Practicing Public Sociology in the Classroom:

Teaching Sociology in High School

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ABSTRACT

Perhaps the clearest trend in American sociology over the last several years is toward developing a more "public" sociology. Very little of all that has been written and debated about public sociology, however, discusses how to promote it in our classrooms. This paper argues that sociology courses are one of the best vehicles by which to develop public sociology. Relying on survey data from a nationally representative sample of high school sociology courses, it examines the kind of sociology that is being taught in high schools.

Perhaps the clearest trend in American sociology over the past 5 years has been toward developing what Michael Burawoy has coined "public sociology." The topic has been explained, discussed, and debated in the discipline's leading journals, including *Social Forces* (cf., Burawoy 2004), the *American Sociological Review*, *Social Problems*, and *The American Sociologist*. The theme of the 2004 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association (ASA) was "Public Sociologies." At that meeting, a Task Force on Institutionalizing Public Sociology was appointed; the group quickly developed a web site housed at the University of Wisconsin (see http://pubsoc.wisc.edu/news.php) and published a report in 2005 called "Public Sociology and the Roots of American Sociology: Re-Establishing our Connections to the Public." The report includes a series of recommendations for "promoting and improving the practice of public sociology" (http://pubsoc.wisc.edu/page.php?3). Even the ASA's newsletter *Footnotes* has featured articles and commentaries on public sociology.

This is not to suggest that every sociologist has been supportive of the move toward a more public version of the discipline. Indeed, a website called "Save Sociology" was developed by Mathieu Deflem "in response to the various forms of attack on sociology as an academic discipline that have taken place in recent years, especially since the advent of so-called 'public' sociology" (http://www.savesociology.org/). Deflem is by no means the only sociologist who sees public sociology as a threat to "the academic status and integrity of sociology" (http://www.savesociology.org/).

Clearly, then, public sociology is an idea that has moved American sociologists, albeit in two different directions. Regardless of their respective positions, however, sociologists who have entered the debate about public sociology have largely ignored a crucial way in which to take the discipline public; namely, by teaching sociology. In all that has been written in the last few years

about public sociology, little has been said about how best to reach perhaps our largest public: students. And the question is not only how best to reach them, but what we should reach them with. In other words, by what means, and to what ends, should we teach sociology if we are serious about encouraging a more public sociology?

This paper begins with a brief outline of the intellectual lineage of public sociology and discussion of how the movement might benefit from paying more attention to the teaching of sociology. The second section examines the status of sociology in the country's high schools. I present data from a nationally representative sample of high school courses in an effort to outline the courses' content and objectives, as well as teachers' backgrounds and opinions about sociology. I conclude with recommendations for practicing more public sociology in high school sociology classrooms.

PUBLIC SOCIOLOGY AND ITS LINEAGE

Sociologists have always been the most introspective of social scientists. Since Robert Lynd asked *Knowledge for What?* more than 75 years ago, each succeeding generation of sociologists has struggled to define the discipline's purpose, mark its boundaries, and confront its theoretical and methodological weaknesses. The most recent efforts have resulted in a number of books, scholarly articles, symposia, and entire journal issues devoted to debates about the discipline's past accomplishments, present difficulties, and future promise (e.g., Abbott, 2000; Becker and Rau, 1992; Berger, 1992; Borgatta and Cook, 1988; Erikson, 1997; Feagin, 1999; Gans, 1990; Halliday and Janowitz, 1992; Horowitz, 1993; Lemert, 1995; Turner and Turner, 1990; *Contemporary Sociology*, 1998: 69; *Sociological Forum*, 1994–95: 9–10; *Sociological Inquiry*, 1999: 27).

Michael Burawoy's recent call for a more "public sociology," and the debate it has stirred up, is the most recent case in point. Like previous sociologists who have offered a controversial vision for what the discipline could and should be, Burawoy and others who have advocated for public sociology have said little about how their vision might be fulfilled by *teaching* sociology. In fact, most sociologists—critics and supporters of public sociology alike—have said nothing at all about connecting the teaching of sociology to the promotion of public sociology (cf., Light 2005; Nielsen 2004; Tittle 2004). Among those few sociologists who have discussed teaching, not one has considered teaching below the undergraduate level.

Besides Burawoy himself, just one of the contributors to a 2004 *Social Forces* symposium on public sociology even mentioned teaching—and only in footnotes. Brady (2004) asks in one footnote to his article on "Why Public Sociology May Fail": "[W]hat is the point of teaching undergraduate sociology if it has absolutely no connection to people's well-being?" (p. 1637). He states in a second footnote that he uses Gans' 1988 ASA Presidential Address in his undergraduate methods course. And in a third footnote, he conceded that Contexts is "a very useful teaching resource" (p. 1637).

For his part, Burawoy claimed that "students are our first public" (Burawoy 2004:1608). Borrowing Paulo Freire's (1970) and Antonio Gramsci's () terms and arguments, he goes on to contrast "traditional" with "organic" public sociology, and discusses in one paragraph—of a 16-page article—how each results in different teaching styles:

> In the traditional approach we treat [students] as empty vessels to be filled with knowledge. The lecturer stands above the lectured in a position of unquestioned authority—the possessor and disseminator of truth. Dialogue, if it takes place at all, does so behind the back of the lecturer. In the organic approach to teaching,

> students are treated not as tabula rasa but as carriers of accumulated experience, brought to the surface and turned into knowledge through dialogue. That experience may be cultivated from a student's own biography and augmented through specific engagements (e.g. service learning)—the underlying presumption is that the teacher and taught have an organic relation, that the educator too must be educated. (Burawoy 2004:1608)

Few sociologists are likely to disagree with Burawoy's "organic" conceptualization of teaching. As popular as it might be, however, it says nothing about precisely how this approach qualifies as public sociology—or why it should.

The journal *Social Problems* also published a symposium on public sociology in 2004. It also had little to say about teaching. Diane Vaughan (Burawoy et al. 2004:115) noted that she learned through her experiences with public sociology that "teaching professional sociology to other audiences was a way to create change." She went on to argue that teaching "can make change by altering the perspective of individuals or giving support to what they already think" (p. 118).

The person who has spearheaded the campaign for public sociology, Michael Burawoy, has had disappointingly little to say about teaching. He included "teaching basics of sociology" under the "public" sociology heading in his 2004 ASA Presidential Address (Burawoy 2005:12, Table 2), but described "the plethora of teachers who disseminate the findings of sociological research" as partly constituting not public sociology, but the public face of professional sociology (Burawoy 2005:12). It is not clear, then, whether he considers teaching sociology to be part of professional sociology or part of public sociology—or part of both.

Also in his Presidential Address, Burawoy (2005:20) argued that "so much local public sociology is already taking place in our state systems of [higher] education where faculty bear the burden of huge teaching loads." Unfortunately, he neither offered any evidence for his assertion nor described what the "local public sociology" actually looked like. His argument also applied only to colleges and universities.

It is undoubtedly true that students are our first public, as Burawoy has pointed out. But undergraduates are not necessarily the largest or most important, and certainly not the only, potential public audience for sociology, as advocates of the movement have assumed (cf., Burawoy 2004, 2005; Pfohl 2004). Consider the following: The U.S. Department of Education's 1998 High School Transcript Study found that a total of 334,441 students nationwide took a sociology course at some point during their high school years (U.S. Department of Education 2001). This number represented 11.7 percent of all 1998 high school graduates. One-third of a million high school students constitute a very large and very public audience. Aspiring public sociologists would do well to begin examining the kinds of sociology they are exposed to—as well as the kinds they should be exposed to.

The present research seeks to do both. It was framed by the following questions: What do high school sociology courses look like in terms of their content, objectives, and structure? What kinds of backgrounds and experiences to teachers bring to their sociology courses? What are teachers' conceptions of the discipline, and how have they formed them? What influences teachers' decision-making regarding their courses? Should we chalk it up solely to idiosyncratic differences among teachers, as researchers have traditionally done, or can we identify structural influences on the teaching of sociology? What are the consequences for public sociology of the ways in which and the ends to which the discipline is currently taught in high schools? Finally,

what potential does the teaching of high school sociology hold as a way to spur on the movement toward a more public sociology?

SOCIOLOGY IN HIGH SCHOOL

Historically, sociologists have paid little attention to the condition of their discipline at the high school level. The single exception occurred during the nationwide New Social Studies (NSS) reform movement between the mid-1960s and early 1970s, when sociologists worked with high school teachers to revise the sociology curriculum. Though the collaboration—and the NSS movement in general—is generally thought to have failed, it is the only time that sociologists have devoted serious and sustained attention to the high school course.

As a result of our neglect, we do not know nearly as much as we should about the history, structure, content, or objectives of high school sociology courses. As recently as 2001, for example, Lashbrook (2001) claimed that the courses were only about 40 years old. They are actually almost 100 years old. The first two high school sociology courses in the country were offered during the 1911-12 school year (cf., Gillette 1913). Despite his mistake, Lashbrook is one of the few sociologists who has studied high school sociology in the last 30 years.[1]

Another was Marlene Weber (1978), who found that more than half (57.2%) of the sociology courses that were bring offered in Wisconsin high schools focused solely on social problems or on a combination of social problems and sociology. However, "the textbooks used by the majority of the courses are basic sociology texts" (p. 9). Finally, only "about one-fourth" of teachers had earned enough undergraduate credits to equal a minor or a major in sociology, and many teachers did not meet the state's requirements. Weber suggested that "[t]he focus on social problems . . . may be an attempt to remedy this problem" of inadequate teacher education

[1] See DeCesare (2002) for the only published review of the scholarly research that appeared before the 1970s.

in sociology (p. 13).

Three years later, Kraft (1981) again surveyed Wisconsin high school sociology teachers. He found, first, that 67 percent of the courses carried the title "Sociology," but that only 27 percent of them stressed "sociology as [a] scientific discipline"; the other 73 percent emphasized social problems, practical interpersonal relationships, or some other approach (p. 67). Kraft also asked teachers to rank their course goals on a five-point scale (5 = maximum emphasis, 1 = minimum emphasis). Each goal, its mean rating, and the percentage of teachers who rated it with a 4 or 5, are reproduced below:

1. To provide an increased awareness of the social and cultural processes which influence people's daily lives; mean = 4.27, 79%.
2. To gain a greater tolerance of differences between people and cultures, through a diminishing of the student's ethnocentrism; mean = 4.24, 79%.
3. To gain a greater sensitivity to the differences and similarities in groups, societies, and cultures; mean = 4.20, 81%.
4. To gain a greater understanding of the complex and ethical issues involved in many social problems; mean = 3.62, 57%.
5. To develop the ability to use social research techniques; mean = 2.31, 12%.

The most noteworthy result here is for the fifth goal. The only one that has anything to do with scientific sociology received the lowest mean ranking by far (2.31), and only 12 percent of teachers ranked it with a four or a five. Kraft was forced to the conclusion that, at least in Wisconsin's high schools, there was a "lack of emphasis on the scientific nature of sociology" in favor of a social problems approach (p. 71).

Inexplicably, the work published in the 25 years since Kraft's article appeared has said

little about the content and objectives of high school sociology courses. It has instead focused mainly on pointing out the deficiencies in sociology teachers' training, backgrounds, and education. Short and Matlock (1982), for example, found that just one out of every five teachers in their national sample reported majoring in sociology; only seven percent held a graduate degree in the field. Four years later, Short, Matlock and Watts (1986) and Short, Watts, and Matlock (1986) concluded that Texas high school sociology teachers were not well prepared to teach the discipline. More than half the teachers (54.2%) had fewer than 13 semester hours of undergraduate sociology. Only 14.5 percent had earned the equivalent of an undergraduate major in the discipline, which was 30 hours or more. In the same year, Dorn (1986) interviewed 20 California sociology teachers; 10 of them had taken fewer than four undergraduate sociology courses and none held a sociology degree.

Teachers' lack of formal training in sociology led to negative student outcomes in their classrooms during the 1970s and 1980s. Langam et al. (1975) administered a test of 56 questions about sociology to students in two sections of a college introductory sociology course. The authors found no significant differences in the pretest scores of students who had and had not taken a high school sociology course. They concluded that "there is not sufficient reason for instructors of sociology in a college or university to perceive that students who have had a high school sociology course have mastered the basic principles of sociology" (p. 170).

Szafran (1986) confirmed Langam et al.'s (1975) findings 11 years later, after conducting a similar piece of research in which he analyzed pretest scores of students in college introductory sociology courses. Szafran concluded that "students who had a high school sociology course did not significantly outperform students who had no such course" (p. 221). In between Langam et al.'s and Szafran's studies, Matlock and Short (1983) compared two groups' scores on a test of

sociological knowledge. The first group was made up of college students who had taken a high school sociology course, and the second, of those who had not. The former group scored just 2.5 percentage points higher, on average, than the latter. And overall, the authors concluded, the test scores were "not particularly good"—the mean score was a 54.[2]

One year earlier, Short and Matlock (1982) had published the results of the only national survey of high school sociology that has ever been conducted. They found that "almost three-fourths" of the 254 schools which responded offered at least one sociology course, and "over one-half" of these had offered it for 10 years or more. The principals who responded indicated that sociology was a popular course with students. But just one out of every five teachers had majored in sociology, and only seven percent held a graduate degree in the field. It is important to note that Short and Matlock used a sample of schools that did not cover all 50 states, and achieved a response rate of only 46 percent. Still, this is the only national study ever conducted of high school sociology courses.

Another published empirical study of high school sociology courses and teachers would not appear until 1998. Rienerth et al. (1998) presented data on North Carolina teachers' demographic and educational backgrounds, on their teaching experience, on their membership and participation in professional sociological associations, and on their teaching-related needs. Not surprisingly, the researchers found that teachers did not have backgrounds specifically in sociology, that not a single teacher in their sample belonged to a sociological organization, and that many indicated they would appreciate some kind of help with preparing and teaching their sociology course. The characteristics of the courses themselves were left unexamined.

[2] The mean test score of students in Langam et al.'s (1975) sample was 56.4%, and that of Szafran's (1986) sample was 51%. The results from these three studies are remarkably similar, especially considering the variety of settings that they covered. Langam et al. (1975:167) looked at "a small church related college, and a medium sized land grant university," Matlock and Short (1986) analyzed five colleges and universities, and Szafran (1986) collected data from students at two large (11,000-20,000 students) public universities.

Two years later, Dennick-Brecht (2000) devoted most of her dissertation to Pennsylvania teachers' characteristics and backgrounds, and to the state's certification requirements for sociology teachers. She did also spend some time, however, discussing the topics teachers covered, their use of textbooks, and the pedagogical techniques they utilized. The most common topics in the one-semester sociology course were culture, socialization, and deviance; the least common were age, politics, and demography/urban studies. In addition, almost 90 percent (88.9%) of the respondents used a textbook. Finally, regarding pedagogical techniques, teachers were most likely to use discussion, followed by hand-outs, group work, and lecture.

One year later, Lashbrook (2001) reported on the situation in New York. Although he, like most other researchers, focused primarily on sociology teachers, he also presented some results regarding the structure of the courses. Nearly three-quarters (72.5%) of the teachers utilized a textbook, and almost all (94.4%) of the teachers also used other readings—especially newspapers and magazines. As for pedagogical techniques, the teachers were most likely to use discussion by far, followed by group work and lecture. Finally, the most common topics were gender, deviance, culture, socialization, the family, and inequality; among the least common were urban/rural sociology, population and demography, theory, careers in sociology, religion, and education.

Most recently, DeCesare (2004) studied both the courses that were taught in Connecticut high schools and the teachers who offered them. He concluded that most sociology teachers offered little in the way of academic sociology. Instead, they promoted citizenship education by examining social problems and some possible solutions. Like Rienerth et al. (1998), Dennick-Brecht (2000), and Lashbrook (2001), DeCesare also concluded that the overwhelming majority of high school sociology teachers were poorly prepared to teach sociology.

METHOD

I systematically chose a random sample of 1,000 traditional public high schools from the list maintained by the National Center for Education Statistics of all the traditional public high schools in the U.S. I sent to the principal of each school a personalized cover letter explaining the purpose, method, and importance of the study; a 10-page, 75-item questionnaire; a second cover letter addressed to the school's sociology teacher; and a self-addressed stamped envelope for the return of the questionnaire. The cover letter asked the principal to either forward the cover letter and questionnaire to the school's sociology teacher or to return the entire mailing to me if sociology was not offered at the school.

The content and format of the questionnaire were almost identical to a previously utilized and validated instrument (cf., DeCesare 2004). The questionnaire included both open-ended and closed-ended items that covered, among other things, teachers' demographic characteristics; teachers' perceptions of sociology as a discipline; teachers' use of different instructional methodologies; teachers' use of various teaching resources; course characteristics, materials, and objectives; teachers' professional activities; and teachers' needs and desires.

I sent a postcard follow-up to all 1,000 schools two weeks after I dispatched the original mailing. Of the 1,000 original mailings, 20 were undeliverable because of an invalid address. A total of 591 of the remaining 980 were eventually returned, for a final response rate of 60.3 percent.

RESULTS

Sociology was offered at just over one-third (38.1%, n=225) of U.S. high school during the 2005-06 school year. Short and Matlock's (1982:316) results from the only other national survey of high school sociology indicated that "almost three-fourths" (73 percent, the authors

claimed in a subsequent publication [Matlock and Short 1983:506]) of high school principals said that their school offered at least one sociology course. The percentage of schools offering sociology courses has evidently been cut in half over the past 25 years. The percentages do, of course, vary among states. Most recently, for example, Lashbrook (2001) found that 24 percent of New York schools offered sociology, while the percentages are much higher in Connecticut (68%) and in Pennsylvania (52%) (cf., DeCesare 2005; Dennick-Brecht 2000).

TEACHERS' BACKGROUNDS

Demographics and Teaching Experience

The average high school sociology teacher in the U.S. is just over 42 years old; teachers' ages range from 23 to 71 years. The majority (59.7%) of teachers are men. Sociology teachers have been employed at their current schools for about 11 years, on average, but have been offering a sociology course for only about 7 years. This pattern also characterized Pennsylvania high school sociology teachers. As Dennick-Brecht (2000) has suggested, most teachers are hired to teach social studies courses other than sociology—especially history. At some point, sociology is simply added to social studies teachers' schedules. About one-third (31.4%) of teachers in my sample had been teaching sociology for two or fewer years, and more than half (51.4%) had been teaching sociology for fewer than five years.

Educational Background

More than half (56.8%) of American sociology teachers hold a Master's degree; the remainder had earned a Bachelor's degree. In terms of their education in sociology specifically, however, the teachers are not as well prepared. Just nine Connecticut sociology teachers had majored or minored in sociology in college. Three of these nine had earned their sociology

degrees in the 1960s and four had earned theirs in the 1970s. The most recently earned BA degree in sociology was in 1983.[6]

As of 1995, a teacher could earn a social studies certification in Connecticut without taking any coursework in sociology (Friedman and Howery 1995). This means that a teacher could offer a course called "Sociology" in Connecticut without ever having taken a course in it. At the time, Connecticut was not unique in this regard. In 19 other states it was possible to earn a social studies certification without any sociology coursework (see Table 1). In an attempt to correct this problem, the ASA Committee on Sociology in the Elementary and Secondary Schools recommended in 1995 that to be qualified to teach high school sociology, teachers should have acquired at least three undergraduate courses (nine credit hours) in sociology (Friedman and Howery 1995).

Table 1 about here

The teachers in the present study who had neither majored nor minored in the discipline reported having taken an average of three (mean = 3.36, s.d. = 2.83) sociology courses in college. A sizable percentage (41.2%) of the teachers have taken fewer than the three undergraduate sociology courses recommended by the ASA Committee on Sociology in the Elementary and Secondary Schools as a minimum qualification for teaching high school sociology. The average teacher had taken one (mean = 1.26, s.d. = 3.07) sociology course for graduate credit; two-thirds (66.8%) had not taken a single graduate-level sociology course.

Certification. Just four teachers were *not* certified to teach high school. The vast majority of the remainder were certified in social studies. In many states, a certification in social studies covers a variety of subject areas. In Connecticut, for instance, the list includes World History, Economics, Sociology, Anthropology, Philosophy, Politics, Psychology, American History,

Ethics, and Government (DeCesare 2004). In Pennsylvania, teachers who are certified in secondary social studies can teach U.S. History, World History, World Cultures, Civics, Government (Problems of Democracy), Anthropology, Geography, Economics, Psychology, and Sociology (Dennick-Brecht 2000).

These results clearly indicate that the nation's high school sociology teachers as a whole have not been formally educated in sociology. In light of recent reports from individual states (cf., DeCesare 2004; Dennick-Brecht 2000; Lashbrook 2001), this result was not unexpected. In fact, "the lack of education in sociology on the part of high school teachers" has been a persistently troubling issue since the high school sociology course was first introduced (c.f., Gillette 1913:256). If high school teachers have not been exposed to sociology during their formal education, one might expect that they have been exposed to it in the course of their professional lives. As we are about to see, however, this is not the case.

TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Contact with Professional Organizations and Academic Sociologists

Just 11 teachers (4.9%) reported having ever attended the annual meetings of a regional sociological organization, and only five (2.2%) were current members of a regional association. There is even less involvement in the ASA. Four teachers (1.8%) have ever attended the Association's annual meetings, and only two teachers (0.9%) held a current membership. Given these numbers, it is not surprising that two-thirds (66.8%) of the teachers reported never sharing ideas with sociology teachers from colleges and universities, and almost half (47.3%) had never shared ideas with teachers at other high schools.

Though high school sociology teachers do not share ideas with other sociology teachers, it is not because they do not *want* to do so. Two-thirds (69.0%) of teachers expressed a desire for

more professional contact with academic sociologists. An even greater percentage (73.5%) expressed interest in networking with other high school teachers of the discipline.

Attendance at and Interest in Teacher Development Programs

Most teachers also want to attend teacher development programs in sociology, but they have not done this either. Three-quarters (74.5%) of high school sociology teachers expressed interest in attending such a development program. Their interest has not led to attendance, however. Only 24 teachers (10.8%) reported ever having attended a development program.

Scholarly Research and Publications

High school sociology teachers are not actively involved in conducting research or in publishing. Only 10 teachers (4.5%) had a publication to their credit. Eight others reported being currently involved in a research project—at least some, presumably, with the students in their sociology class, according to DeCesare (2004).

All of these results indicate that high school sociology teachers as a group do not have much experience with sociology outside of their classrooms. They neither attend the annual meetings of professional sociological associations nor hold memberships in these organizations, though the vast majority of teachers would like more contact with other sociology teachers at both the high school and college levels. Teachers also expressed interest in attending teacher development programs in sociology, though very few of them had ever actually attended such a program. Teachers suggested a variety of topics of interest that might be included in these programs, and their suggestions betrayed their lack of formal experience with sociology: They are not quite sure what to teach in their sociology courses, or how and why to teach it. Perhaps most troubling of all, many of them seem unsure about where to get help.

Inquiring into the courses is just as important as examining the teachers who offer them. Below, I describe several aspects of the way in which high school sociology courses are structured, including course characteristics, instructional materials and resources, and teachers' use of pedagogical resources.

Course Characteristics

Regardless of what the course is called, sociology is almost always a one-semester elective. At 80 percent of schools, it is a half-year course; at 96% of schools, it is an elective. Sociology has typically been a one-semester elective in high schools across the country since it was first offered in 1911-12 (cf., Bate 1915). Approximately 25 (mean = 25.13, s.d. = 6.61) students were enrolled in the typical sociology course during 2005-2006, though enrollments ranged from just four students at one school to 44 at another.

Instructional Materials

An overwhelming majority (88.5%) of teachers use a general textbook in their courses. Three-quarters (76.3%) of teachers also utilized other readings in their courses, perhaps to make up for the lack of up-to-date textbooks written specifically for high school students.[3] Approximately two-thirds (69.2%) of teachers incorporated computers into their course.

Pedagogical Resources

The supplementary materials included with introductory textbooks were by far the most frequently cited resource (80.6%) as being used often or sometimes by high school teachers. Two-thirds (69.2%) of teachers reported having never used *Teaching Sociology*, and more than 80 percent had never used the ASA's teaching resources (81.4%) or the ASA's teaching sociology email listserv (84.4%).

[3] More than 80 years ago, Buroker (1920) attempted to get around this problem by having his students write their own textbook for his course on rural sociology. Buroker thought this approach, and the course in general, was quite successful and interesting to the students.

TABLE

Table 1. Minimum Sociology Coursework Requirements for Certification

Nine or more hours of coursework	Minimum of some coursework	Zero hours of coursework possible	Coursework not required
Indiana	Alabama	Alaska	West Virginia
Iowa	Arizona	Colorado	
Kentucky	Arkansas	Connecticut	
Michigan	California	Washington, D.C.	
Montana	Illinois	Delaware	
New Jersey	Kansas	Florida	
Ohio	Louisiana	Georgia	
Oklahoma	Maine	Hawaii	
Texas	Maryland	Idaho	
Virginia	Minnesota	Massachusetts	
Wisconsin	Mississippi	Missouri	
	Nebraska	Nevada	
	North Dakota	New Hampshire	
	Pennsylvania	New Mexico	
	Rhode Island	New York	
	South Dakota	North Carolina	
	Tennessee	Oregon	
	Utah	South Carolina	
	Wyoming	Vermont	
		Washington	
N = 11	N = 19	N = 20	N = 1

Source: Friedman and Howery (1995)

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