legal disabilities from the document’s bearer, such as illegitimate or multiracial birth status.

Such “passing by permission” was possible in situations where the color line was less clearly defined and thus more permeable. Passing by permission was occasionally available in the United States prior to the Jim Crow era. Some courts granted status as an honorary white to individuals of sufficiently light complexion and sufficiently respectable social status. However, this type of passing became rare in the post–Civil War era. By the early twentieth century, as the one-drop rule gained sway, passing by permission was mostly defunct in the United States.

Although individuals could not pass by permission in the United States under Jim Crow, “group passing by permission” did occur. In rural areas of the southern Atlantic seaboard, communities of mixed ancestry who had been free before the Civil War were occasionally permitted to convert to an American Indian identity and given a slightly higher status than freed slaves (Berry 1963). The motivation for the white community was to pretend that racial mixing between whites and slaves had never occurred by recategorizing the offspring of such unions as Indians. Another motive for conservative white politicians prior to black disfranchisement was that they were able to co-opt lighter-completed voters by making them honorary Indians, thereby gaining support for Jim Crow from a portion of the nonwhite population.

As the Jim Crow era ended in the 1960s, racial-ethnic identities became seen more as an option that each individual could choose for him or herself (Waters 1990). For people of mixed ancestry, self-identification became an acceptable standard, replacing the rigid one-drop system to some extent. As a consequence, reports of African Americans passing as white have mostly disappeared today.

By the late twentieth century, a new phenomenon had emerged—“reverse passing”—in which people raised with a white identity would claim a minority identity to benefit from minority set-asides in business, education, or government. For example, a federal court determined that the Malone brothers of Boston had falsely claimed to be African American to gain employment in the city’s fire department under affirmative action criteria (Ford 1994).

More common is the phenomenon of the white “wannabe” passing as American Indian. In one notable case, a former white segregationist politician named Asa Carter adopted a new identity as Forrest Carter and achieved best-seller status as a Cherokee author. In the academy, Ward Churchill was exposed as having falsely claimed to be enrolled in the Keetowah Cherokee Nation in order to advance his career as an ethnic studies professor at the University of Colorado. Genealogical research revealed no evidence of Churchill’s claimed American Indian ancestry. After complaints by a group of American Indian professors in the early 1990s, some universities now require that applicants must show proof of tribal enrollment when requesting affirmative action review as American Indians. However, racial-ethnic self-identification remains the de facto standard in most workplaces today, which makes passing mostly a thing of the past.

SEE ALSO Acting White; Blood and Bloodline; Race; Whiteness

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Thomas F. Brown

PASSION

SEE Eroticism.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Passive resistance commonly refers to actions of nonviolent protest or resistance to authority. The central feature is the conscious choice by the actors to abstain from a violent response even in the face of violent aggression. The term came into common use during the independence struggle in India between the 1920s and 1948. It has been used widely by groups who lack formal authority or position and has sometimes been called the “weapon of the weak.”

The term is misleading, however, in that it implies passivity. In fact, passive resistance can be thought of as an active, but nonviolent, mode of struggle in a social conflict. The actions that fall under the term passive resistance include many forms of civil disobedience and noncooperation—such as sit-ins, boycotts, blockades and occupations of buildings, tax refusal, and alternative publications.
and media. More active forms of passive resistance include strikes, walkouts, protest marches, theatrical protests, and hunger strikes.

Passive resistance is rooted in a relational view of political power that sees the rulers of a community or nation as dependent on at least the acquiescence of those who are ruled. Thus, even a dictator's power rests to an important extent on some level of cooperation by the population. This view was articulated by Étienne de la Boétie (1530–1563) in the sixteenth century, as well as by John Locke (1632–1704). The premise that governance derives its legitimate authority only from the consent of the governed is the foundational idea of modern democracy.

One of the foremost contemporary scholars of the political perspective of passive resistance is Gene Sharp. Sharp argues that nonviolent struggle may reflect a moral commitment to pacifism by leaders or activists in a movement (Mohandas Gandhi [1869–1948] and Martin Luther King Jr. [1929–1968] are prominent examples), but pacifism is not a necessary condition. Passive resistance can be explicitly calculating, practical, and strategic and used effectively by those with no moral commitment to pacifism. In the long view of history, it is likely that very few practitioners of passive resistance have been moral pacifists. Arguably, the social power wielded through passive resistance also is democratizing, because it disperses power broadly in society. Like moral pacifism, however, nonviolent struggle does not depend on democracy to be used.

Seen in this broad scope, passive resistance has a long and varied history. Techniques of passive resistance are evident in Aristophanes’ play Lysistrata (411 BCE), where the women refuse to have sexual relations with their husbands until the men cease their war making. During the War of Independence (1775–1783) in the United States, colonists refused to obey British demands for stamp taxes or for the billeting of troops. Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862) famously articulated his call for civil disobedience with his act of tax refusal during the Mexican War in the 1840s. Suffragists held demonstrations in major cities in the United States and Great Britain in the early years of the twentieth century; a few participated in hunger strikes.

Examples of passive resistance are easily found in many societies in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Student protestors occupied Tiananmen Square in Beijing in 1989. Nonviolent movements across Eastern Europe brought down Communist governments in the same year. In 2000 a nonviolent movement in Serbia ended the dictatorship of Slobodan Milošević (1941–2006). Civilians on both sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have periodically employed the technique. Indigenous peoples forced the collapse of the government in Bolivia in 2005 with protests and work stoppages.

The most important development of the concepts of passive resistance came from Mohandas Gandhi and the Indian campaigns for independence. As a young lawyer in South Africa at the turn of the twentieth century, Gandhi organized Indians to resist discrimination and unequal treatment. Claiming their rights as citizens of the British Empire, they refused to carry passes and held public acts where they burned the government-issued passes. Out of these experiences, Gandhi developed his idea of satyagraha, which is often translated as “soul force” or “truth force.”

One of the key principles of Gandhi’s use of passive resistance was to find opportunities to publicly confront unjust laws or authority. Protestors, or satyagrahis, defied the laws, but sought to maintain a posture that treated the agents of authority with respect and even compassion. Gandhi argued that the means of struggle must be morally compatible with the ends being sought. Protestors often submitted to arrest and even violence, but did not resort to violence themselves. In a protest march to the gates of the saltworks in Dharsana in 1931, for example, protestors willingly walked up to the waiting police, who beat them brutally.

Passive resistance gained a broad public recognition in the United States as the civil rights movement exploded in the 1950s and 1960s. Throughout the movement years, techniques of passive resistance were used both to assert a moral position about rights and equality and to apply economic and political pressure. Martin Luther King Jr. drew on Gandhi and his own Christian tradition to formulate a strategy of nonviolence. Like Gandhi’s satyagrahis, civil rights activists marched peacefully and publicly in Birmingham, Alabama, in Selma, Alabama, and elsewhere. They also accepted upon themselves the costs of their actions, including discomfort, arrest, beatings, and even death.

Nonviolent actions often also exerted economic and political leverage. Boycotts of buses and department stores pressured private business to end their policies of exclusion. Sit-ins at segregated lunch counters disrupted business until owners relented. Defiant demonstrations often led to mass arrests, which encumbered the police and judicial systems. Provocations of the police to brutality gained national and international political sympathy for the movement.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the uses of passive resistance in many conflicts around the world became more overtly strategic and less concerned with the moral character of the tools. Passive resistance, one of many forms of nonviolent action, provides a source of power to those disenfranchised from traditional poli-
Path Analysis

Path analysis is a widely used technique for modeling plausible sets of causal relations among three or more observed variables. In the social sciences path analysis has been widely used especially in sociology, and also in psychology (most notably in areas of child or lifespan development or other longitudinal research); elsewhere, it has proven useful in biology, particularly in genetics (including behavioral genetics).

PATH DIAGRAMS

Path models are typically represented in the form of path diagrams, but can also be modeled as a set of regression equations. A path model can include any number of independent (or exogenous) variables, any number of dependent (endogenous) variables, and any number of intermediate variables, which are both dependent on some variables and predictive of others. In a path diagram, each variable is represented. The hypothesized links among variables are shown by arrows, representing predictive or correlational relations.

In most cases all of the exogenous variables are modeled with all possible correlations among them represented. A failure to include such a correlation would in effect be a hypothesis that that correlation equals zero, which is rarely applicable to measured variables. Endogenous variables (those with predictive arrows, or paths, leading to them) cannot be included in correlational relations. Typically each endogenous variable will have one additional path leading to it from an unspecified source, representing all sources of variance in the endogenous variable that are not already modeled, called the residual or the disturbance. The absence of this arrow indicates a hypothesis that all of the variance is accounted for in the model which, again, is rarely the case. These residual variance sources are unmeasured exogenous variables that can be correlated with each other or with observed exogenous variables.

MODEL ESTIMATION

When the path model has been established, the next step is to estimate the path coefficients. In conventional multiple linear regression, two or more independent (or exogenous) variables are modeled as predicting one dependent (endogenous) variable. The coefficients derived in multiple regression are partial regression coefficients: the regression of the dependent variable on each independent variable, holding the other independent variables constant. Path analysis is much the same. Each path coefficient is a partial regression coefficient: again, the regression of the specified endogenous variable on the specified “upstream” variable, controlling for the other variables that have paths leading to the endogenous variable. And thus the path coefficients are interpretable as partial regression coefficients: the change in the downstream variable per unit change in the upstream variable, holding all other variables constant. Certain hypotheses involving the path coefficients can be tested as in regression, such as the null hypothesis that the path coefficient equals zero, which is tested by the ratio of the coefficient to its standard error. In fact, if the path model is a recursive system, such that the predictions of downstream variables from upstream can be depicted in a block triangular matrix (where the matrix elements are the effects of the upstream variables [columns] on the downstream variables [rows]—i.e., no variable is both upstream and downstream of a given other variable), then the path analysis can be completely conducted as a series of sequential ordinary least squares regression analyses. In more complex models, other algorithms such as maximum likelihood are needed.

More commonly the path model is estimated in software for structural equation modeling. Structural equation modeling is an extension of path analysis, in which the paths of interest are typically among latent (unmeasured) variables, or factors, with an explicit measurement model linking the factors to observed variables. As a special case of structural equation models, path models can easily be fit in the more sophisticated software.

An important benefit of such software is that it calculates a number of indices of fit of the model. A fitted path model allows for the calculation, from the various path

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