for one factor to the extreme, they could have 20% minority females, 30% white females and 50% white males. They would still show a twenty percent representation of minorities and a fifty percent representation of each gender. I know of no cases that are either ideal or the two for one extreme. However, even when the two for one factor is used occasionally, it is more detrimental to minority males than it is to white males.

The high rate of male unemployment we see in the USF area is the result of this uneven contest. The high rate of single female headed households, in part, is the result of the high rate of male unemployment and underemployment. The high crime rate, economic poverty, school drop-out rate and teen pregnancy are related to single-parent families. The social decay is preventing economic development in the area.

Throughout this dissertation, I have related what is happening in the USF area neighborhood to the broader picture of the state and the nation. There is considerable evidence that a shift in ideology on the national level has resulted in many versions of this kind of "neighborhood" in other parts of the country. There is nothing new in relating today's social ills to changes made in the 1960s. Several sociologists have done the same (e.g., Macionis 1991:220; Moynihan 1995:38-41). Neither is there any originality in finding that a biological father's presence, most often, has a positive effect on child development. A number of books have been published on that subject in recent years (e.g., Biller 1993; Blankenhorn 1995). It is not a startling revelation that affirmative action has not benefited minorities as much as was intended. Recently a non-government, private research foundation report has linked social ills with male unemployment (O'Hare 1995). What is new in this research is a view that may defy political correctness: that economic disparity and social ills for many American families, regardless of race, is rooted in gender affirmative action (cf. Sommers, 1994:253-4). Critics may say that this conclusion is colored by my cultural bias. However, I have presented the data, and as scientists we must follow where that data leads us. It is not my thesis that there is an inferior gender, nor would I deny equal opportunity to either gender to be all they are capable of being or desire to be. Understanding the simple economic fundamental that we can not have it all (Wonnacott 1979:21-23) in our effort to gain gender equality we had to give up something else. This may not have been our intention, but it is a fact of life. What we seem to have given up is what David Blankenhorn (1995) and David Poponoe (1996) see as the last cultural tie between biological fathers and

their families. Judith Stacey (1996) proposes that that is the way it is and we just better get used to it. None of these family experts advocate going back to gender inequality. However, Etzioni (1993), Blankenhorn (1995) and Poponoe (1996) advocate reestablishing the institution of the nuclear family with new gender specific roles. Whether or not the new role of father defines the male as the primary bread winner, it must be understood that the biological father must have an economic role as well as a socializing role in the development of his children.

The implications are the same as those in the 1995 Annie E. Casey Foundation report (O'Hare 1995). If the a nation, state, county and local governments wish to succeed in solving the growing social ills that are draining the U.S. economic resources, they must create policies and programs that will provide men of child bearing age with the opportunity to support families. This requires a new kind of affirmative action and a concentration on helping fathers of dependent children whether they are or they are not custodial.

In the USF area neighborhood, with some help from the federal government, the county is concentrating its efforts on treating symptoms, and social service programs center on the needs of mothers and children, but they offer little to fathers and intact families. With this short sighted policy, either the county will continue to find public funds to treat the symptoms but giving the appearance of slight improvement, or the county will give up when the federal money dries up and the area will continue to decay. In either event, there will be no real development in the area.

Recent Supreme Court decisions have opened the possibility of starting a concentrated program to reduce male unemployment. If such a program is put in place on a national or statewide basis, the USF area might be turned around. This effort would have to be connected with a program that would encourage successful

families to become resident property owners in order for the area to take the full benefit of this effort.

Supreme Court decisions, as recent as June 1995, *Adarand vs. Pena*, have changed the picture for both affirmative action and school efforts to maintain a racial balance. It has changed the justification for affirmative action programs in both government and private organizations. Affirmative action programs that may previously have been required by the federal government may now expose organizations to litigation. In the 1989 case concerning an affirmative action program developed by Richmond, Virginia (*Croson vs. Richmond*), the U.S. Supreme Court found that states and local governments must develop their affirmative action programs to fit the "strict scrutiny" of the court. This strict scrutiny rule requires that, in order to be legal, affirmative action programs must meet three requirements. First it must be shown that there is a history of discrimination. Secondly, it must be shown that there are some residual or lingering effects of that prior discrimination. Lastly, it must be shown that the affirmative action is narrowly tailored to correct those residual effects. The City of Richmond could not do that, and they had to discontinue their affirmative action program. This decision has been the basis of most of the successful "reverse discrimination suits" since then. In June of 1995, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Adarand vs. Pena* that the federal government must follow these same rules; thus undercutting most federal requirements for affirmative action.

State and local governments, public institutions and private businesses should be reconsidering their affirmative action procedures. While it is imperative that everyone should have the opportunity to reach her or his full potential regardless of race, color, national origin, religion or gender, affirmative action programs, the way they are presently administered, may be doing more harm than good.

If the city of Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the Southern Confederacy, cannot pass the strict scrutiny rule, than it will be much more difficult for institutions and organizations who have come into existence during the 1960s to justify current affirmative action programs. In fact, affirmative action programs, multicultural programs and scholarship programs that favor minorities and women may themselves be found to be in violation of the 1964 civil rights act because they are, in effect, discriminating based on race, color, national origin, religion or gender.

Affirmative action today does not provide equity, and in the aggregate it may not have helped minorities. Just as equity without equality is only equity for some, equality without equity is only equality for some. This does not mean affirmative action should be eliminated, but it definitely needs to be changed. I am not proposing a retreat but advancing in a different direction. The U.S. has to implement a system that rewards its citizens for their abilities and effort, not for who they are or what they are. Without this incentive, the work ethic has little meaning for a large segment of the U.S. population (Farley 1996:19). At the same time, the U.S. must alter their economic system to provide a more even distribution of wealth among families. Work and government policies must be made to favor families (Etzioni 1993:70-72). Education programs must be implemented that will emphasize the responsibility both parents have to their child (Etzioni 1993:62-67) and the difficulties of single parenthood (Popenoe 1996:52-80; Gallagher 1996:72-73; Farely 1996:122-124). U.S. schools warn children against drugs, alcohol, smoking and unsafe sex; why not the dangers of single parenthood? We have to teach young men that fathers are financially responsible for their progeny (Stacey 1996:36-37) regardless of the mother's employment state, and that fathers play a big part in child development (Popenoe 1996:147-150). Will this stigmatize some family structures? Possibly, but we

can't have it all. Americans have to start making choices, and it will be better if they are informed choices.

With regard to the field of development anthropology, which provided the first stimulus to me to undertake this kind of study, what I have learned bears a message for my colleges. Equity is one of the major components in a healthy economy (Byrnes and Stone 1981:11-12). The economies in less developed countries suffer from a lack of equity. Wealth is concentrated in a few prominent families. There are a number of factors that contribute to continued inequity. Nepotism, tribalism, governmental corruption (Schenk 1989; Gould 1980) and exploitation by multinational corporations (Bodley 1982) come to mind. These are areas that are explored by development anthropologists. Gender division of labor is also an area explored by development anthropologists (Charlton 1984). I propose that development anthropologists consider carefully how the elite use gender division of labor as one of many mechanisms to maintain control of wealth (e.g. Lowder 1989). Policy makers in the World Bank and U.S.A.I.D. might consider requiring client countries to implement affirmative action programs directed at a wider distribution of wealth.

As to recommendations for further scholarly work, I have a number of ideas. There must be other areas in the U.S. that are similar to The USF area neighborhood. Comparative studies must be done to verify the phenomenon that has created the existing social environment around the university.

A longitudinal study should be done in the next five years to see if the efforts of the county or the university or both have made a difference in the area. Whatever the answer, we will still want to know "why" or "why not?"

Research needs to be done to see why there is such a high curvilinear relation between single-parent families and aggravated assault. Why does the occurrence of aggravated assault increase almost exponentially with the increase of single-

parent families? Is it because there is more contention between family members under stress, or is there more contention between non-family members over scarce resources?

There is a need to do a cross cultural analysis. If the shift toward two career families and away from the man as the family provider in the dominant U.S. ideology, a shift that started in the 1960s, has caused greater economic disparity and a reduction in the American middle class, is a similar ideology a factor in maintaining economic disparity in other countries, especially in less developed countries? Do the rich and powerful maintain control of their country's economy by controlling the job market? Are working wages kept low by employing more women than men?

We need more cross cultural research into the relationship between the increase of women in the labor force and the increase in single parent families. Why has Japan not had an increase in single parent families similar to the that in most industrialized nations?

A New Paradigm:

In a recently published book entitled Diagnosing America (Shepard Forman ed.1994) the overall contention of the contributors was that anthropologists must start to apply their research to U.S. domestic problems in order to become part of the U.S. policy making process. The book further suggests that anthropologists take a micro/macro approach to the analysis of their data. It should be obvious from this dissertation that I am in complete agreement with these concepts.

The research that this dissertation is based on is directly relevant to current policy making. The proposition that crime and social deterioration are the results

of slum, ghetto, public housing or inner-city environments is not supported by this research because the research area is none of these. The current welfare solutions are not solving the social problems of the USF area. New welfare reform will not do any better, because it is based on the concept that welfare recipients must be forced to work. The vast majority of the residents in the USF area are just barely scraping by. In my research I found no one who did not want to work; all would work if they could get jobs that would support their families. Current efforts to punish "deadbeat dads" will do little good when the fathers are unemployed or underemployed. Forcing single mothers to work will leave a greater number of children unsupervised which will only exacerbate the problems of crime in the area.

The greatest contribution this dissertation makes to future research and policy is a new paradigm. For over a decade many social scientists have been operating with what Katherine S. Newman (1994) calls the "deindustrialization paradigm." By no means has this paradigm been accepted without controversy (Newman 1994:123; Rodwin 1989:11-15). One of the underlying problems with the deindustrialization paradigm, from my point of view, is the explanation of why the service sector increased while manufacturing was declining. Proponents of the deindustrialization paradigm suggest that the service sector increased because individuals who lost jobs in manufacturing were available to work in the service sector (Thurow 1989:187-188). However, industries are not driven by the labor market; they are driven by the demand for their product or service. Many blue collar workers have lost employment due to deindustrialization, so where does the demand come from, since unemployed people are not in a position to buy more services? The service sector should have declined along with manufacturing. What I offer in the first chapter is a new paradigm that explains both the decrease in manufacturing and the increase in the service sector. Briefly that paradigm is

that the increase in two income families brought on by affirmative action changed family purchasing patterns such that there is a smaller demand for durable goods and an increased demand for services.

Newman's 1988 book Falling from Grace played a big part in my understanding of the dynamics of the USF area. However, Newman, like many other social scientists, does not have a realistic macro level picture of the U.S. socioeconomic situation. This is shown in her 1994 chapter in Diagnosing America:

> The distribution of national income is becoming increasingly polarized, with a significant number of households (largely dual-income, white-collar families) moving upscale, and even larger numbers moving down into poverty and the lower class [1994:125].

While this dissertation agrees with much of what she says, Newman errs in suggesting that there are more families dropping into poverty than have moved into the upper income brackets. Table 5 of this dissertation shows that the greater increase has been in the $50,000 per year or greater family income bracket, but even among those who are "moving upscale", as Newman puts it, many of those "dual-income, white-collar families" are no better off than they would be if they had only one income.

Assuming all the deductions are claimed on the first income, taxes will be greater on the second income. The second income may require a second mode of transportation, additional or specialized clothing and shoes, restaurant meals, additional laundry and dry-cleaning expenses, union dues, and perhaps unnecessary health insurance deductions. If a second car is required, there are additional car loan payments, maintenance cost, gas, tires and insurance cost. Unless the couple is fortunate to have child care close to home or on the way to work, there is the additional mileage and car wear-and-tear involved. It is not uncommon to hear young couples complain that no matter how hard they work,

they cannot seem to get ahead. The hard facts are that the second income must fulfill a minimum requirement to offset additional expenses just to break even economically. To work for less than that minimum leaves the family with a net loss even though they are seeing a gross gain, but it has been my observation that few couples calculate what that minimum is.

Table 21 illustrates a reasonable hypothetical situation. Assuming a couple with two preschool children. The husband and wife each gross $500.00/wk., giving the family a gross of about $4,000.00/month. The second income could be costing the household approximately $2060 per month, not a good bargain.

Table 21. Cost of Second Income

$1,000.00	Child care
200.00	Taxes on the second income
120.00	Transportation cost *
120.00	Buying second lunch
200.00	Fast food dinners **
200.00	House Cleaning ***
80.00	Union dues for second income
40.00	Mandatory group medical and dental insurance ****
40.00	Specialized clothing and shoes for work
60.00	Laundry and dry cleaning
$2,060.00	Monthly total

Assumptions:
* The second job requires 10 miles additional travel one way, and child care requires 5 additional miles. Mileage cost is 20 cents per mile.
** Over and above normal grocery bills, fast food meals and frozen prepared meals will have to be purchased at least three time each week.
*** A professional house cleaner comes in once a week charging $50.00 each visit.
****The two occupations are for different employers, each with their own health plans.

This hypothetical couple would be $60.00 per month ahead if one of them stayed home and they grossed only half of their present income. Finding out why dual income families continue pursuing dual careers when they receive little or nothing in return opens up numerous opportunities for future research by both anthropologists and economists.

There is another questionable assertion brought out in Newman's 1994 work. After referring to the plight of "black men," "black males," "minority men" and "street-corner men" nine times (:129,130,132,133,137), she makes a summary statement suggesting that white males are suffering less from deindustrialization than women or minorities.

> Even well-qualified employees with many years of experience and enviable track records find themselves pushed down the occupational ladder. This is especially true for white-collar workers who are older, members of minority groups, or women -- all three groups find themselves pounding the pavement longer and coming up with less in the way of replacement positions than their younger, white, male counterparts [1994:142].

The data referred to in this dissertation tend to disprove that assertion with respect to women. This dissertation suggests that many qualified and experienced workers are being pushed down the occupational ladder, not so much because of deindustrialization, but because of a greater number of women in the work force and the implementation of affirmative action programs. Here is a new paradigm for anthropologists to work from both in the U.S. and in developing countries.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 RECOGNITION IN WEED AND SEED GRANT

community. Over 400 people attended the meeting and approved the plan. Attached are the instruments and results of the USF Area Weed and Seed and Enterprise Zone Citizen Assessments and Hearings which were used as the basis of the Enterprise Zone Application and Weed and Seed solutions to the areas self-identified problems and dreams.

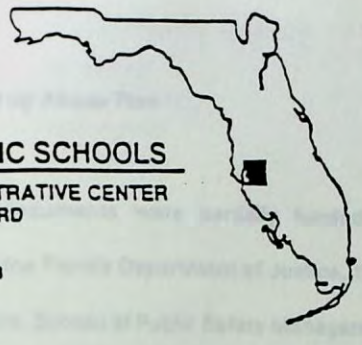
4. Hillsborough County Needs Assessment

Since the initiation of the Hillsborough County Needs Assessment in March of 1989, community volunteers have worked diligently to address the human service needs of the people in Hillsborough County. Issue area Task Forces have provided leadership in the implementation of the goals and action steps recommended in the Action Plan. The Task Forces continue to monitor and update the plans as progress is made toward each goal, and new issues are identified. Task Forces include: Child Care, Child and Related Family Services, Education, Elder Services, Employment, Financial Hardship, Housing, Household Violence, Mental Health, Physical Health, Public Safety, Substance Abuse, Systemwide and Transportation. The problems identified and strategies suggested in the October progress report were used as part of the Weed and Seed Assessment.

5. Research Proposal and Preliminary Study for Dissertation in Applied Anthropology by Anthropologist, Hal Lewis

Hal Lewis is an Anthropologist and Doctoral Student at the University of South Florida. He and his wife have also lived in an apartment in "Suitcase City" for a number of years. Hal is active in the target area civic group as well. His study of the area is the basis of his Doctoral Dissertation and is the result of extensive observation and interviews in the neighborhood. As a resident, the criminal and fringe element of the community have become used to his casual tours of the area on a regular basis interviewing known criminals. As a result he has a fairly free hand at watching what is going on. His study has been useful for the Weed and Seed program development.

APPENDIX 2 RECOGNITION IN COUNTY SCHOOL GRANT



HILLSBOROUGH COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
RAYMOND O. SHELTON SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER
901 EAST KENNEDY BOULEVARD
P.O. BOX 3408
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33601-3408

SCHOOL BOARD
YVONNE McKITRICK, CHAIRMAN
SAM RAMPELLO, VICE CHAIRMAN
GLENN BARRINGTON
CAROL KURDELL
JOE E. NEWSOME
DORIS ROSS REDDICK
MARION S. RODGERS

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
WALTER L. SICKLES, Ph.D.

(813) 272-4000
SUNCOM: 547-4000
FAX: (813) 272-4510

August 2, 1994

The Honorable Janet Reno
Attorney General of the United States
U.S. Department of Justice
10th and Constitution Avenue, N.W., Room 4400
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Madame Attorney General,

Please accept this transmittal letter from the Hillsborough County School Board to apply for federal assistance. We are asking for $100,000 to develop a Safe Haven; Mental Health, Education Referral and Treatment Program.

This application is a collaborative effort to develop a neighborhood based multi-service center which will provide health, education and social services. The proposed Safe Haven is located in a neighborhood where there is no neighborhood school. Therefore the Safe Haven can indeed provide needed linkages between the local community and the schools some miles away.

We are pleased to be an applicant for this funding.

Sincerely,

Walter L. Sickles
Superintendent

4. Hillsborough County Anti-Drug Abuse Plan

This study and resulting documents were partially funded under the U.S. Department of Justice, through the Florida Department of Justice, through the Florida Department of Community Affairs, Bureau of Public Safety Management Grant #90-Cj-08-39-01-021. The Hillsborough County department of Community Services and Planning took the lead on the project collaborating with a number of other justice system agencies, government agencies, school board, and drug prevention and treatment entities. This effort led to a wealth of information ~~which has led~~ to the development of Hillsborough County's Anti-Drug Abuse Plan providing a guide for future drug control, treatment, education and prevention efforts countywide. Many of the agencies providing drug prevention, assessment, referral, treatment and follow-up services in the Weed and Seed effort were developed as a result of this plan.

5. Research Proposal and Preliminary Study for Dissertation in Applied Anthropology by Anthropologist, Hal Lewis

Hal Lewis is an Anthropologist and Doctoral Student at the University of South Florida. He and his wife have also lived in an apartment in "Suitcase City" for a number of years. Hal is active in the target area civic group as well. His study of the area is the basis of his Doctoral Dissertation and is the result of extensive observation and interviews in the neighborhood. As a resident, the criminal and fringe element of the community have become used to his casual tours of the area on a regular basis interviewing them and the non-criminals. As a result he has a fairly free hand at watching what is going on. His study has been useful for the Weed and Seed program development and is attached.

APPENDIX 3 NEW DISTRICT 1 SHERIFF'S OFFICE

Sheriff of Hillsborough County
P.O. BOX 3371
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33601
PHONE 247-8000

Cal Henderson

June 26, 1995

Harold Lewis
2204 Westway Court, #1034
Tampa, FL 33612

Dear Mr. Lewis:

On Friday, July 7, 1995, at 10:00 a.m., at the corner of 142nd Avenue and 20th Street, the Hillsborough County Sheriff's Office will break ground for our new District I Office. This is a memorable occasion for ourselves and for the citizens of the University of South Florida area.

All of us are engaged in an all-out effort to curb the high crime rate in that locale. We have been making steady progress, and this Office is a major step toward winning the battle.

I hope that you will join me, my staff and other concerned individuals at the groundbreaking ceremony. Your show of support is important to all of us.

Sincerely,

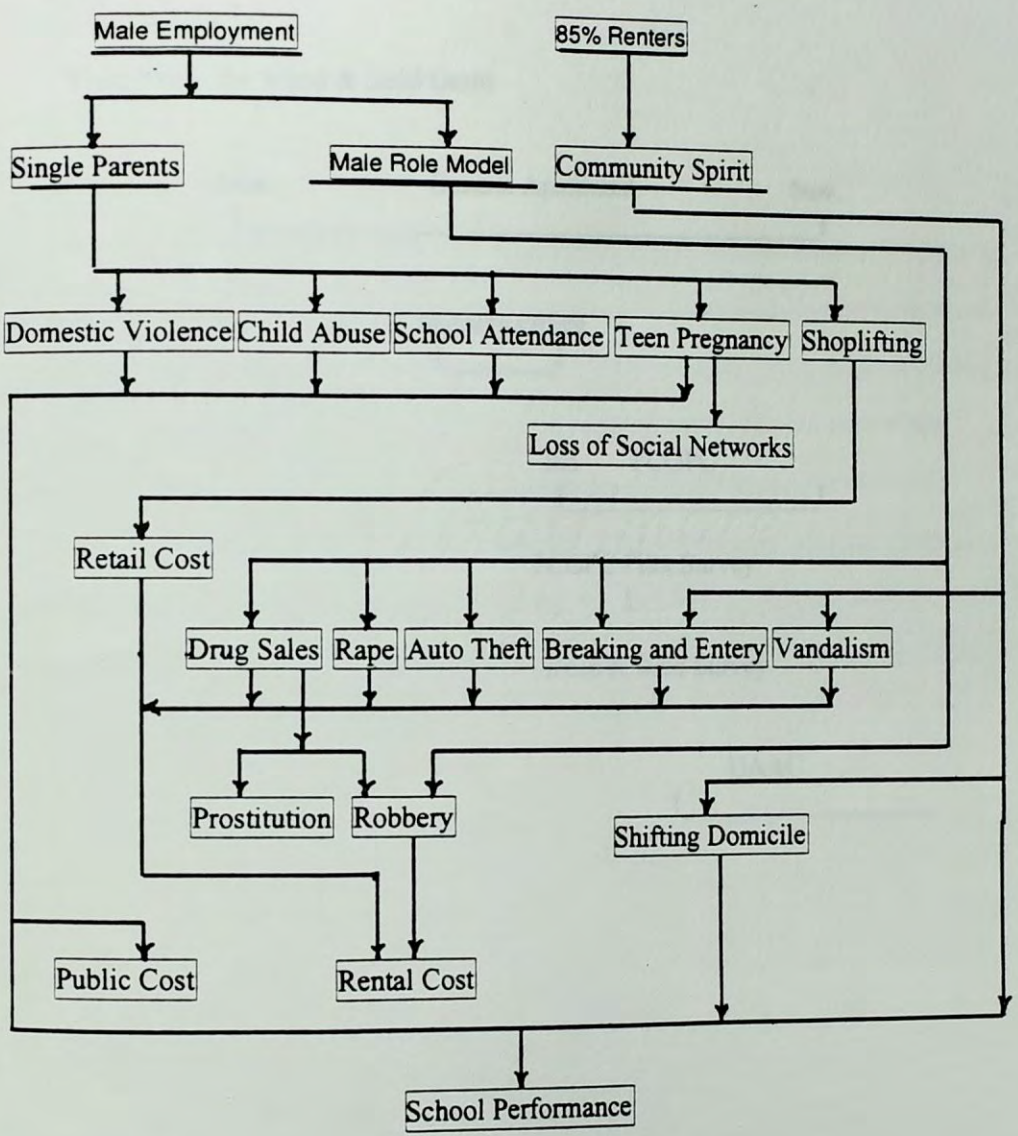
Cal Henderson

Cal Henderson
Sheriff

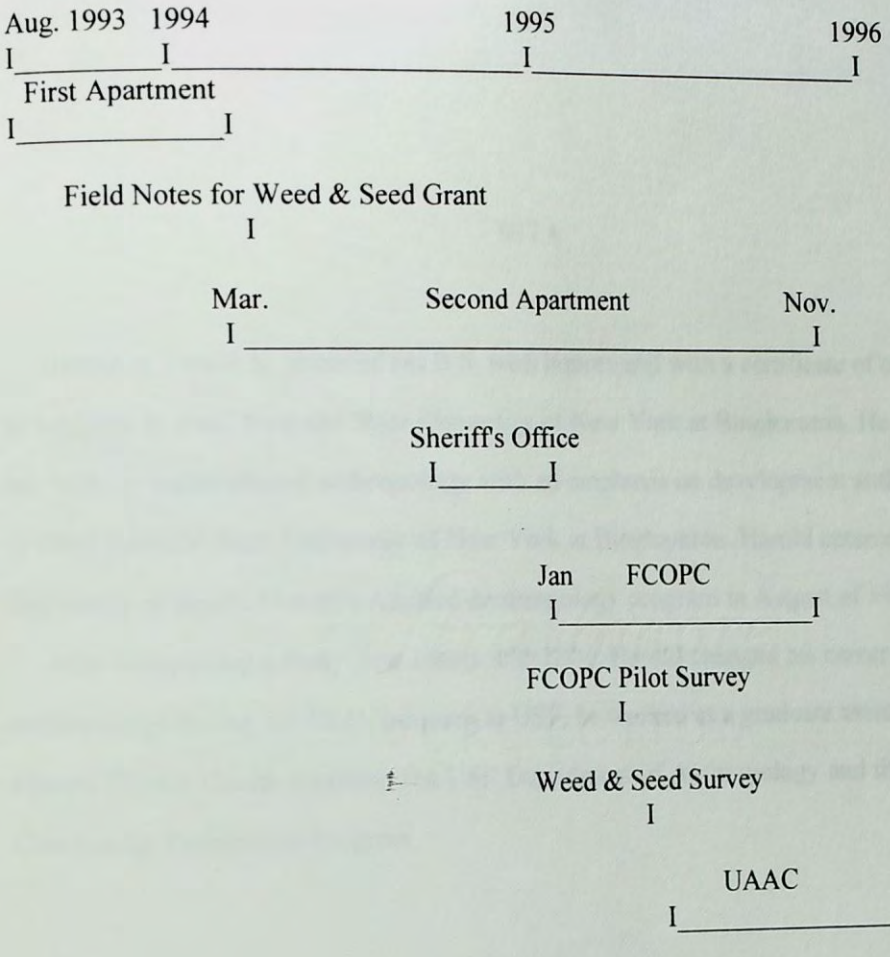
CH/bmd

JORDAN\GROUND.LTR

APPENDIX 4 SIMPLIFIED STRUCTURE OF USF AREA NEGATIVE FACTORS



APPENDIX 5 TIME LINE



VITA

Harold w. Lewis Jr. received his B.S. with honors and with a certificate of completion in business in 1987 from the State University of New York at Binghamton. He received his M.A. in sociocultural anthropology with an emphasis on development anthropology in 1989 from the State University of New York at Binghamton. Harold entered the University of South Florida's Applied Anthropology program in August of 1990.

After completing a thirty year career with IBM, Harold changed his career path to anthropology during his Ph.D. program at USF, he worked as a graduate assistant in the Florida Mental Health Institute, the USF Department of Anthropology and the Florida Community Partnership Program.