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BOOK REVIEWS

REAGANISM AND THE POOR FAMILY:  LIFE ON
AFDC AFTER THE BUDGET CUTS

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ABSTRACT

Recent changes in federal and state welfare policies have had negative consequences
for public welfare recipients.  This paper summarizes a study which focused on the
impact of these policy changes on the AFDC population in the most populous region of
Oregon.  Of particular importance are the changes in income levels, employment, and
social service utilization of recipients.  Personal reactions of recipients are also
reviewed, as are expectations for the future.  The differential economic impact of
the policy changes on various categories of recipients is stressed.

Inflation, the dynamics of energy costs, and political ideology have contributed
to major changes in federal and state social policies in the United States during the
past ten years.  One change has been a dramatic curtailment in government expendi-
tures, especially in the social welfare field.  Curtailment, commonly referred to as
"cut back," has occurred in means-tested and social insurance income maintenance
programs, in public health care, in public housing, and in the personal social
services.  The merits of curtailment are still being debated, and both decent and
honest people do not agree on the issues of the debate.  Basically overlooked during
the debate, however, has been the impact of curtailments on those in need.  There has
been a good deal of rhetoric expressed in relation to various perspectives on the
changes, especially with regard to the polarized focuses of supply-side vs. demand-
side economics.  The key issue is that little empirical evidence has been collected.
This article reports on a descriptive research study intended to examine the effects
of curtailment on those in economic need.

The state of Oregon moved steadily towards economic crisis during the 1970s.
One of the effects of the ensuing economic travail was a state level, two-pronged set
of budget cuts or curtailments in public welfare.  The first cuts occurred in late
October, 1980.  Those cuts reduced the levels of monthly grants of families receiving
Aid to the Families of Dependent Children (AFDC).  At the same time, the levels of
Food Stamp benefits were raised in an attempt to compensate for the AFDC cuts.  AFDC
cash grants were decreased approximately 21%, and the concomitant increase in Food
Stamp grants reduced this loss to an average reduction of  approximately 6%.  Fami-
lies hurt the most were those in which several teenagers comprised the child popula-
tion of the family, because teenagers have the greater cash demands relative to other
family members, but receive smaller grant amounts.  Those hurt least were women with

one or two small children.

The second level of cuts, which came about as a result of changes in federal policy, redefined the relationship between employment and receipt of both AFDC and Food Stamp benefits. These cuts occurred on October 1, 1981. Selected recipients suffered a loss in benefits because of the cuts, while others were declared ineligible altogether. The study about to be described measured the effect of both series of cuts without attempting to differentiate them.

## Impact Study

The study was conducted in the Tri-County area (Multnomah, Washington, and Clackamas counties, all urban and suburban) of Oregon. The intent of the study was to obtain a first-hand account from recipients themselves of the impact of benefit reduction on their lives. Of particular interest were the following: the impact of budget cuts on monthly income, the impact of budget cuts on social service utilization, exact economic needs of AFDC recipients after cutting had occurred, perceived deterrents to social service utilization, and an assessment of the personal reactions to the impact of budget cuts on the part of recipients. The actual number of dollars cut was available from state government; the individualized impact of the cutting of the dollars was not. Thus, the study was planned to supplement the state analysis and to measure both how many dollars were lost by representative, individual AFDC recipients and the subsequent reactions of those recipients to the cuts.

The sample was based on a randomly selected, stratified, proportionate selection such that it was representative of the proportions of recipients in each of the three counties. Two-hundred forty recipients were included in the sample. All were asked to participate via personal letters from the state AFDC program and from the director of the study. One follow-up effort was made to effect maximum participation. Altogether, 34 recipients participated, yielding a participation rate of 14%. Only those individuals completely willing to participate were included. Eventually, 6 additional participants were included upon referral from welfare rights groups in the three counties. Thus, while the total sample number of 40 is not random, the sample is composed exclusively of AFDC recipients, all willing to participate in the study, and all included either by systematic sampling procedures (85%) or by referral from welfare rights groups (15%).

Interviewing was done in the homes of recipients. A pretested interviewing guide was administered by 10 graduate assistants of the Portland State University School of Social Work. Interviews were conducted between October 1981 and January 1982. This period overlapped with the timing of the second level of cuts, which resulted in several of the participants included in the sample becoming ineligible for AFDC or Food Stamps either at the time of the interview or within the next few weeks. Every attempt was made to treat all participants as if they were actual recipients and to disregard discussion of anticipations of future changes.

## Findings

In 1981, 40 AFDC recipients participated in the study. Table 1 indicates comparisons of summary characteristics on key profile data for the sample, for recipients in Oregon, and for recipients at the federal level.

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF RECIPIENTS, AS COMPARED TO CHARACTERISTICS OF RECIPIENTS
AT STATE OF OREGON AND FEDERAL LEVELS, BY PERCENT, MEAN, AND YEARS

| Characteristic | Sample: 1981 (n = 40) | Oregon:1979* (n = 365) | Federal: 1975** 1977*** (1975n = 17,098; 1977n = 27,793) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | | | |
|   Male | 2.5% | - | 8% |
|   Female | 97.5% | 100% | 92% |
| Age | 34 years | 30 years | - |
| | 29 years(mode) | | 21 years (mode) |
| Locale | | | |
|   Urban | 77.5% | 25% | 52.5% |
|   Nonurban | 22.5% | 75% | 47.5% |
| Mobility | | | |
|   Years in residence | 2.4 years | - | - |
|   In-state | 92.5% | - | - |
|   Out-state | 7.5% | - | - |
| Born | | | |
|   USA | 95.0% | - | - |
|   Outside USA | 5.0% | - | - |
| Race | | | |
|   Caucasian | 87.5% | 86.0% | 39.9% |
|   Black | 7.5% | 7.3% | 44.3% |
|   Hispanic | 2.5% | 3.9% | 12.2% |
|   American Indian/ | | | |
|     Alaskan Native | - | 1.8% | 1.1% |
|   Asian | - | .8% | .5% |
|   Other | - | - | 2.0% |
|   Don't Know | 2.5% | - | - |
| Years in School | 12 years (mean) | 11.2 years (mean) | - |
| | 12 years (mode) | - | 11.5 years (mode) |
| Public Assistance | | | |
|   Years on PA | 6.0 years | 2.25 years | - |
|   Other times on PA | .8 years | - | - |
|   Other PA: Oregon | 55.0% | 48.0% | - |
|   Food Stamps: Yes | 87.5% | 77.0% | 73.5% (1977) |
| Family Size | | | |
|   Size | 2.9 | 2.9 | - |
|   Age Children | 8.1 years | 8.3 years | - |
|   Sex Children | | | |
|     Male | 50.0% | 53.0% | 51.0% |
|     Female | 50.0% | 47.0% | 49.0% |
| Mother's Employment Status | | | |
|   Full-time | 25.0% | 13.0% | 10.0% |
|   Part-time | 22.5% | 7.0% | 6.0% |
|   Not employed | 52.5% | 80.0% | 84.0% |

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Monthly Grant Accounts (Median)
  AFDC                      $285.50              $278.00      $262.00 (1977)
  Food Stamps                128.25                65.00        85.00 (1977)
 *Total                      413.50               343.00       347.00 (1977)
   SOURCE:  Aid to Dependent Children Characteristics Study: 1979 (Salem,
            Oregon: Department of Human Resources, State of Oregon, March
 **         1979).
   SOURCE:  1975 Recipient Characteristics Study: Part I (Washington, D.C.:
            Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statis-
 ***        tics, 1977).
   SOURCE:  1977 Recipient Characteristics Study: Part II (Washington,
            D.C.: Social Security Administration, Office of Research and
            Statistics, 1980).
     NOTE:  Comparing sample and state characteristics with characteristics
            of AFDC recipients on the national level was complicated by
            different statistical procedures used at the different levels.
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The characteristics of the sample were generally similar to the characteristics of AFDC recipients in Oregon. Noticeable differences, however, were the urban nature of the study sample, the numbers of years on public assistance, the total amount of dollars included in grant amounts (including Food Stamp benefits), and the employment levels of the recipients. Differences in grant amounts can partially be explained by inflation. The urban/nonurban ratios were to be expected, since the study site is urban/ suburban, not rural. The differential in the number of years of public assistance is not explained, while the difference in employment patterns may partly be explained by changing eligibility requirements for recipients in the time periods involved and greater availability of jobs in urban areas.

Although many characteristics of the sample were also similar to those of reci- pients at the national level, there were differences such as race (in which the sample reflects the racial composition of the state), age, urban versus nonurban, and grant amounts. The differences in grant amounts were most likely a function of the differences between grant amounts in 1977 and 1981. The differences in age were not explained by the data.

The typical recipient, then, was female, over 30 years of age, the head of a household, urban, a resident of Oregon for more than two years, native born, Caucasian, a high school graduate, and the mother of two children. She had been receiving AFDC for at least six years, but if she had utilized AFDC in the past it was for less than one year's duration. She was nearly as likely to be employed (part- or full-time) as she was to be unemployed.

Economic Impact of Cuts. 87.5% of the recipients reported a reduction in their AFDC grant some time during 1980 or 1981, while 47.5% reported cuts in their Food Stamp grants. Actually, all of the recipients sustained some level of cuts in their AFDC grants. Most also experienced increases in their Food Stamp grants, which must partially account for the lack of unanimity about grant reductions in AFDC.

Recipients reported median AFDC grant cuts of $55.25 per month and median Food Stamp grant cuts of $9.50. The median total cuts in both AFDC and Food Stamps grants was $80.25.

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The median difference between grant levels, after reductions, and monthly expenses was -$67.00 ($413.50 - $480.50). How this deficit was met by the recipients will be covered in a later section. The striking aspect of this table is that AFDC recipients, already living far below absolute poverty levels, were placed in a more serious economic situation in which expenses exceeded income realized from grants.

Seriousness of Cuts. The economic analysis of the budget cuts is one matter. The seriousness of the cuts, as viewed by recipients who experienced the cuts, is another.

TABLE 2
SERIOUSNESS OF AFDC AND FOOD STAMP BUDGET CUTS, AS VIEWED
BY RECIPIENTS, IN RANK ORDER, BY NUMBER AND PERCENT

| Level of Seriousness | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Extremely Serious | 21 | 52.5 |
| Moderately Serious | 13 | 32.5 |
| Not Serious at All | 3 | 7.5 |
| Uncertain | 3 | 7.5 |
| TOTALS | 40 | 100.0 |

Eighty-five percent of the recipients reported that the budget cuts they experienced were either extremely or moderately serious. This finding refutes the commonly-held assumption that AFDC recipients receive surpluses in their monthly incomes and that they can easily sustain cuts in these amounts. To the contrary: even small decreases in their monthly grant amounts place them in economic jeopardy.

Ninety-five percent of the recipients indicated that it was necessary for them to cut back spending or to give up something as a result of the cuts which they sustained.

When asked what the most important essential had to be cut back on was, the recipients responded as shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3
MOST IMPORTANT ESSENTIAL GIVEN UP OR CUT BACK ON, ACCORDING TO
RECIPIENTS, IN RANK ORDER, BY NUMBER AND PERCENT

| Essential Cut or Given Up | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Food | 11 | 27.5 |
| Clothing | 9 | 22.5 |
| Heat | 6 | 15.0 |
| Rent | 4 | 10.0 |
| Other (Medical, Dental) | 3 | 7.5 |
| Other Utilities | 2 | 5.0 |
| Transportation | 2 | 5.0 |
| None | 2 | 5.0 |
| Child Care | 1 | 2.5 |
| TOTALS | 40 | 100.0 |

Food and clothing were given up or cut back on by 50% of the recipients. Rent would have been ranked higher had 45.0% (18) of the recipients not been in receipt of federal rent subsidies. Only 5% of the recipients were not forced to give up an essential or cut back on one.

Recipient Employment. Employment was important to the recipients in that 47.5% (19) of them were employed either part- or full-time. The families headed by recipients who were employed were far more prosperous than those in which the recipients were not employed, since the median monthly income from employment was $349.00.

A total of 52.5% (21) of the recipients were not employed. The reasons that they were not employed, according to them, are as shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4
REASONS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT, ACCORDING TO RECIPIENTS,
BY NUMBER AND PERCENT IN RANK ORDER

| Reason for Unemployment | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Disabled | 5 | 24.0 |
| Care for Someone at Home | 4 | 19.0 |
| Enrolled in School | 4 | 19.0 |
| No Jobs Available | 3 | 14.0 |
| Lack Training | 3 | 14.0 |
| Lack Transportation | 1 | 5.0 |
| Lack Education | 1 | 5.0 |
| TOTALS | 21 | 100.0 |

The unemployment rate in the state of Oregon during the time the study was conducted was greater than 10%. Thus, either because of the personal employment characteristics of the recipients themselves or the characteristics of the labor market in the state, work is not a potential option for most of those who are unemployed.

Of the total number of recipients, 95% (38) saw themselves as the breadwinners in their families. What the lack of employment means for the self-concepts of these individuals was not measured, but it is likely that individuals who saw themselves as breadwinners but could not win the bread could not usually evaluate themselves positively.

It was more difficult to measure the actual impact of the budget cuts on the employment behavior of the participants. Twenty percent (8) of the recipients reported that the budget cuts had forced them into the labor market, while another 25% (10) indicated that they had taken jobs within the past six months.

Recipient Expectations. One of the most telling of all the findings of the study was the lack of hope or positive expectation which these recipients have insofar as the state AFDC program is concerned. When asked whether they expected additional help in the near or distant future, over 90% said no.

It is clear that these recipients did not look to the state AFDC program to provide additional resources for them in either the near or distant future. The cuts were real and permanent. The state will not be an ally in assisting these participants with their financial difficulties, as they saw it. Only 32.5% (13) of the recipients have been able to locate new sources of income since their grants were cut.

Additional Resources. Altogether, 65% of the recipients lived in family situations in which there were no other adults. In those families in which there were other adults, 15% (6) had other adults who were employed either part- or full-time. Total monthly earnings from the employment of others in the families provided a median amount of $235.00 each month.

Sixteen (40.0%) of the recipients identified sources of income other than their own or others' income. The total median amount per month from these sources was $210.00 and is broken down as follows:

TABLE 5
SOURCES OF OTHER RECIPIENT INCOME, BY NUMBER AND PERCENT

| Source | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| No Sources | 24 | 60.0 |
| SSI | 6 | 15.0 |
| Other | 6 | 15.0 |
| Social Security | 2 | 5.0 |
| Contribution from Family | 1 | 2.5 |
| Unemployment Compensation | 1 | 2.5 |
| TOTALS | 40 | 100.0 |

Other income maintenance programs are important sources of income for a small but significant number of these recipients. The "Other" category represented unusual income sources. One recipient reported selling marijuana; another admitted to prostitution. Several reported irregular, part-time work, educational stipends, and educational grants or loans.

All of the sources of income other than AFDC were important to these recipients. The additional sources of income provided needed financial assistance and helped to ease financial strain. For many of the families, however, there was no additional income, and these were the families which were already facing a deficit between their income levels and their expenses.

When asked if additional income were necessary for family survival, 97.5% of the recipients indicated that it was. The median amount needed, however, was small: $125.00 per month. Thus, minor modifications in the AFDC grant amounts could be of real assistance to these families.

Social Service Utilization. The study discovered that recipients were utilizing both public and private social services less at present than they did in the past. This finding shows that the social services are not important resources for these individuals.

Public social services were utilized to a greater extent than were the private social services. This differential may be in part related to the functions of the services, since the most important reason, for those recipients who did use public social services, was for employment purposes, while the most important reasons given for the utilization of the private social services had to do with other than employment-related problems.

A far more serious issue, however, is that these recipients tended to know almost nothing about the social services. When asked to list those services which they had information about or knowledge of, the recipients could list only one service, on the average. When asked whether the services had ever been described to them, 48% (19) of the recipients indicated no and 23% (9) said yes, but only when they asked for information.

Only 25% (10) of the recipients recalled that they had ever been given information about the social services voluntarily. Nearly half of them had never been given information at all. This lack of information or knowledge also manifested itself when recipients were asked to identify the single most important reasons why they were not utilizing the social services.

If the lack of knowledge and the lack of understanding are combined, nearly half of the recipients are included. This situation is not necessarily a function of the budget cuts, but rather a function of rationing scarce social services by not informing recipients about them. Policy implications behind this assessment are obvious.

Personal Reaction. The recipients also identified their personal reactions to the budget cuts, both subjectively and objectively. The objective reactions are as shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6
PERSONAL REACTIONS OF RECIPIENTS TO BUDGET CUTS,
BY NUMBER AND PERCENT, IN RANK ORDER

| Reaction | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| I am worried, but I have a plan which I think might work | 13 | 32.5 |
| I am angry but don't know what to do to express my anger | 7 | 17.5 |
| I am not worried or concerned. I know that I will make it. | 5 | 12.5 |
| I am worried and I fear that the plan I am developing will not work. | 5 | 12.5 |
| I don't know what to do. | 2 | 5.0 |
| I am frightened about what is happening to me. | 2 | 5.0 |
| I feel let down. | 2 | 5.0 |
| I feel like fighting back. | 2 | 5.0 |
| I feel like giving up. | 1 | 2.5 |
| Other | 1 | 2.5 |
| TOTALS | 40 | 100.0 |

Recipients also responded in their own words about the effects the cuts have had on their families.

A 36-year-old mother with two young children at home has lost $170 in AFS grants. She is unemployed and has no sources of income other than AFS and Food Stamps:
(The budget cuts) made me more insecure. (A) feeling of not being able to take care of my own children . . .

A working mother with three daughters, ages 8 through 11, has lost all of her AFS grant and she now receives no Food Stamps:
It has made life very difficult for us. I am frightened for my children's safety. I have no childcare. We have no medical or dental insurance. If anything happens to one of us, I don't know what we will do . . .

In a household of four, a 60-year-old woman's AFS and Food Stamps help support a teenage granddaughter and grandson. The mother contributes $50 of unemployment insurance. The family has lost some of the AFS support. The grandmother revealed that her grandson has quit school to look for work:
Depressing. I was crying this morning. We have no money for Christmas. We can't buy meat anymore. We are living on bread and potatoes. We don't buy any new clothes. No milk, it's too expensive. What is it all worth?"

A 32-year-old part-time working mother had this to say about how the budget cuts affected her:
(The) budget cuts have forced me to go to work more days outside the home and leave a 2½-year-old child with someone else. I am a single parent and should be home with my child till he is school age . . .

These and other responses in general indicated "negative emotions," "forced change of lifestyle," "cutbacks on essentials," and "concern about children."

Although these recipients were worried, they were busy making plans which they hope will work. They appeared somewhat optimistic, even though they expected no additional help from AFDC in the present or in the future. They had not given up, nor were they close to fighting back. They had accepted the cuts and were trying to survive.

## Summary

The major consequence of the October 1980 and the October 1981 cuts for the typical recipient (at least 30 years old, a high school graduate, and a mother of two dependents) was a reduction in her monthly AFDC and Food Stamp benefits totaling $80. This reduction, even given poverty level subsistence, produced a deficit of $67 per month. She felt this was a serious circumstance since she had to cut back on the use of critical items such as food, clothing, shelter, and in some instances, medical services. She had no specific solutions to the situation and if she were unemployed she had no job prospects, given the high unemployment rate. She also had little hope or expectation that things would get better in the near or distant future and when asked

FIGURE A: PROFILE OF INCOME CATEGORIES - THE NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS, PERCENT, AND MEDIAN OR ACTUAL
INCOME BY INCOME CATEGORIES
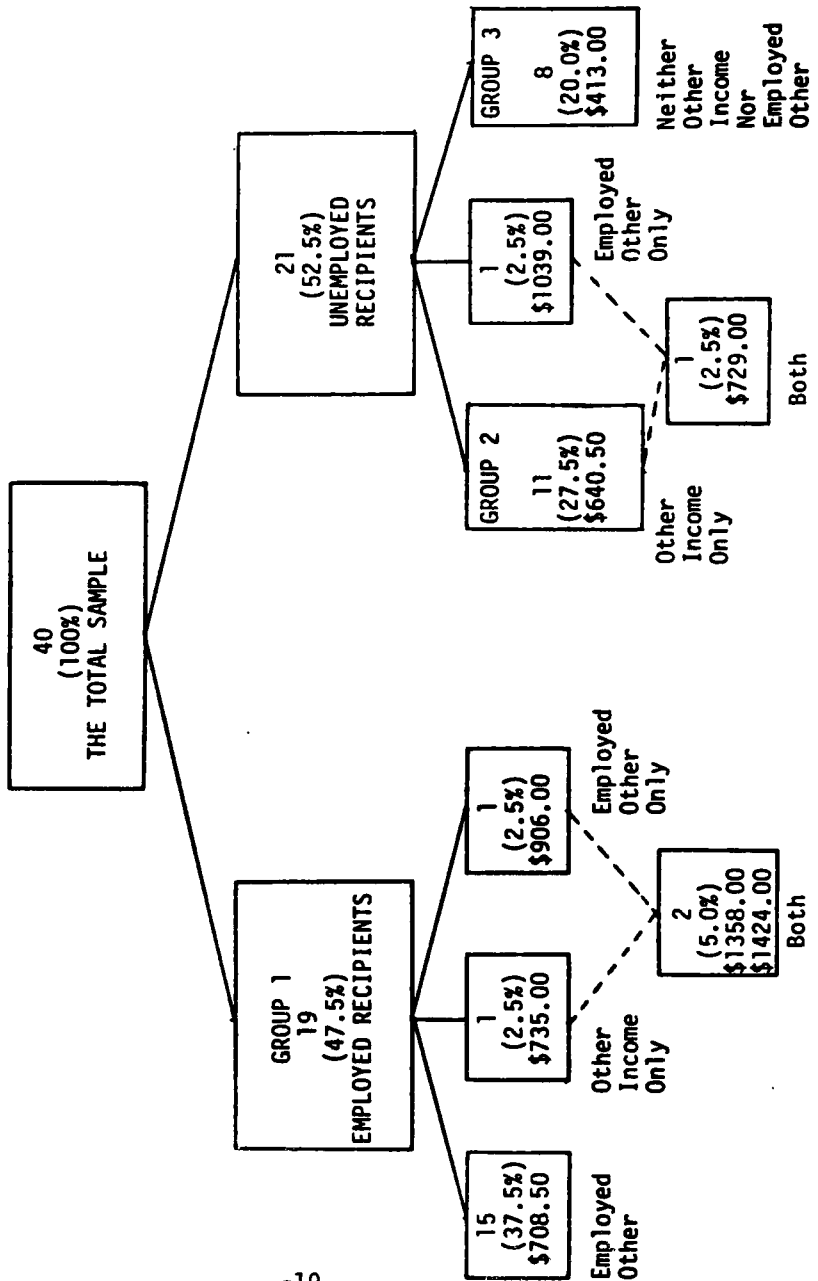
about the social services she could use she knew very little about them and could des-
cribe only one.  When asked whether services had ever been described to her she said no.
     There were three distinct subgroups of recipients in terms of income categories
(see Figure A).  These subgroups were also distinctive in terms of differences in the
consequences of the budget cuts.  Group 1, the employed group with higher incomes by
virtue of their having earned income as well as grant income, had either had substantial
cuts in their grants or had been terminated from the AFDC rolls.

     Group 2, the unemployed with income in addition to AFDC grants such as SSI or
Social Security but not from other family members' employment, had a total income barely
above the poverty level of $7070 per year for a three-person family.  Group 3, the
unemployed with neither other income nor employed others, were in the gravest position,
for their income fell far short of the poverty level.

     Families in poverty have been gravely impacted by the budget cuts, especially those
with no income other than AFDC grants.  This holds for not only Oregon, but the rest of
the United States as well.

# WILL A PRIVATE WAR ON POVERTY SUCCEED? THE CASE OF THE ST. LOUIS PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION

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## ABSTRACT

In view of the curent emphasis on private approaches to social problem resolution, it is instructive to look at private efforts of the past. The St. Louis Provident Association was a private effort to deal with poverty. It was organized in 1860 to provide relief for the "needy and distressed." Data on the volunteer leaders of the association and on the people who were actually helped show a number of things about the 19th-century effort to deal with poverty. First, the volunteers were upwardly-mobile business and professional men who were concerned about the stability of their society. Second, the policies and practices of the Association reflected the social status and ideology of the volunteer directors. Third, the consequences for the poor were a limited amount of help and disproportionate help to particular groups of the impoverished.

Discussions of the resolution of social problems generally assume a significant role for the federal government. In the case of poverty, for example, various income-maintenance programs have been suggested as an important way to attack the problem (Lauer, 1982:296-97). But there has been increasing pressure in recent years to minimize the role of the federal government in combatting problems, including the problem of poverty. High-ranking officials in the Reagan administration have extolled the virtues of private, as opposed to public, help for the poor (at least one has even declared the war on poverty to be won).

What will happen if the struggle against poverty is transferred from the public to the private sector? Will the effort be more efficient? More effective? Less costly? We believe that we can do more than merely speculate on answers. We can look at some examples from the past when anti-poverty efforts were private enterprises. We are not arguing that current private efforts will necessarily recapitulate all of the errors of the past. But neither are we confident that all of those errors will be avoided. In particular, we have examined the 19th-century war on poverty in St. Louis, as carried on by the St. Louis Provident

Association.  It was a private war.  How well did it succeed?

     To answer the question, we will examine the work of the St.
Louis Provident Association from 1860, the date of its establish-
ment, to 1899.  First, we will briefly describe the setting in
which the organization was established, the situation in St.
Louis that demonstrated a need for the Association.  Second, we
will describe the background and ideology of the 132 volunteer
leaders who served the Association over the 40-year period, and
the nature of the organization itself.  Finally, we will show how
the successes and failures reflected the character of the
Association's leadership and organization.

THE NEED TO ATTACK POVERTY

     The St. Louis Provident Association was organized on December
3, 1860 to provide relief for the "needy and distressed."  A
sense of urgency hung over the city that year and undoubtedly
influenced the founders of the Provident Association.  They were
responding to a need which resulted, first, from the tremendous
growth in the size and complexity of the popuation of St. Louis.
In a city whose population had more than doubled during the past
decade and which had experienced the full impact of economic
fluctuations along with the rest of the nation, the problem of
poverty loomed large.  The St. Louis newspapers gloomily
chronicled the pervasiveness of poverty as well as the plight of
the poor: the hard-working and care-worn mother mistreated by her
lazy, good-for-nothing husband; the family, newly arrived in the
city, "homeless, shelterless, penniless, and friendless;" and the
unfortunate widow unable to pay for the burial of her infant
child (Missouri Democrat, Sept. 6, 1860; Oct. 8, 1860; and Sept.
12, 1860).

     Moreover, the problem of poverty was aggravated by those who
seemed content with their situation and even willing to capi-
talize on it.  "We venture to say," wrote the editor of the
Missouri Republican, "that there is scarcely any city in the
country which has more blind, lame, maimed, dumb and deaf beggars
than can be found here.  At the corners of every street you are
met by a Lazarus, who, with a squeaking voice and a trembling
hand, implores you, not for a morsel of bread or a cup of water,
but for the solid cash, a dime, a quarter, or even a dollar would
be acceptable to him" (July 30, 1859).  The existence of pover-
ty--whether deserving or underserving--was increasingly visible
and demₐ nded a response by concerned citizens.

     Second, the need was intensified by the political events of
1860.  The national struggle over the future of slavery posed a
dilemma for St. Louis, a commercial city in a slave state.  There
was strong sympathy in the city for the southern cause yet also a
firm conviction that economic prosperity depended on continued
association with the North.  The Missouri Democrat predicted,
after the election of Lincoln, that secession followed by proba-
ble war would mean that commerce would come to a standstill,

manufactures cease, and all other business be arrested.  Seces-
sion would end credit and confidence, it warned; crops would rot
in the field; shipping would be dismantled; the railroads and
canals would be idled; and widespread unemployment surely would
result (Missouri Democrat, Nov. 24, 1860).  Unfortunately, this
prediction was right on target; the panic of the winter of
1860-61 produced severe dislocations in St. Louis and the problem
of poverty worsened.

     Finally, the enormity of the problem taxed resources of St.
Louis charities and benevolent institutions.  With increased
demand for aid, the need for a rational system of relief was
apparent.  The experience of St. Louis was similar to that of
many 19th-century American cities: a growing population; a higher
incidence of--or at least, more visible--poverty; the inability
or unwillingness of the local government to deal with the
problem; and the piece-meal attempts by a variety of individuals
and organizations to provide some relief.  But the latter were
unable to meet the growing demand for help, and there was always
the possibility that services might be duplicated or rendered to
the undeserving.  Thus, St. Louis was to follow the example of
other cities and establish an agency which would try to
concentrate relief activities in a single organization.  With the
existing problem of poverty and the potential for far worse
conditions in the near future, a solution had to be found.  The
Provident Association, it was hoped, held the answer.

     Edward Pessen's (1973) study of the membership of voluntary
associations in antebellum America, and various studies of 19th-
century poverty associations, all suggest that the rich and elite
in American society dominated these organizations (Coll, 1955;
Heale, 1971; Rauch, 1976; Watson, 1922:66-67).  An examination of
the directors of the St. Louis Provident Association in its first
two years of existence furnishes some interesting variations.  Of
the first twelve directors, eleven were businessmen and one was a
clergyman.  Without a doubt, they were vitally interested in the
economic fate of the city; however, they did not represent the
wealthiest or the oldest of St. Louis families.  Indeed, of the
eight whose birthplace we could identify, none were natives of
St. Louis (seven had been born elsewhere in the United States and
one had been born in Ireland).  And their years in St. Louis
varied; on the average, they had lived in the city for just a
little over eleven years.  Their average age was 38.5 years and
ranged from 31 to 52 years.  Of the five whose educational
background we could determine, two had attended college.  Final-
ly, ten of the twelve were involved in several civic activities
and eight of the twelve served for five years or more on the St.
Louis Provident Association Board.  We can establish, then, that
these first directors, although not native-born St. Louisans,
were active in city affairs and concerned with its economic well-
being.  It is reasonable to suggest that, rather than comprising
an established rich and elite who were anxious to conserve social

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order and their place in it, they were men on the make, attempting to secure the stability of society in order to further their pursuit of wealth and power.

Over the next four decades businessmen continued to dominate the Board of Directors of the Provident Association. During the 1860s, 86 percent were businessmen; in the 1870s, 79 percent; and in the 1890s, 80 percent. Among the 132 directors, clergymen, educators, and lawyers were notably few. Only one minister, two educators, and three lawyers served on the Board between 1860 and 1899. It is also interesting to note that there was an apparent attempt to democratize the Board during the 1870s when a steel mill roller, a weigher at the Merchant's Exchange, a paver, a cashier, and a collector were added. However, the trend did not continue.

Consistent with the trend established during the first two years, few native-born St. Louis appeared on the Board until the 1890s. And even then, only 19 percent of the directors were natives (table 1). However, by the last two decades the number who had resided in St. Louis for more than 30 years had increased substantially. And subsequent Boards tended to be older than the first one. In fact, during the four decades of our study the Board was dominated by men between the ages of 40 and 54 years, and their preponderance increased during the period (see Kusmer, 1973, for similar results in the Chicago Charity Organization Society from 1886 to 1908).

Table 1
Nativity of the Association's Directors

| Birthplace | 1860-69 (N=15) | 1870-79 (N=14) | 1880-89 (N=13) | 1890-99 (N=26) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| St. Louis | 0 | 8% | 8% | 19% |
| Other American | 93% | 67% | 77% | 69% |
| Foreign-born | 7% | 25% | 15% | 12% |

Although information about the level of education attained, religious affiliation, and political preference is not complete, several interesting trends are suggested by the available data. First, the number of Board members with a college education increased over time (table 2). Furthermore, the proportion of college-educated members was considerably higher than that of the population as a whole.

With respect to political preference, we found information on 37 members: 54% indicated a preference for the Republican party and 35% for the Democratic party. Finally, with respect to religious affiliation, the Protestant denominations were well represented. Eight-nine percent were affiliated with some Protestant group. The remainder were either Unitarians or Jews.

Table 2
Education of the Association's Directors

| Education | 1860-69 (N=11) | 1870-79 (N=20) | 1880-89 (N=12) | 1890-99 (N=25) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| College | 27% | 20% | 25% | 52% |
| Less than college | 73% | 80% | 75% | 48% |

It is clear that the evangelicals were involved deeply in the benevolent activities of the Provident Association. They saw relief of the poor as part of their Christian responsibility. The missionary emphasis in their work is underscored when it is noted that over the years the majority of relief recipients consisted of the unchurched. Association leaders were typical of those who, as one historian put it, "had come to the Midwest not just to better their worldly condition, but to advance the Kingdom of God" (Kleppner, 1970:89).

It is not surprising that businessmen dominated the Providence Association or that they were concerned with the plight of the poor. Membership on the Board was not only an outlet for humanitarian and Christian concern, it also was good business. These interests were intimately intertwined. The relief of the suffering and the secuing of the social order increased the attractiveness of St. Louis as a palce to live and do business.

Provident Association leaders had definite ideas about the causes and dangers of poverty as well as their responsibility to deal with it. These ideas were expressed in the First Annual Report of the Association and subsequent reports consistently reiterated them. They agreed that poverty was inevitable and resulted from a variety of causes: old age, sickness, death in the family, improvidence, intemperance, or sin. To be sure, some poverty was the result of personal failure more than others; but in every case recovery was ultimately up to the individual. Help was needed from time to time because prolonged pvoerty might lead to sin and immorality. However it was important even for the deserving poor that relief be temporary, administered judicious-ly, and coupled with moral and spiritual guidance. Prolonged relief led to demoralization and moral deterioration and, there-fore, it was extremely easy for the deserving poor to slip into the ranks of the undeserving. The latter were those who pre-ferred their condition and even tried to take advantage of it. Such people were to be avoided.

The Annual Reports also reveal an attitude of moral superior-ity on the part of the Board members. They were successful in-dividuals who believed their success was a badge of their moral stature. Therefore, they understood the plight of the poor, could determine the causes of poverty, and evaluate the worth-

iness of potential recipients of aid.  The Third Annual Report
(p. 6) states: "But in the execution of the trust we have re-
ceived from you, we regard as paramount to any other considera-
tion the best interest of the poor; hence, after a careful
personal examination has been made as to the worthiness of the
applicant and what their interests demand, we supply them,
whether it be food, fuel, clothing, or medicines."  Their ideas
both about themselves and about the poor shaped the organization
which they established.
    Early in their history, the Directors of the Provident
Association set forth the principles that would govern their
operation.  These principles were printed on the covers of the
annual reports:
    1. To give relief only after personal investigation of
       each case and inquiry upon the spot.
    2. To give necessary articles and only what is immediately
       necessary.
    3. To give what is least susceptible of abuse.
    4. To give only in small quantities in proportion to
       immediate need; and less than might be procured by
       labor, except in cases of sickness.
    5. To give assistance at the right moment; not to prolong
       it beyond duration of the necessity which calls for it;
       but to extend, restrict and modify relief as may be
       found necessary.
    6. To require of each beneficiary abstinence from intoxi-
       cating liquors as a beverage. . .
    7. To give no aid to persons who, from infirmity, imbecility,
       old age or any other cause, are likely to continue unable
       to earn their own support and consequently to be perman-
       ently dependent. . .
    8. To discontinue relieving all who manifest a purpose to
       depend on alms rather than their own exertions for support
       and whose further maintenance would be incompatible with
       their good and the objectives of the Association.
    9. To check the evils of overlapping relief by promoting. . .
       cooperation between municipal authorities, the public and
       private charities, the churches and benevolent individuals
       . . .and serve as a center of intercommunication between
       them.
Thus, the association wanted to give limited, temporary, and con-
trolled aid to those it deemed deserving, and those goals were
the foundation of the organization.
    At the heart of the Association were the visitors, who were
male volunteer workers.  Each visitor was assigned to a district
in the city and had the reponsibility of investigating all cases
referred to him.  He had to determine the extent f need, worthi-
ness of the claimant, appropriate assistance required, and then
provide that assistance from the resources of the Association.
He was to be extremely wary of undeserving persons who might

fraudulently take aid away from those who really deserved it.
Moreover, the visitor was not only responsible for meeting the
physical needs of those in his care, he also was charged with
providing them moral and spiritual guidance.  In the Second
Annual Report (p. 6) important accomplishments in this regard
were noted: "In many of the homes warmed and cheered by the fuel
and the food which our visitors have furnished, they have, by
conversation and prayer, pointed them to the 'Rock,' and urged a
preparation for that land where 'they hunger no more.'"
     The type of assistance furnished by the visitors was also
prescribed by the Association.  They could not give money to
deserving applicants, only food, fuel, clothing, or other
necessary supplies.  At the monthly meeting of the Board of
Directors, the visitors provided a complete report of their
visits--both to those who received aid and to those who were
refused--and an account of the assistance extended.
     The organizational structure of the Association remained
loose and informal throughout its early years, largely dependent
upon voluntary contributions and volunteer personnel.  In 1862,
the city was divided into two districts, and a depot for storing
and dispensing provisions was set up in each district.  At the
same time two men were hired to serve as Superintendents of the
Depots.  These were the first paid employees of the Provident
Association.  They continued, however, to depend upon volunteer
assistance to carry out their primary function--the relief of the
poor through temporary relief and moral improvement.
     In 1892, with the hiring of the first General Manager and
establishment of a Central Office, the organization became more
complex and its functions more diverse.  A number of new
departments were created to direct new areas of service,
including lodges for men and women, a laundry, a Sewing room, a
Day Nursery and Kindergarten, stores for various goods, a
restaurant, an employment bureau, a Penny Savings Bank, and a
summer health camp for women and children.
     The expansion of organization and services was justified on
the grounds of the city's continued population growth and by the
example of charity agencies in other cities who had already
enlarged their scope of activity.  But an examination of the
Thirty-third Annual Report of 1893 reveals that the Provident
Association continued to operate on the basis of its original
principles of thorough investigation and temporary, limited help.
Investigation remained as the bedrock of relief activities.
"Mendicancy is organized as well as charity," the report pointed
out (p. 20).  "Hypocrisy is shrewd as well as inquisition; and
deceit has many obstructions to the glare of the search-light."
Duplication of services was to be avoided because the "duplica-
tion of alms is pursued with cunning and attended most invariably
with deceit and falsehood" (p. 22).  And relief was still to be
temporary and limited because "alms easily obtained and profusely
dispensed gives birth to reliance upon it. . .There is a just

distinction between honest poverty and pauperism, but the
dividing line is narrow and easily crossed" (p. 23). An addi-
tional point was stressed, however: "Employment as the basis of
relief is a cardinal maxim of organized charity. . .helping the
poor to help themselves" (p. 24). Employment not only provided
relief from immediate want, it also gave the poor a sense of
independence and promoted social harmony. The latter were goals
which were consistently held throughout the first forty years of
the Association's history.

THE ASSOCIATION'S WAR ON POVERTY
    How successful was the Provident Association during these
years in providing relief for "the needy and distressed" of St.
Louis? There were those, of course, for whom they assumed no
responsibility--the unworthy and permanently disabled. And while
they were committed to furnishing limited and temporary relief to
the deserving, the records of the Association provide some
interesting findings and indicate mixed results. The results
were determined in part by setting up regression equations for a
number of variables in order to compare secular trends over the
40-year period. The equations are (t = time in years):

$$y_1 = 166,167 + 9698.4t \quad (y_1 = \text{total population})$$
$$y_2 = 3,565 + 167.2t \quad (y_2 = \text{total people aided})$$
$$y_3 = 91,616 + 632.8t \quad (y_3 = \text{total foreign population})$$
$$y_4 = 1,180 - 6.79t \quad (y_4 = \text{total foreign-born aided})$$

Thus, over the 40-year period, we can see that although both
population and number of people aided increased, the population
grew 58 times faster than the number receiving aid. The problem
was not becoming less serious, however. There were many economic
problems and crises during the period (Primm, 1981). Moreover,
the newspapers continued to point out the extent of the problem.
In 1880, for instance, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch carried a
series of articles about such aspects of poverty as the city's
"begging girls," the "starving families of a great metropolis,"
and the efforts of the police to provide some food and shelter.
This might suggest that the Provident Association was unrespons-
ive and insensitive to the needs of those it was dedicated to
helping. However, the Association took pride in the declining
ratio of aid to population. In the Annual Report for 1888 (p.
11), it was noted that while "the population of our city has
increased rapidly, the proportionate number of poor who apply for
aid has decreased in such a manner as to astonish those not
conversant with the causes." And they took full credit for the
decline; it resulted from their investigative techniques,
educational programs, and the kind of assistance offered.
    Second, the equations show that the number of foreign-born
receiving aid tended to decrease over time even though their
number kept increasing. In the 1890s there was a dramatic

decline in aid to the foreign-born. Between 1890 and 1899, the
proportion of families aided that were foreign-born declined from
54 percent to 29 percent. The total number of foreign-born who
were helped declined from 3,862 in 1880 to 757 in 1899. The
reasons for this trend are not altogether clear. Certainly, the
cause was not a change in the economic status of the foreign-
born. The plight of the immigrants tended to be far worse than
that of other citizens even in prospering times. Newly arrived
immigrants were prone to exploitation by natives and even by
their fellow immigrants who had preceded them (Crawford,
1916:16).

Whatever the cause of declining aid to the immigrants, the
records of the Association do not make note of it. Perhaps the
answer is to be found in the limited representation of the
foreign-born on the Board of Directors. The decline might also
reflect the growing national antipathy to foreign immigration.
The Annual Report of 1889 (p. 13) suggests that this was the
cause. It complained that "our beneficiaries were of nineteen
different nationalities, a circumstance which complicates our
work very much. All these have to be handled according to their
previous habits and customs, so as not to antagonize them with
the main object of their relief, which is the elevation of their
moral and physical condition." The foreign population, thus, was
viewed as a complication which had to be "handled" and
"elevated."

Third, the records reveal that there were also significant
shifts in the social conditions of those receiving help. Down
until the 1890s, listings of the occupations of family heads
receiving aid showed that the majority of support went to
families headed by washerwomen and needlewomen. Beginning in
1892, these categories experienced marked decline, and there was
an equally dramatic increase in the aid given to families headed
by mechanics. A shift, therefore, occurred which extended relief
to families headed by men rather than by women. Some women were
employed in the Provident's laundry, dress shop, and restaurant,
but the number was small and would not account for the shift.
The shift might be explained by conditions within the community,
however. The middle years of the 1890s were characterized by
economic difficulty. In fact, the Annual Report of 1897 (p. 15)
pointed out that "the destitution and distress prevailing this
year have been unprecedented in the entire history of the
Provident Association." And it is possible that the jobs held by
men were affected more during the hardships of these years.

But a more probable explanation is that the shift resulted,
in large part, from conditions within the Provident Association.
During the 1890s the services of the Association were expanded
and featured a works progrm along with a strong emphasis upon
self-help and full employment. Unemployed men were the focus of
this program, and it is not unlikely that the changing statistics
reflected these organiational developments rather than changes in

the social conditions of the recipients.

Another significant development also took place in the 1890s--the religious affiliation of recipients changed. Until this time, a high proportion of aid went to the unchurched: in 1885, 82% and in 1895, 60% of those receiving help belonged to no religious denomination. But in 1896, 27% were classified as unchurched, and by 1899 the proportion dropped to 17%. This development can best be accounted for, we believe, by changes which were occuring within the Association rather than in the society as a whole. During these years the organization and functions of the Provident Association were enlarged. This was accompanied by a greater emphasis upon efficient management and a de-emphasis of the Association's religious role. An examination of the Annual Reports suggests that the Association had become increasingly secular. As the years passed they no longer employed scriptural passages, religious rhetoric, or spiritual justifications for their work. It is reasonable to suppose that with the decline of missionary zeal, the unchurched poor were no longer seen as the most worthy recipients of aid. Rather, church membership indicated a serious, upright person with a stake in society who was deserving of help.

Fourth, the amount of aid given to families did not vary significantly from year to year, not even during periods of severe economic difficulty. Indeed, minimal aid was lauded time and again as the hallmark of Association success. It taught economy and thrift--virtues which the Board, with its business orientation, found praiseworthy.

Finally, the records indicate that the Association held firmly to its policy of investigation through the years. The Annual Reports consistently stressed its importance and maintained that this policy had been responsible for reducing the numbers of those requesting aid. Further, the percentage of families investigated who were granted help changed little, even in times of crisis. Trattner (1974:83) has written that, throughout the nation during the hardships of the 1870s, "little attention was paid to investigation of need, to tests of destitution, to safeguards against duplicity, or to the provision of counsel." But this was not the case in St. Louis. During the most difficult times investigation continued to play a vital role. For example, during the "unprecedented destitution" of the mid-1890s investigation was a "cardinal rule" because "imposture" was a major problem. The Annual Report for 1897 (pp. 15-16) noted that, although there was a "large and deplorable number of imposters, there has been a reduction [in the number of recipients] caused, no doubt, by the wide known knowledge of our method of discrimination and the consequent fear of exposure and by the dread of work."

There was criticism of the Association's policy of investigation and practice of turning down so many requests for aid. These criticisms were addressed in a speech by the Rev. W. W.

Boyd to the Association on November 18, 1897. "It is sometimes urged against the Provident, as against every efficient organized charity," he noted, "that it is cold and unsympathetic in methods. I have been at considerable pains to run down this criticism, and I find its chief source in unworthy homes, where aid has been denied for good reasons" (Annual Report for 1897, p. 52). The criticism was dismissed, therefore, as coming from the undeserving; that such criticism even existed was a testimony that the Provident Association was doing its job and doing it well, according to the minister.

CONCLUSION
      To sum up, the St. Louis data show a number of things about the 19th-century effort to deal with poverty in the city. First, those who volunteered their services were upwardly-mobile business and professional men who were concerned with the stability of their society. They were not the established old elites that engaged in charitable work in Eastern cities, but they had essentially the same ideology about poverty and the poor as those elites. Second, the policies and practices of the Provident Association mirror the social status and ideology of the volunteer directors. And third, the consequence of all this for the poor was a limited amount of help which was likely to go disproportionately to certain segments of those who were impoverished. The Directors imposed their own ideology on the poor, an ideology which is still in vogue (Lauer, 1982:273-75). They were not even concerned to eliminate poverty. Rather, they believed that poverty is inevitable and that a few of the poor, the "deserving" poor, could be helped on a temporary basis until they could work themselves out of their poverty. Thus, the Association fell far short of a resolution of the problem; it did not even attmept to help all of the needy and distresed. The 19th-century private war in St. Louis turned out to be more of an avoiding of catastrophe than a successful pursuit of victory.

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RACIAL CHANGE OR RACIAL STABILIZATION: POLICY
AND PROCESS AT A NEIGHBORHOOD LEVEL

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ABSTRACT


     Housing segregation and integration are areas of great concern to all
citizens.  Public policy in the past favored segregation, and while formal
policy now favors integration, relatively little is done to implement this
policy.

     Social science data in the area of residential integration have often
been used to foster the status quo by misinterpretation or selective use.
This paper reviews some of these data and suggests some principles for
practitioners who wish to enhance the potential for integration.

     A comprehensive view of a neighborhood should be taken rather than
examining only racial factors.  Families choose to enter or leave a
neighborhood for a variety of reasons - relative number of whites or
Blacks is only one factor in their choice.  Other market forces enter
the picture also.  Seeing potential or existing residents as consumers
dealing with the neighborhood as a "total package" is more helpful than
dealing only with racial aspects.

     It would appear that at least some consumers are looking for a sense
of community in the neighborhood they choose; and, if enough residents are
seeking this, a stronger sense of community can, in fact, be created.

     Local organizations can enhance the possibilities of maintaining
integration in a neighborhood.  Definition of integrated neighborhoods
and a review of the process within them are presented to aid understanding.

     Overall policy needs to support housing integration are identified
together with principles that would be useful for local community practi-
tioners who are interested in fostering and maintaining integration.

INTRODUCTION

     Residential housing integration is an important but neglected concern
of social work.  Because integration is likely to arouse strong feelings
and deals with many complex forces in a neighborhood, social workers, skill-
ed in community work would seem to be particularly well equipped to provide
support and consultation to community groups interested in promoting racial
integration.

The purpose of this paper is to review the literature on neighborhood racial change and stabilization and suggest ways that social workers can be better informed and more skilled in their work to enhance neighborhood social stabilization.

A major assumption of this paper is that neighborhood social stabilization is both a feasible and desirable goal that social workers can be helpful in achieving.

Several key questions need to be addressed. What, if anything can a local neighborhood do that wishes to encourage a stabilized integrated neighborhood? What factors influence decisions to buy in or stay in a neighborhood?

## Consequences of Past Policy

It should be clear that, for years, public policy strongly supported residental segregation through such means as restrictive covenants, and the favoring of new construction and suburban development rather than preservation of existing housing. Because housing integration is still controversial and likely to be strongly resisted in some communities even today, open housing laws are fairly weak and poorly enforced. Pearce (1976) and Lake (1981), for example still found extensive discrimination in their studies of local real estate practices in the 70s.

While formal public policy now favors housing integration, major institutions continue to act in ways that perpetuate segregation. Redlining, or the denial of mortgages in certain areas (often because they are racially mixed), is a prevalent problem. Real estate interests too, have often acted in ways that minimize opportunities for integration and the relatively small size and large number of real estate operators make them difficult to control either through self regulation or government action.

It is clear that the price paid for housing segregation is substantial. Blacks are often locked into areas where they must pay more for lower quality housing, and at the same time they do not enjoy neighborhood amenities or services such as adequate education, sanitation and police protection. In its worst forms, housing segregation concentrates social problems in ghettos that restrict opportunity and helps sustain poverty and poor social conditions.

Whites too, are negatively affected. White suburbanites are often cut off from Black friendships and an accurate understanding of social conditions. Fears of residental racial change result in whites feeling a need to move when their economic and social needs suggest that they would be better off staying where they are.

Substantial benefits can be obtained from housing integration. It represents the most natural way of overcoming school segregation. Integrated neighborhoods can reduce social distance, can provide benefits of cultural diversity, and can provide a greater sense of community in the overall American society.

## Social Science and Integration

Social science information has not always been used to provde support for integration, but rather has been used to add to the fears. Material has been used selectively and there probably has been some tendency for social science to reflect the status quo. A review of the traditional literature is useful in identifying common misperceptions.

There is often a feeling among the public that residential segregation essentially reflects a Black preference to live with other Blacks. Most writers, however feel that housing segregation is not a matter of preference on the part of Blacks but rather is a result of discriminatory practices. (Taebur, 1969).

Another commonly held notion is that housing segregation is an inevitable phenomenon and that racial change in a neighborhood only involves increasing proportions of Blacks. Traditional writers have reflected the view that once started, complete racial change is inevitable. Housing succession theory suggests a process of 1. penetration 2. invasion (more substantial black influx) 3. consolidation 4. piling up of Blacks in the area (Johnston, 1972). The choice of terms obviously reflects a view that the process also involves conflict.

While this may be a common pattern, it does not take into account the existence of either stable integrated areas or areas where whites are increasing relative to Blacks, such as in areas of gentrification.

Similarly, the notion of tipping points has been used to suggest a scientifically determined level of integration which, if exceeded, leads to inevitable segregation. Such a notion confuses rather than clarifies the situation. Wolf (1968) finds little evidence of a predictable tipping point and finds that the term has been used in a number of ways including 1. a preference point 2. a "willingness to enter" point and 3. a leaving point for whites (the most common usage). Decisions to enter or leave an area do not seem to be made based on any current level of integration but rather on "one's estimation of what the situation will be in the future."

A general misconception is that property values decline when Blacks enter an area. The evidence shows that, in almost all cases, as neighborhoods are integrated property values increase or keep up with those of comparable white areas. The only threat to property values is when a substantial number of whites panic and glut the market, (Laurenti, 1972) suggesting that such change depends much more on white than Black attitudes and actions.

## Definition of Integrated Communities

A helpful definition of an integrated neighborhood is that used by Bradburn (1971) and the National Opinion Research Center, which identifies an integrated neighborhood as one where both Blacks and whites are moving into housing of comparable quality. While such a definition includes neighborhoods with very little integration, it does recognize the crucial nature of move in patterns, and emphasizes the process of integration

rather than using any fixed proportion of population for definition. As some of the formal barriers to integration have been removed and the number of middle income blacks has increased, it would appear that the long term prospects for the increase of interracial neighborhoods is good. Even in 1967, Bradburn (1971) found that 19% of the total population lived in integrated areas where there was at least a token Black resident.

## Measurement

In looking at integration in any particular neighborhood it may be helpful to look at three concerns  1. current level of integration - the relative percentage of white and black residents  2. trends - whether and how the relative percentage is changing over the course of time, and 3. the quality of integration - the extent to which the integration includes social and community participation between blacks and whites.

The Taeburs (1969) have developed a segregation index, comparing the actual distribution of blacks and whites in a city or neighborhood, to what would be expected if blacks and whites were distributed randomly throughout the city.  If there was complete randomness the index would be zero. If blacks and whites never lived in the same area the index would be 1.00.  Typical indices for cities across the country have ranged from .60 to above .96.  Such an index is useful to examine integration at any given point in time and by periodic measurement, can identify long term trends over time.

## Quality of Integration

Several recent attempts have broadened the perceptions of material or residential integration.  Molotch (1974) develops the notion that the relative stability of integration depends on its quality.  He suggests three levels of integration "1. Demographic, where the community contains both blacks and whites in some specified proportions, 2. biracial interaction, whereby non-antagonist social interaction is occurring between blacks and whites to some specifiable extent,  3. transracial solidarity, defined as conditions in which whites and blacks interact freely and without constraint and in a manner such that race ceases to function as an important source of social cleavage or as a criteria for friendship and primary group selection."

In his review of the transitional area of South Shore in Chicago, Molotch discusses the fact that more important relationships require aspects of similarity, reliability and trust, which are difficult to achieve when backgrounds and identities are different, or when Blacks are seen as invaders.  While he found relatively few examples of transracial solidarity, he did find such examples where participants shared an unusual ideology, or group affiliation and an equality in occupational status.  In everyday life, he found that a fairly substantial amount of activity (shopping, outdoor recreation, etc.) was participated in on an integrated basis but as the social aspects increased (e.g. Saturday night activities) the tendency was for increased segregation.  Little "neighboring" across racial lines seems to occur in most integrated neighborhoods (Taeber, 1969).
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In the most important established civic groups both membership and leadership was predominantly white. The role Blacks had was often as "workhorse", but their role as respected leaders was not seen (Molotch, 1974).

In any neighborhood social visiting among neighbors is in most cases limited to a relatively few people (Newman, 1981). Strong friendship among all neighbors is not necessary in order to have a strong neighborhood. While transracial solidarity might not be feasible, biracial interaction would seem to be a practical goal for local neighborhood groups in integrated neighborhoods.

## Need for a More Comprehensive View of Integration

It seems appropriate to go beyond popularized views of integration and deal with a wider view of that literature that incorporates more recent data. We should use a "total market" or "consumer model" to explain housing integration, using a broad context rather than concentrating only on racial aspects. Housing stabilization programs typically empha- size retaining present white residents in an area, forgetting that turnover is normal due to deaths, job moves etc. If racial stability is to be achieved, a neighborhood must be able to continue to be able to attract whites as well as Black housing consumers. If all new residents are Black then the area must inevitably become all Black even though the process may take place over many years.

Individuals are attracted to an area for many reasons, and racial percentages are only one factor that may encourage or discourage consumers to choose a particular area. In choosing a particular house, the house must 1. meet family needs in terms of price and size etc. and 2. must be situated in a pleasant environment (Johnston, 1972). In addition, a wide variety of supply and demand factors enter into the picture to determine the total housing market, including real estate activity, relative demand by Blacks and whites, openness of other areas, mortgage terms etc . (Rapkin & Grigsby, 1968) that is clear is that to attract and retain middle class buyers, the area must be "viable" to use Down's (1973) term. That is, the area must be reasonably safe, streets and buildings must be maintained, schools must be adequate, and there must be a sense that conditions will remain good for the forseeable future.

While an urban community may not be the preferred choice for all, for many it is. Besides the tangible advantages of good transportation, near- ness to cultural facilities, and work etc., others want to be "where the action is" -- where they can feel part of a developing community. For these people the development of feeling of community is an end in itself (Hunter, 1975).

Janowitz suggests that increasingly local neighborhoods are "communities of limited liability", characterized by voluntary associations that only a relatively few residents are active in even though they are open to everyone living in an area (Hunter, 1974). Neighborhood residents were more likely to emphasize secondary relations which emphasize narrower and more formalized roles rather than primary relations as in the past. This is particularly true as one moves beyond the block level to the wider neighborhood. Local groups tend to provide social integration into local community, interest groups provide integration into the wider society (Hunter, 1974). Each has their own role.

There is even hierarchy of local groups. Small block groups tend to
be federated with larger neighborhood groups and neighborhood groups tend
to be linked to similar urban groups. Local block groups tend to focus
on internal matters, individual concerns and maintenance while larger
groups focus on external work, group concerns and change (Hunter, 1974:162).

Sense of community among residents varies with status, local struc-
tures and demographics (Hunter, 1974:179). Four demographic factors seem to
have important influence on how people evaluate neighborhoods: economic
status, family status (number of families with children), racial/ethnic
status and proportion of single family homes (Hunter, 1974:29). The Taeburs'
(1969:180) findings for a twenty-year period show that a neighborhood's
relative economic standing with other areas in the city tends to remain
stable despite racial change.

Newman (1981) deals extensively with the physical design of housing and
community space and he feels that satisfaction with housing may also be
more related to design, construction and management than race. Residents
need to feel a sense of "ownership" of common access to develop a "community
of interest". Physical design of housing can have enormous impact on
enhancing or impeding such a sense of ownership. Newman (1981:44) also suggests
that satisfaction with neighborhood is also related to whether residents
felt neighbors were friendly and well behaved.

Here again local community organizations can have an important role
in fostering a sense of ownership and control of public space and can
provide important opportunities for residents of different backgrounds
to know each other.

### Retaining Existing Consumers

For current residents, choices are available. Hirshman (1970) has
presented an interesting theoretical formulation for these choices entitled
Exit, Voice and Loyalty encompassing the three major choices open for
almost any consumer group. In the case of a neighborhood, residents or
prospective residents are the consumers and the total neighborhood is
the "product" consumed.

### Exit

Regarding exit, Hirshman (1970:37) feels that "exit will often be taken
in the light of the prospects for the effective use of voice." Exit
may be a reaction of last resort after voice has failed. Those who care
most, may be the ones most likely to exit when quality declines (Hirshman,
1970:47). Insensitivity may be common to public agencies and is therefore
something that promotes exit.

> "When general conditions in a neighborhood deteriorate those
> who value most highly neighborhood qualities such as safety,
> cleanliness, good schools and facilities will be the first to
> move out. They will search for housing in somewhat more expen-
> sive neighborhoods or in suburbs and will be lost to the citi-
> zens' groups and community action programs that would attempt
> to reverse the tide of deterioration" (Hirshman, 1970:110).

(The neighborhood conditions cited are essentially those incorporated in Downs' concept of neighborhood viability.)

In terms of changing conditions in a way most desired by those who exit, "exit is likely to be unsuccessful even for those who practice it" (Hirshman, 1970:110). Exit may be precluded for many. For example, in a typical neighborhood many would have difficulty in moving because housing costs are higher elsewhere. Where neither loyalty or voice options are perceived to be valid, and exit is precluded, consumers could be expected to be alienated and uninvolved.

## Voice

The presence of the exit option reduces the probabilty of exercise of the voice option. Voice is likely to play an important role where the exit option is precluded (Hirshman, 1970:76).

Two principal determinants of the readiness to resort to voice when exit is possible are "the extent to which customer-members are willing to trade off the certainty of exit against the uncertainties of an improvement in the deteriorated products and the estimate customer members have of their ability to influence the organization" (Hirshman, 1970:7).

Edward Banfield (quoted in Hirschman 1970:39) feels "the effort an interested party makes to put its case before the decision makers will be in proportion to the advantage to be gained from a favorable outcome multipled by the probability of influencing the decision".

## Loyalty

"The importance of loyalty . . . . is that it can neutralize within certain limits the tendency of the most quality conscious customers or members to be the first to exit . . . . as a result of loyalty, these potentially most influential customers and members will stay on longer than they would ordinarily, in the hope or, rather, reasoned expectation that improvement or reform can be achieved 'from within'. Thus loyalty, far from being irrational, can serve the socially useful purpose of preventing deterioration from becoming cumulative, as it so often does where there is no barrier to exit. As a rule then, loyalty holds exit at bay and activates voice." (Hirshman, 1970:78-79)

The goals of a neighborhood association in an integrated neighborhood would be to increase loyalty to a neighborhood by involvement of local residents and to increase the effectiveness of the collective voice of residents, thereby limiting the degree to which the exit option is exercised. This involvement should increase residents sense of community.

## Importance of Community Perception

A central issue is how people perceive their community. Such perceptions affect how people work within their neighborhood and ultimately how major decisions are made. Whether one remains in a community or not is often dependent on one's perception or whether they see theirs as a good

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or bad community. Community evaluation is frequently based on percep-
tion of the long term prospects of the community as well as perceptions
of current conditions.

While reality factors play a role in people's perceptions, many times
nonreality factors are equally or more important. This is particularly so
in racially and economically mixed neighborhoods. Even if one is not biased
towards minorities or the poor oneself, his/her friends and relatives who do
not live in mixed areas, may ascribe a somewhat lower status to the person
who lives in a mixed situation. The wider community values, though changing,
still favor white segregated areas. For this reason, promotion of an image
of a sound neighborhood, able to deal with its problems is essential. It is
also essential that this image be close to reality.

Opportunities must be found for members of the various neighborhood
elements to come together either around common problems or around community-
wide events that everyone can enjoy. Communication and community participa-
tion are useful in achieving goals, and are useful in and of themselves.
One's perception of a neighborhood changes if he/she is involved in it or
knows that "something useful is happening" or "ours, is a strong, stable
well organized neighborhood that can take care of its problems". Whether
one moves into or out of a neighborhood is to a large extent determined
by perceptions of that neighborhood.

## Creation of Community

Hunter presents an analysis of the sense of community in an interracial
area. It seems clear from this study that use or non use of local facilities
such as businesses and social services has come to have little relationship
with sense of community supporting Janowitz notion of a "community of limited
liability". Use of local facilities may increase informal neighboring which
increases the sense of community but it is not directly related. It seems
probable that provision of local facilities may be more convenient for
residents but this does not necessarily increase the sense of community.

Informal neighboring increases sense of community more directly than
use of local facilities. It seems important that "residents who are younger,
white and homeowners are significantly more likely to engage in informal
neighboring than older residents, Blacks and renters" (Hunter, 1975).

Hunter (1975:547-548) suggests that residents have a direct role in
directing a sense of community.

> "Why has the social and cultural symbolic sense of community
> not declined but increased? The answer is that 1. community
> was consciously sought after and 2. consciously created by its
> local residents . . . ." A number of factors were given by
> residents for moving to the area some of them clearly seeking
> a sense of community. Among the reasons given were good hous-
> ing value and convenience but, in addition, people sought out
> the area because it was a stable integrated area. There was
> a rejection of the image of suburbia and a sense that one was
> 'where the action was; the urban frontier'. and that they were

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"ideologically and personnally countering the general decay of urban America . . . . Finally, the move to this area was for some precisely the fact that it was seen to be a meaningful social and symbolic 'community'. The search for community, in short, has become a conscious search and the prior proselytizing done by existing residents is apparently sufficient to convert them into fellow residents."

"Not only have many of the residents of the area consciously selected the area because of its ecological and community characteristics--but they have also been involved in creating and maintaining a more formal structural embodiment of community--a local community organization.

Those residents who are somewhat older, homeowners, more highly educated and who have lived in the area for a shorter period of time are more likely to belong to the organization. We also see that such membership does not affect "local facility use," but it does increase informal neighboring significantly and increases the sense of community for members, though informal neighboring remains the most significant in its effect. Structures and activities heighten both the social and symbolic 'sense of community' for local residents."

In summary Hunter feels that while functional community may have been lost in neighborhoods "symbolic community may have been found" (Hunter, 1974:186). This suggests that local structures can serve an important role in aiding the development of a sense of community which in turn, aids the stabilization process.


## Need for Overall Policy

Several of the most important policy issues remain clearly outside the province of local neighborhoods. For example, supply, demand, and credit factors are largely a result of outside forces, not under neighborhood control.

Housing transition unfortunately tends to be concentrated in a relatively few areas of the city. Open housing needs to be a reality in most of a metropolitan area, to take pressure off the few areas that are integrated. Similarly if center city areas are undergoing either abandonment or redevelopment, this will increase the pressure for transition in adjacent areas. Cities and the national government must adopt more comprehensive policies to make for more orderly growth in cities.

Downs(1970) in a very thorough discussion, suggests that the present policies that favor concentration and segregation are not acceptable. They should be replaced with policies that favor integration over most of the metropolitan area and enrichment in neighborhoods with high concentrations of Blacks. The idea of a fully integrated society is not yet politically feasible as any resolution must be supported ultimately by a majority of the white middle class and must appeal to the self interest of the majority of blacks and whites.

The integrated-core strategy essentially represents a com-
promise between an ideal condition and two harsh realities.
The ideal condition is development of a fully integrated
society in which whites and Negroes live together harmoniously
and the race of each individual is not recognized by anyone
as a significant factor in any public or private decisions.

The first harsh reality is that the present desire of most
whites to dominate their own environment means that integra-
tion can only be achieved through deliberate management and
through the willingness of some Negroes to share schools and
residences as a minority. The second harsh reality is the
assumption that it will be impossible to disperse the massive
Negro ghetto of major central cities fast enough to prevent
many of those cities from eventually becoming predominantly,
or even almost exclusively, Negro in population.

This strategy seeks to avoid any such polarization by build-
ing an integrated core of whites and non-whites in central
cities, including many leaders of both races in politics,
business, and civic affairs (Downs, 1970:70-77).

Oscar Newman (1981:36) suggests that such policies as giving tax
deductions for property tax for schools and mortgage interest provides
incentives "to the creation of exclusive suburban enclaves and segregation
by income, and therefore race.

## Schools

As we have seen locally based institutions have, over time, become less
important in establishing a sense of community among local residents. Residents
may or may not use local facilities. Schools may be something of an exception
because they are organized on a neighborhood basis, are used extensively by
local residents, and are strongly indentified with local neighborhoods.

While data suggests that perceptions of school quality do not diminish
when schools are moderately integrated (less than 10%), quality of schools
and integration levels (particularly perceptions that there were trends
to increasing levels of integration) are important (Bradburn, 1971; Wolf
and LeBaux, 1967; Goodwin, 1979). There may well be a fear of some white
residents that they have no control over long term levels of integration
or quality of schools.

For prospective residents, particularly those with children local
schools are a matter of concern that gets factored into the total choice
of house and neighborhood.

Pearce (1980) in reviewing data for areas that have had metropolitan
integration (as opposed to integration in a smaller area of a larger
metropolitan area) for at least five years, suggests that such integration
is an important tool in housing stabilization.

Pearce suggests that metropolitan integration eliminates most of the status differences in schools but also tends to close the worst schools and upgrade many others. Metropolitan integration eliminates choosing neighborhoods on the basis of schools or moving to find better schools. In a sense the reduction of choices may be desirable as all metropolitan residents are assured of a similar level of integration and quality in schools. The areas most assured of neighborhood schools in metropolitan integration plans are those that are well integrated. As we have seen local facility use is not required to achieve a sense of community particularly in the "community of limited liability". Other major social provisions such as health have become more equal over time and there is no reason why we shouldn't expect the same for education.

## Specific Practice Principles

### Use of Local Organizations

Gockel, Bradburn and Siedman (in Spergel, 1972), cite Fisk on the benefits of a community organization in a racially changing situation, even if racial change continues:

> "A democratically structured forum is provided in which diverse groups could discuss community issues (it) has been able to control or eliminate many of the destructive elements that frequently accompany racial change. By mobilizing the resources of the community both public and private and by using the coercive powers of the city government (it) has eliminated much of the panic, violence, exploitation and deterioration which has accompanied racial change in other communities.

If development of strong community organizations is important in fostering neighborhood integration, social work, particularly community organization, would seem to have a great deal to contribute, both because of theory and the sensitive training social workers receive to deal with subtle feelings.

Locality based efforts would seem to be quite relevant as traditional views of residential succession process assume that it will take place essentially on a neighborhood by neighborhood basis.

### Neighborhood Structure

Thelen sees the overall neighborhood association and individual block associations as bridging groups where diverse segments of the community can come together around "task oriented" issues. Hopefully, this forces some reappraisals of former attitudes and members take back more positive attitudes to groups to which they belong.

A number of operating principles are developed by Thelen (in Miller, 1968) which are useful. To summarize, he sees a community group as serving as a bridge between various community and other groups. Such a group would emphasize problem solving around mutual concerns and in the process, foster improved attitudes and increased ability to solve problems and more readily perceive reality.

Community groups should:

a. Bring about communication between members of the opposing groups

b. Develop the bridging group itself into a strong one with its own culture and appeal to members.

c. Operate the bridging group as a training situation in which the members can learn the experimental method of group problem-solving.

d. Facilitate acceptance by members of each other and of the groups they represent.

e. Influence the members of the groups toward gradual change of their ways of operating, toward a more problem-reality-oriented approach.

Operating principles suggested are these:

a. Community problem-solving is put ahead of organizational power as the objective.

b. Anyone who can help with the problem-solving is welcome, regardless of professed belief or the group's theories about his personality.

c. Efforts are made to seek out and reach working agreement with other groups working for the same objectives.

d. The group serves as a bridging group to reduce conflict among the other groups to which the members are loyal.

e. The group adopts an experimental methodology, determining action at each step on the basis of evaluation of results of preceding steps.

f. The group pays attention to self-training and to its own development so that leadership is strengthened, goals are kept realistic, individuals make satisfying contributions, and workable solutions to problems can be formulated explicitly and passed on to other groups and communities.

g. The group collects adequate data about the problem . . . .

h. The group realistically appraises its own resources and skills and gets professional help when needed.

i. Throughout all action, the group defines its "enemy" as objectively
   defined conditions in need of change rather than in terms of
   individuals or groups to be demolished.

In addition, Abrahamson (in Miller, 1968) using the same experience, listed
additional principles:

j. Do not appeal to people in neighborhoods on the basis of any kind
   of ideological principles.

k. Always appeal in terms of enlightened self-interest.

l. Action should be task-oriented.

m. Make alliances with groups that have power and influence.

The following principles have been developed from the literature cited
earlier and from practical experiences in inter racial neighborhoods.

1. Views of neighborhoods as a "community of limited liability" would
suggest that the emphasis at the local level should be primarily on
neighborhood based concerns.  As we have seen neighborhood conditions
are important in how people evaluate a neighborhood.  It is important to
focus on monitoring and improving conditions and avoid a tendency to
focus on "intergroup relations" too directly or exclusively.

2.  We should expect that a variety of organizational levels will be present.
We have seen that is is natural for there to be a number of different
local groups and that they are often linked hierarchally from the local
block level to neighborhood wide groups.  There is no reason why neighbor-
hood-wide groups shouldn't be similarly linked to groups concerned with
metropolitan wide concerns such as overall school and housing problems.
For example, National Neighbors, which is a federation of neighborhood
groups in interracial areas and National Committee Against Discrimination
in Housing, both based in Washington, provide information and other resources
of use to local interracial communities.

3.  We should also recognize that while neighborhood involvement of a signifi-
cant number of residents is useful for achieving neighborhood goals, it
is not necessary or realistic to expect that all residents will be good
friends.

4.  It is important to foster a strong, positive neighborhood image and
identity and a view that local organizations are successful.  This image
is important not only for local residents but also for prospective
residents (consumers) of the neighborhood.

5.  The  issues chosen for work should be those perceived by a large
number of residents as problems.  It is assumed that the closer an
issue is to home the more involvement there will be.

6. Those affected by a problem should be involved in the planning and implementation of solutions of these problems. The principle of client self-determination is expressed in community organization practice as helping the group or community to determine its goals usually solving specific problems and strategies to be used in solving these problems. Not only is this ethically sound practice, but there is also evidence that if people are involved in defining a goal and ways of achieving the goal, they will be more likely to achieve that goal. It is important to strive to include Blacks in leadership positions in local groups.

7. Community organization is most effective when employed in a preventive or early treatment approach rather than where large scale remedial goals are attempted. Physical design should be recognized as having important impact on local neighborhoods.

8. Community resources and supports should be used wherever possible to strengthen the effectiveness of the neighborhood work. This includes good use of such mechanisms as a neighborhood newspaper or maximization of effective city services.

9. Participation is important in this setting, not only from a goal achievement standpoint but also from the standpoint of drawing people together. It is assumed that people participating together draw closer together, even across racial lines. Participation should increase both the perceived effectiveness of voice options and also increase the loyalty to the neighborhood.

10. Contact theory holds that interracial understanding is improved where there is contact across racial lines, involving people of equal status and where a superordinate goal that is of concern to each group is pursued (Rothman, 1977).

Turner (1968:18-19) categorizes the range of strategies available to "citizen self help" groups as 1) Consensus, which aims at getting better information to decision makers. 2) Conflict, which implies a conflict with an outside group that must be worked out. 3) Negotiation, which has some of both of the above and assumes that progress can be made by working within the system and using mild pressure.

While consenus should be emphasized within the community, negotiation rather than confrontation (conflict) or cooperation (consensus) would seem to be the tactic of greatest potential in dealing with problems where the source of the problem is seen to stem from sources outside the neighborhood. For example, confrontation with landlords should be used only when reasonable attempts of negotiating building improvements have failed.

The strategy and principles described above are very much in keeping with Rothman's (1979) model of "locality development" as a community organization model and deemphasize social planning and social action models.

## Conclusion

There seems to be compelling need for public policy to support efforts to foster stabilization of integrated neighborhoods. Such policies would include support for open housing efforts, means to reduce income disparities between blacks and whites and erect job opportunities and efforts to improve the stability of cities.

These policies can be complemented by local neighborhood level programs. Such efforts at the local neighborhood level require a good deal of sensitivity to feelings of both current and prospective residents as well as the development of creative intervention strategies. It is in these local neighborhood efforts that social work can play a particularly important role.

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THE SERVICE ORIENTATIONS
OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATORS:
TOWARDS A NORMATIVE
MODEL

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## Abstract

     The service orientations of 28 administrators of
social service agencies are examined as part of a
normative model of service delivery.  Six service
issues are identified, and their interrelationship is
described and examined.  The service orientation
issues include:  effectiveness, efficiency,
responsiveness to constituency interests, agency
autonomy, community involvement, and services
integration.  In part, the results show that, as a
group, the executives rank effectiveness (or the
setting and achievement of programmatic goals) as of
greatest concern.  Community involvement and
responsiveness follow in importance.  Efficiency ranks
fourth and autonomy, fifth.  Services integration is
of least concern.  Service orientation is examined in
relation to five personal characteristics of the
executives and four agency attributes.  Important
correlates of service orientation are the age,
experience, and education of the executives, agency
size, and the number of agency funding sources.

Implications for training and education of future
social service administrators are discussed.
Suggestions for further development of a normative
model of social service delivery are offered.


        Although claims are often made that the values,
goals, and commitments of administrators in the not-
for-profit, social service arena are distinctive from
those of administrators in the for-profit, business
realm, little research has been done either to test
this assertion or to document the actual orientations
of social service administrators.  Before valid tests
of this claim can be made, more research is needed on
the service provision orientations of human service
administrators.  Rainey's (forthcoming) comparison of
public-sector and business-sector administrators shows
a greater commitment in the former to service and
altruistic rewards.  His analysis remains, however, at
a general level and fails to contribute to a full
understanding of the particular aspects of a "service
orientation."
        The aim of the present research is to provide
descriptive data on six dimensions of service
orientation among the chief executive officers (CEOs)
of twenty-eight (28) general social service agencies.
(General social service agencies are defined as
typically voluntary in funding, small in size, and
locally controlled and funded; cf. Kahn, 1973.)  Our
intent is to present a normative model of social
service delivery which builds upon the extant
literature.  The model identifies multiple aspects of
service with which social service administrators are
assumed to be concerned (Patti, 1982; Trecker, 1971).
Additionally, five attributes of the administrators
and four agency characteristics are examined in
relation to the service orientation model.

    A Normative Model of Social Service Orientation

        A normative model of service orientation was
developed for conceptual and data collection purposes
(Anthony, 1965; Suchman, 1967; Zani, 1970; Trecker,
1971; Service, Mantel, and Reisman, 1972; O'Brien,
1974; Head, 1975; LaMendola, 1976; Sutherland, 1977;
Keen and Morton, 1978; Morris and Lescohier, 1978;
Martin, 1980; Glisson and Martin, 1980; and Patti,

1982). Six distinctive aspects of service were
identified: effectiveness, efficiency,
responsiveness, service integration, autonomy, and
community contribution. These factors, defined below,
are viewed as encompassing the primary service
mandates of social service agencies and thus the
primary service concerns of social service
administrators (in particular, see Trecker, 1971; and
Patti, 1983). Prior to collection of the data, it was
expected that some dimensions of service would have
greater importance than others and that some would
actually be in conflict with others.

Effectiveness is defined here as the importance
of establishing and accomplishing programmatic service
goals. This issue was included on the basis of its
prevalence in the literature (Goodman and Pennings,
1977; Martin 1981) and its relevance to an agency's
realization of intended service aims. Effectiveness
is the core of service provision and is expected to
represent a major concern (Suchman, 1967). Efficiency
refers to the importance of minimizing operational
monetary costs in pursuing agency goals. Funding
sources place considerable emphasis on efficiency in
social service administration (Martin, 1980). Despite
its emphasis on effort rather than effect, efficiency
has become an issue in the recent "accountability"
movement and, while not popular, is an everyday
reality for social service executive.

Responsiveness concerns the extent to which the
satisfication of various persons or groups are valued
by social service administrators (Trecker, 1971).
These persons or groups include funding sources, other
agencies, the agency's Board, neighborhood or service
area, volunteers in the program, program staff,
clients of the program, and the general public.
Given the permeable boundaries of the typical social
service agency and its vulnerability to external as
well as internal constituency pressures (Martin,
1980), it is hypothesized that executive directors are
concerned with responsiveness. Community contribution
consists of the extent to which the achievement of
community-oriented goals is valued (Trecker, 1971).
This issue taps the executive's concerns with the
involvement of various constituencies (eg., United
Way, Board, consumers, volunteers) in the operation of
the program. Trecker's (1971) emphasis on both
responsiveness and community contribution as major
tasks of the social service executive underscores the

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diverse interests with which the latter are confronted and with which they must deal.

Services integration refers to the extent to which cooperation with other agencies (e.g., for purposes of coordinating services) is valued by social service administrators. Questions on this issue deal with the importance of coordinating and/or exchanging staff and/or services with other agencies in the local area. As is well known, services integration was a popular concept in the decade of the seventies (Morris and Lescohier, 1978; Imershein, et al., 1980) and many agency executives experienced continuous pressure from funding sources, Boards, and constituencies to encourage, undertake, and support "integrated services."

Autonomy is defined as the importance of the agency's independence in day-to-day operations; that is, the agency's ability to make its own decisions and set its own criteria without interference. Stockfisch (1970) reports that autonomy is the single most important concern of administrators in governmental agencies. Previous studies of social service agencies have failed to include questions about autonomy due, in part, to a failure to take the agency executive's point of view.

Table 1 provides summary definitions of the six issues and presents a sample item used in the measurement of each.

METHODOLOGY

Sample. A proportionate random sample of twenty-eight (28) social service agencies was selected from a list of all family and neighborhood agencies in the Minneapolis/St. Paul metropolitan area in 1975. Family service agencies were defined as those which list family counseling as a primary service. Neighborhood service agencies were defined as those which are physically located in the neighborhood they serve and which provide at least two different kinds of service (eg., crisis counseling and recreation). The strata for the sampling procedure were as follows: Minneapolis Family Service, Minneapolis Neighborhood Service, St. Paul Family Service, and St. Paul Neighborhood Service. From each stratum, agencies were selected randomly with replacement. Seventeen were selected from Minneapolis (8 family service; 9 neighborhood) and 11 from St. Paul (5 family service;

6 neighborhood).

For each agency chosen, the executive director was contacted and interviewed. Among items covered in the interview were the administrator's demographic characteristics (eg., age, education, administrative experience), agency information (eg., number of staff, budget size, primary and secondary funding sources, etc.), and a self-report on the importance of the six service orientation issues.

Measurement of Service Orientation. Agency executives were asked to complete a questionnaire and card sort to ascertain the importance attached to the service orientation issues when making decisions regarding the service functions of the agency. Table 1 presents the issues and a brief description of each scale as presented to the directors. A sample item is shown for each issue and illustrates the fact that the directors were requested to rate each item along a continuum from 1 (most important) to 6 (not at all important). Prior to data analysis, the responses were recoded so that high scores indicate high valuation of the item. (That is, one was recoded to six; two to five; etc. A response of "nine" was considered a missing value to indicate the intention of the respondent that the item was not applicable.)

_____

(Table 1 -- here)

_____

Reliability. Given the small sample size of only 28 cases, traditional reliability analysis is inappropriate. As shown in Table 1, however, items were deleted from each scale in order to maximize inter-item correlations and to minimize the number of extremely low correlations in each. The results in Table 1 indicate an acceptable, if moderate, level of inter-item correlations for the six issues (i.e., from a high of .50 for the effectiveness factor to a low of .29 for responsiveness). For elaboration of the procedures followed here, the reader is referred to LaMendola (1976).

Director and agency parameters. As noted earlier, data on director and agency characteristics are included in the analysis as correlates of the service orientation issues (See Table 3). All but four of the executives are male (86 percent), thus the sample is skewed on gender. The mean age of the

executives is 44.4 years (s.d. = 10.5). On the
average, the executives have been in their current
posts for 5.7 years (s.d. = 5.2) and have a mean of
10.4 years (s.d. = 8.7) of administrative experience.
The average education level is 16.4 years (s.d. = 2.4)
with three directors having Ph.D.'s and six having
only a high school diploma.
       The agencies which the executives directed have
an average number of full-time-equivalent staff of 30
(s.d. = 46.5) with a mean annual budget of $521,436.00
(s.d. = $902,970.00). The largest annual budget is
$3,400,000 and the smallest, $2,500. The modal budget
size is $50,000 (N = 5). Sixteen of the 28 agencies
(or 57 percent) have multiple sources of funding. Of
the 12 with only one source, six are funded by taxes,
two by churches, and four are voluntary. As noted
earlier, thirteen of the 28 agencies are of the family
service type and fifteen, of the neighborhood type.

RESULTS

       (1) Relative rank-order of decision issues.
Table 2 presents the descriptive and zero-order
correlation data for the service orientation issues.
As a group, the agency directors are most concerned
with their programs' effectiveness and least concerned
with integrating services with other agencies.

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(Table 2 -- here)

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After effectiveness, the executives are concerned with
their agency's contribution to the community and
responsiveness to various persons and groups with whom
it interacts (see mean and median data in Table 2).
       Efficiency ranks fourth and autonomy, fifth, for
executives in the sample. Given current emphases on
"accountability" in an age of dwindling resources, the
relatively low rating of efficiency by the executives
is noteworthy. Though "moderately important", it is
viewed as less fundamental than effectiveness in
achieving programmatic goals, contributing to the
community, and responsiveness to constituency
interests. Autonomy ranks fifth overall, although its
modal and mean scores place it high in importance,
second only to effectiveness. Later results throw
light on this. Autonomy is not a universal concern,

but those executives with multiple funding sources find it problematic (see Table 3). This suggests that executives value autonomy in decision-making but that only those whose autonomy is threatened perceive it as a central issue.

(2) The Service Orientation Issues. The correlation data in Table 2 address the interrelationships of the six issues. First, we note the positive and, for the most part, significant associations of the issues with each other. This suggests that the six service issues are neither mutually exclusive nor negatively associated. Results indicate that accomplishments aimed at realizing one issue are perceived as contributing to the realization of others as well. These data provide an important insight into the nature of human service organizations, suggesting that while some issues are valued more highly than others, social service administrators feel able to maintain their integrity and avoid being pulled apart by the pursuit of mutually exclusive goals.

The service issue in Table 2 most strongly correlated with all others is that of community contribution (with a mean inter-factor correlation of .61). The high associations of community contribution with autonomy (.72), effectiveness (.71), and service integration (.70) suggest that realization of community service goals are perceived as complimentary to the realization of internal service goals, coordination with other agencies, and having sufficient autonomy to set standards and goals without undue outside interference.

It is interesting to note that efficiency is more highly associated with effectiveness ($r$ = .58) than with any other issue. Efficiency is apparently perceived as compatible with and possibly even facilitative of effectiveness. As suggested by Martin (1980), efficiency is a fundamentally valued goal in developed, western societies with the result that opposing it is contradictory to cultural ideals. It is doubtful that any agency executive who claims unconcern for "the most value for the dollar" would last very long in the politicized arena in which human service organizations exist (Walmsley and Zald, 1973). Interestingly, responsiveness to constituency satisfaction and integration of agency services (eg., staff, planning, etc.) are only weakly associated with efficiency.

(3) <u>Service orientation</u> and <u>executive director characteristics</u>. Table 3 shows the correlations of the service issues with five executive director characteristics and four agency attributes. Noting director characteristics first, male and female executives appear similar in their assessments of the six issues. Female executives are somewhat more likely (than males) to emphasize effectiveness whereas males place slightly greater emphasis on services integration.

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Table 3 -- here

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In regards to age, older executives value all decision issues more so than younger ones. This is most pronounced in regards to efficiency, effectiveness, and autonomy. Executives who have longer tenure in their current posts and those with greater administrative experience value efficiency more so than executives with shorter tenure or less administrative experience. As might be expected, older executives are also those with the most administrative experience ($r$ = .79).

An unexpected finding in Table 3 is that executives who are more highly educated place less emphasis (than less educated ones) on five of the six service issues. Executives who are <u>less</u> highly educated, that is, place greater value on responsiveness, services integration, autonomy and community contribution. Only in regards to concerns with efficiency are the more and less well educated executives undifferentiated. This result runs contrary to common sense expectations that more highly educated directors would place greater emphasis on each service issue.

(4) <u>Service orientation</u> and <u>agency attributes</u>. The agency characteristics present equally interesting results. Organizational size, as measured by number of staff and budget size (cf. Martin and Anderson, 1978; and Martin, 1979), is generally unrelated to an executive's service orientation. An exception to this involves efficiency. Directors of larger agencies are more concerned than directors of smaller ones with the efficiency of operations in meeting programmatic and service goals. This observation is consistent with previous work by Glisson and Martin (1980) which found

larger human service organizations to be more
efficient.

The negative, though non-significant, association
of the two size indicators with the community
contribution factor suggests that directors of smaller
agencies are somewhat more concerned than those of
larger ones with the involvement of community groups
in their programs. This holds somewhat for
responsiveness as well. Only in these areas do
present results on organizational size support
previous research on the presumed "negative" effects
of larger size in human service organizations (e.g.,
see Glisson and Martin, 1980; and Martin and Segal,
1977).

The data in Table 3 underscore the importance of
number of funding sources for understanding the
service orientations of agency executives. When their
agency receives funds from multiple as opposed to
single sources, executives are considerably more
concerned with their program's autonomy and, to a
lesser extent, its effectiveness and efficiency. This
suggests the well-known truism that "strings are
attached to money" and confirms the assumption that
accountability demands, while fostering concern with
program effectiveness and efficiency, are generally
perceived as threats to agency autonomy and self-
direction (cf. Meyer, 1975).

Results in Table 3 show that executives of family
service agencies are slightly, though not
significantly, less concerned than directors of
neighborhood service agencies with services
integration and contribution to the community. These
differences may reflect differences in the service
mandates of the two types of agencies. As noted
earlier, family service agencies have a mandate to
provide family counseling as a primary service.
Family counseling services are typically provided by
professionally educated staff and the involvement of
indigenous workers in the service arm of the program
may be minimal. In such programs, policies may
dictate that only professionals are qualified to
provide service. Neighborhood service agencies, in
contrast, have multiple mandates (e.g., to provide
crisis counseling, employments referrals, recreation
services), are located in the particular geographic
areas they serve, and are more likely to provide
services in which non-professional people can
participate. The more intimate involvement of a

neighborhood service agency in and with its locality
can be expected to lead to greater concern with the
agency's community involvement and, at the same time,
efforts to link its programs to those of other
agencies.  Present data suggest, not surprisingly,
that administration of a neighborhood service agency
is more externally or "environmentally" oriented than
that of a family service agency.

## DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The present study contributes to an understanding
of the service orientations of executives in the
social services.  On a substantive level, present data
indicate that social service executives are
fundamentally concerned with the setting and
accomplishment of program service goals.  In addition,
they are strongly concerned with responsiveness to,
and involvement of their agencies in, the local
community.  Concerns with efficiency, while moderately
strong, do not override or exclude other issues.
Autonomy appears to vary by agency situation and
mandate.  Directors of agencies with multiple funding
sources show greater interest than other directors in
maintaining agency autonomy.  Of all issues, services
integration is of least concern to the executives.
An important aspect of our findings is that the
six issues are all positively associated with each
other.  Efforts to meet objectives associated with one
criterion are complementary, rather than
contradictory, to efforts aimed at realization of the
others.  The strong correlation between effectiveness
and efficiency, in particular, suggests that social
service executives are committed to meeting identified
service goals at the minimum feasible cost.  Such a
finding should reassure governmental and political
officials who claim insufficient attention is paid by
social service administrators to efficiency aims and
concerns (Martin, 1980).
Our failure to find differences between male and
female executives may reassure those who worry about
the administrative orientations of female versus male
chief executive officers (cf. Permutter and Alexander,
1978).  As suggested by Kanter (1977), opportunity
structures rather than gender influence the claimed
differential "leadership" behavior of females versus
males in organizational contexts.  Greater concerns of
the older executives with effectiveness, efficiency,

and autonomy may reflect the results of on-the-job
learning in the social services arena.  If so,
opportunities for older and younger executives to
share perspectives and experiences might be beneficial
to those in both age groups.

   Without more information, it is difficult to
understand why the more highly educated executives
place less emphasis on four of the six service issues
than less educated executives do.  Those with advanced
degrees were perhaps trained for direct service
provision and are less interested in a broad array of
service goals.  This seems unlikely, however, since
the ability to obtain and sustain executive-level
positions requires attention to organizational
concerns such as responsiveness, community
involvement, autonomy, and services integration.  To
understand this phenomenon, we could benefit from
research on the content of advanced educational
training for social service executives.  If DSW and
Ph.D. programs are unwittingly teaching students to
down play community involvement, responsiveness,
autonomuy, and services integration, re-orientation of
educational and training programs may be required.

   The primary contribution of the present analysis
has been to provide descriptive data on the service
orientations of social service administrators.
Subsequent research which could build on and extend
these results include the following:  (1) modification
and extension of the present model, based on the
recent theoretical work by Patti (1982, 1983);  (2)
validation and testing of the present model (and its
utility) through gathering and analyzing data on a
larger and more diverse sample of social service
administrators; and (3) comparative research on social
service versus business sector administrators, to gain
a better understanding of the claimed "service ethic"
of public service managers (cf. Rainey, forthcoming).

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Table 1 -- Service issues, sample items, inter-item correlations, and
         percentage of correlations falling below r = .20.

| Service issue (and brief definitions) | Sample Item | No. of items | Inter-item correl. | % correls. below r = .20 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Effectiveness**: importance of establishment of programmatic service goals | "Setting program goals prior to program implementation is _____."[a] | 6 | .50 | 0.0 |
| **Efficiency**: importance of operation of the program at least monetary cost, without regard to goal accomplishment | "Program staff monetary cost compared to the total number of staff contact hours per person served is _____." | 5 | .36 | 10.0 |
| **Responsiveness**: extent to which satisfaction or interests of various persons or groups are taken into account | "Satisfaction of volunteers who work in the program is _____." | 6 | .29 | 13.3 |
| **Services Integration**: extent to which cooperation with other agencies is taken into account | "Program planning with local agency executives is _____." | 6 | .37 | 6.7 |
| **Autonomy**: importance of independence of the agency in day-to-day operations, i.e., its ability to make its own decisions and set its own criteria without outside interference. | "The power of the agency to measure program performance by agency standards is _____." | 5 | .43 | 0.0 |
| **Community contribution**: extent to which the achievement of community-oriented goals is taken into account | "Consideration of the program as a link in the community continuum of services is _____." | 5 | .41 | 10.0 |

[a]Agency executives were asked to rate each item on the following scale:
1 = most important; 2 = very important; 3 = moderately important; 4 =
somewhat important; 5 = slightly important; 6 = not at all important; and 9
= not applicable.  Responses were recoded for the analysis (see Methods
section).

Table 2 -- Measures of central tendency and zero-order correlations for six Decision Factors as assessed by agency executives (N=28)

| Decision factors | Mean | Md. | Mode | Mean Rank | Effic. | Respon. | Serv-ices Integr. | Auton. | Comm. con. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Effectiveness | 5.08[a] (0.75)* | 5.02 | 5.00 | 5.2[b] | .58 | .50 | .60 | .63 | .71 |
| Efficiency | 4.20 (1.02) | 4.25 | 4.20 | 3.0 | -- | .09[c] | .25[c] | .46 | .41 |
| Responsive-ness | 4.33 (0.93) | 4.59 | 4.62 | 3.3 | | -- | .50 | .44 | .52 |
| Integration | 3.62 (1.08) | 3.89 | 3.38 | 2.0 | | | -- | .50 | .70 |
| Autonomy | 3.91 (1.17) | 4.21 | 4.86 | 3.4 | | | | -- | .72 |
| Community contribution | 4.56 (1.10) | 4.63 | 4.40 | 3.0 | | | | | -- |

[a] On a six-point scale, where 6 = of greatest importance in decision-making; 1 = of no importance.

[b] From card sort results; see LaMendola (1976).

[c] These correlations are the only ones in Table 2 which fall short of significance at the .05 level or better.

*(standard deviation)

Table 3 -- Correlations of the Decision Factors with Five Personal and Five Agency Characteristics (N=28)

| Director and Agency Characteristics | Decision Factors | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Effect. | Effic. | Respon. | Serv-ices Integ. | Auton. | Comm. Contrib. |
| Sex of director (1=male; 0=female) | -.21 | .04 | .13 | .21 | .00 | -.11 |
| Age of director | .34[b] | .44[a] | .22 | .04 | .33[b] | .15 |
| Tenure of director | .11 | .37[b] | -.13 | .06 | -.05 | -.08 |
| Years administrative experience | .18 | .49[a] | -.21 | .00 | .05 | .03 |
| Years of education completed | -.21 | .01 | -.34[b] | -.37[b] | -.37[b] | -.35[b] |
| Number full-time equivalent staff | .00 | .32[a] | -.11 | .12 | -.01 | -.20 |
| Size of annual budget | .09 | .30[c] | -.04 | .18 | .10 | -.14 |
| Funding sources (1=multiple; 0=single) | .36[b] | .27[c] | -.07 | -.03 | .49[a] | .21 |
| Type of agency (1=family; 0=neighborhood) | -.11 | .13 | .02 | -.28 | -.16 | -.27 |

[a] .437 = $p < .01$       [b] .317 = $p < .05$       [c] .240 = $p < .10$

ADULT FOSTER CARE: ITS TENUOUS POSITION
ON THE CARE CONTINUUM

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ABSTRACT
    Frequently any move away from independent living for an
elderly person is viewed as a downhill road to the nursing home
and ultimate death.  Adult foster care has been viewed as one
such step closer to institutionalization.  Service provision to
the elderly needs to be viewed on a continuum where the elderly
are seen as being capable of moving in and out of supportive
living arrangements when the need arises.  Barriers to providing
this care are identified with future needs highlighted.

INTRODUCTION

    Most elders are quite able to lead independent lives,
choosing to live where their financial resources allow.  But
there are other senior citizens who are in need of supervision
whether this be medical and/or physical.  Bricker indicates the
potential need:

In the U.S. about 80% of the population
in the 65 to 74 age bracket have chronic
medical disorders of some kind. This
rises to 87% for those over 74; 50% of
the people live alone.[1]

The quantity and type of supervision needed, though, is the
question that arises for many of these elderly who cannot live
alone. Care is viewed on a continuum, ranging from independent
living to dependent living (i.e., institutional care). Deciding
where a particular individual falls along that continuum is not
easy. If an individual has a medical complication that limits
mobility thus making it difficult to prepare meals and maintain
a residence, is this person a candidate for a nursing home? In
the past, few intermediary services were available in the
community and this person would have been placed in a nursing
home.

The elderly are often placed in an institution even when
the placement is inappropriate, but rarely are these elderly
persons placed back into the community. With the elderly,
professionals typically deal only with the individual's decline
and subsequent dependence. Other populations, however, move in
both directions along the care continuum due to alternative care
options. The mentally retarded or disabled veteran populations,
for example, move from institutional living to group home care
or even independent living. This two way movement along the
continuum is an important dimension of care, for it identifies
the fact that not only do physical and emotional needs vary and
change over time, but so do service needs.

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This article addresses the issue of long term care for the elderly with particular emphasis on adult foster care and the difficulties in promoting such alternatives to institutionalization.

## Models of Care

What is adult foster care?  Foster care has been defined as a service intended to provide sheltered living arrangements and personal care to individuals who because of limitation in functional capacity and support system are unable to live independently.[2]  Ohio law governing the licensing of adult foster care facilities uses this definition:

>A personal residence or family home in which accommodations and personal assistance are provided to not more than five unrelated adults, at least one of whom receives supplemental security income pursuant to Title XVI of the "Social Security Act," 49 Stat. 620 (1935), 42 U.S.C. 1382, as amended or poor relief pursuant to Chapter 5113 of the Revised Code.[3]

Where does foster care fit on the continuum of care?  There are two basic models of health care for the population in general:  acute care and long term care.  Acute care is viewed as short term treatment that may or may not require extensive and intense medical treatment.  It is possible that the

individual with minimal time for recuperation can return to
normal functions after receiving acute care.  There are some
persons, though, who are not capable of resuming normal
activities and become candidates for long term care.  It is
important to explore more typical long term care arrangements in
order to discuss further alternative forms such as foster care.

## Defining Long Term Care

Long term care has been defined numerous ways.  The
Commission on Chronic Illness defined long term care as any care
that extends beyond ninety days.[4]  The American Hospital
Association, on the other hand, defines long term care as any
hospitalization that exceeds thirty days.[5]  Although these are
accepted definitions in some circles, the concept of long term
care should be rooted in the need for assistance with activities
of daily living, and not need for hospitalization.  Dr. Sylvia
Sherwood defines long term care:

>           Someone is a long term care person who has
>           reached either suddenly or gradually, a
>           state of collapse or deterioration in human
>           behavioral functioning which requires -
>           for survival, slowing down the rate of
>           deterioration maintenance, or rehabili-
>           tation - the services of at least one other
>           human being.[6]

Sherwood's definition is all encompassing, for its
considers both the individual who may need just a meal prepared

as well as someone who needs institutionalization.  It also
acknowledges the potential for rehabilitation that incorporates
the idea of returning to independent living.  An historical
development will help to illustrate the scope of long term care.

## Historical Development of Long Term Care

Long term care is a term frequently associated with
institutionalization.  Although it technically has a more
generic definition, long term care is viewed as encompassing any
type of care that is a necessity to assure the optimal
functioning of the individual.  Long term care is a relatively
recent development that has become the product of sheer
demography:  people live longer, therefore, there are more
persons who suffer with long term illness.  While in 1939 about
1,200 nursing homes (25,000 beds) provided various levels of
care,[7] in 1977 there were approximately 18,3000 homes that
provided 1,383,6000 beds.[8]

Other factors important in producing the phenomenon of long
term care were of a legislative and economic nature:  the Social
Security Act, 1935, the Hill-Burton Act, 1946, the growth of
private hospital insurance in the 1950's, and the passage of
Medicare and Medicaid in 1965.  The Social Security Act refused
payment to residents of public institutions, an effort to
prevent the public poor houses from being repositories for the
elderly.  This Act put the money in the hands of the people.
The Hill-Burton Act was designed to encourage the building of
nursing homes.  This Act insured federal financial aid to those
willing to build and operate nursing homes.  But still, these

solutions did not solve the problem of the growing numbers of
disabled elderly who could not find adequate care.  With the
growth of private hospital insurance in the 1950's many found
their way to hospitals and stayed longer than was necessary due
to the lack of alternatives.  Nursing home care was typically
excluded from this private health insurance coverage.  This is
one of the reasons that led to the passage in 1965 of the
Medicare and Medicaid amendments to the Social Security Act.
These amendments provided medical coverage for the elderly
(Medicare) and the poor (Medicaid) and made available less
expensive lower level care facilities.  Medicare provided for
extended care facilities while Medicaid provided for the skilled
nursing home.

One last feature that has made a great contribution to the
development of long term care is the change within the American
family.  Studies indicate a negative correlation between number
of children and institutionalization (i.e., the greater number
of children an individual has the less likely they are to reside
in a nursing home).  It is not that children are less willing to
care for their older relatives, but rather that mobility,
financial burdens, space limitations and career demands prohibit
such care in many more families.  The zero population growth has
meant that people have fewer children so that the older person
has consciously limited living options in later life and
increased the likelihood of institutionalization.  The future
family care of the elderly does not look much brighter with the
increased divorce rate, remarriage and disruption of support
services which mean greater[9] financial burdens in the form of
family and child support.

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## Quality of Life in Long Term Care

The nursing home, the most typical long term care setting, is viewed as an extension of the acute facility and tends to provide services to the residents within a medical milieu. With this acute care approach, the institutional setting has major limitations in adequately providing for the psycho-social well being of its residents. Furthermore, many individuals in need of supervision do not need the degree of care provided in a nursing home.

Bishop, Bolton and Jones suggest that more appropriate placement of patients could make a tremendous contribution to quality of care and therefore quality of life.` They state:

> Perhaps the single largest factor behind the
> lack of adequate or appropriate long term
> care for a large number of the chronically
> disabled is the general lack of formal
> alternatives to institutional care. Once
> it is determined that a person is incapable
> of living at home without some additional
> support or health care, the question of
> whether he or she will remain in the community
> depends upon existence of social (usually
> family) support, the adequacy of financial
> resources, and the availability of non-
> institutional social services. Unfortunately,
> many of the elderly are poor and either have
> no spouse or relative at all or no relative

living near enough to assist them in basic
services. In other cases, the families of
the elderly may be unwilling or unable to
provide assistance. If there is no social
support provided by the family or no formally
provided care in the home, the alternatives
are a nursing home, in which long term services
are heavily subsidized by the government, or no
care.[10]

Research by Lawton and Nahemow indicates that variations in
living environments have a significant impact upon the
functionally impaired person.[11] The environment impacts the
potential for adjustment, extent of social integration and
degree of independence of the elder. In a restrictive
environment, the individual exerts little energy in coping with
that type of setting, thus resulting in personal deterioration.
On the other hand, when an individual is expected to cope with
the excessive demands of an environment, the resulting
frustration can cause an equally debilitating situation. The
optimal environment is one where there is a balance between the
demands that the environment makes on the individual and the
resources of the individual. For instance, a person needs to
live where he/she will be required to keep in optimal physical
health. Therefore, bringing meals to a person's room, as is the
case in most acute care facilities, when the person is able to
walk to a common dining room, may be debilitating to that
person's well being.

It is obvious that the inappropriate placement of an individual in a nursing home can create physical as well as emotional decline.  If the person needs little supervision but is unable to live independently, it is obvious that the normal routine of the nursing home would require that an individual minimally participate in daily activities.  It is this type of person, one that needs a certain level of supervision but who requires little medical care, that is a candidate for foster family care.

<div align="center">Alternatives to Institutionalization</div>

Although the passage of legislation through the 1930's, 40's, 50's, and 60's has increased accessibility to institutions for those disabled and in need of long term care, the tide is now beginning to shift away from institutionalization.  One reason that this shift has occurred for the population of elderly is the increasing cost of institutionalization.

From 1966 to 1975, nursing home expenditures increased more than 500 percent.[12]  Data from the 1977 National Nursing Home Survey indicate that the average cost per resident per day was $24.04 ($8,774 per year).[13]  As stated earlier, many residents of nursing homes are in need of care but do not require the extensive care provided by nursing homes.  This financial as well as physical reality has led to the search for alternative forms of care.

More and more people have looked toward the community to provide these alternatives.  Although the family has served as a

transitory step between hospitalization and independent living for many people, this alternative is becoming less viable with the changes in family organization (i.e. frequency of divorce, remarriage and residential mobility). Another alternative has been boarding in private family homes of unrelated persons. This concept of private family care has been in operation since 1885 when patients of mental hospitals were returned to private homes from institutions. Historically, though, there is little evidence for the use of the family care concept in care of the elderly. Many issues are beginning to force the consideration of family care for the elderly.

## Cost

The cost of nursing home is high due mostly to the medical care provided. Often times, people placed in nursing homes do not require medical care, but rather are in need of physical supervision. Placement of a person in a nursing home who does not need the skilled care a nursing home provides is a waste of financial resources. An alternative form of care such as family care can be financially advantageous for the individual and represents a far less restrictive living environment.

## Guardianship

The degree of needed supervision is difficult to determine. Supervision can be interpreted to mean the need for guardianship. But the consequences of the appointment of a guardian for an individual can be drastic, for guardianship means that a person becomes incapable of performing any legal

act.  An elderly person may only need help in certain areas like
selling a home and not need the total supervision that the
current guardianship regulations require.  Presently there is no
legal provision for partial guardianship.

Foster care may be the type of care from which the elderly
person, having experienced partial deterioration, could benefit.
This type of living arrangement would provide supervision when
necessary but also allow the freedom of self determination and
legal power that is important for a person's sense of well
being.

## Foster Care as an Alternative to Institutionalization

Numerous studies identify the fact that many nursing home
residents can perform activities of daily living without
assistance, indicating that institutionalization may be
unnecessary if services are available in their communities.
Generally speaking, most elderly people prefer to live
independently in the residential environment where they resided
during their middle years.  Although institutionalization
provides physical security, it separates the elderly from a
familiar world, as well as diminishes their sense of privacy and
individuality.

Foster family care is a type of care that approximates the
normal living environment with the added dimension of
supervision.  It allows the older person an element of privacy
as well as the freedom not possible in a larger protected
environment of the nursing home.

Although foster care offers an alternative living arrangement to elderly in need of care, there are certain inherent problems. One obstacle to the use of foster care on a large scale has been identified by Kahana and Coe.[14] They believe that foster home placement may be unacceptable to families of older persons because this option points to the fact that the older person can be maintained in the community and that the natural family is unwilling or unable to provide the care. Two further problems center on the caregiving relationship per se: the older person's needs and the demands made on the care provider. Unlike foster care for children, where the child moves toward independence and gaining the capacity to contribute to the foster family, the elderly person is viewed as only moving toward greater dependence. Rehabilitation is typically not considered for the older person as it is for other recipients of long term care i.e. the mental patient, disabled veteran, etc. With this view of the older foster care recipient, many potential care providers are reluctant to offer their foster homes to the elderly. They typically view the older persons' dependence as restrictive to their own family life with the caregiving relationship only ending with the older person's death.

The view of an older person as debilitated and dependent is the stereotype that many people have of the elderly in or out of foster care. Changing this view will mean altering attitudes towards the elderly. New legislation will aid in this effort. Policies that help to pay for foster care services will heighten their feasibility among the elderly and provide a level of care that lies somewhere between acute care and institutionalization

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on the care continuum.  It is also possible that increased
financial support and subsequent utilization will begin to
change the image of the elderly on the care continuum as only
capable moving toward greater dependence.

A word of caution should be noted with the discussion of
moving from an institutional setting to an alternative form of
care e.g. foster care.  Although it has been stated that many
nursing home residents could be cared for in other settings,[15]
it may not be feasible for the person once institutionalized to
return to the community.  Kane and Kane state:  "The ability to
leave an institution and return to the community depends on the
quality of the institution and institutionalization as well as
the availability of appropriate support system.[16]   Once
accustomed to the institutional setting, the older person may
not be able to tolerate a less restrictive care arrangement such
as family foster care.  Also once the person has been placed in
a nursing home, how does he/she leave the institution unless a
person in the community facilitates the move?  Very few older
persons in this situation could make these arrangements
themselves.

## Who Will Pay?

The benefits of Medicare and Medicaid have lessened the
financial burden of institutional care, but little has been done
to help provide home health services.  Although Medicare does
have home health benefits, utilization of these benefits by the
elderly is frequently limited due to eligibility requirements
and a limitation of the number of home visits permitted per year

per client. Thus, the very service is restricted that would
diminish institutional placement and allow the elderly person to
remain at home. Although private payment for these home health
services is possible, the cost is often too great for many
elderly persons. The result has been the extended use of acute
care facilities or the unnecessary utilization of a nursing
home.

The issue then arises as to the cost effectiveness of home
care. A recent report by the Department of Health and Human
Services states that the research evidence on the subject is
mixed. A study by the Health Care Financing Administration (to
be published) estimates that home care is much less costly than
nursing home care; "...a year of home services (based on the
1975 average of $428 per month for those 65 years of age) costs
approximately half the monthly bill for nursing home (using a
1975 nursing home cost average of $800 per month).[17] The
Congressional Budget Office, on the other hand, states:

> Few studies are available to support the
> proposition that home care is less costly
> than nursing home care...the most widely
> cited home care studies concerning cost
> saving are of short term acutely ill
> patients.[18]

Although no payment plans are in place, several alternatives
have been proposed. One such plan is to use disability
allowance for long term care.[19] Providing cash or in-kind
benefits based on disability levels may help the older person

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avoid nursing home placement and use foster care which is
intended to provide sheltered living arrangements and personal
care to individuals who do not need around the clock care but
because of limitations cannot live independently.  Gruenberg and
Pillemer propose that disability allowance payments only be made
to those persons not residing in institutions.  This would be in
keeping with the goal of disability allowance to encourage
community living .  A similar payment system is in operation in
some states that have chosen to supplement SSI payments for
individual in foster care.[20]

In discussing expenses for long term care services under a
prototype insurance program, Christine Bishop describes how
foster care services would be financed.  Once an individual is
certified as eligible to receive care and after meeting a
deductible, they would be able to choose among a wide range of
services one of which would be foster care.

With discussion of meeting of current cost requirements of
foster care provision there are two comments of caution.  Pollak
and Hilferty note that "current payment levels are inappropriate
in forecasting the future budgetary and social cost of foster
care if significant expansion or improvement of foster care is
contemplated, since increased payment levels are then likely to
be required.[21]  In the same vein the impetus to explore such
care options frequently rests on two beliefs; that the quality
of life for the older person will be better and also cheaper.
It has been noted though that, "there has been almost no public
discussion of what should be done if alternatives prove to be
simultaneously better and more costly.[22]

It appears that the issue of financing alternatives to institutionalization hinges on the idea of gain either for the individual or for the society at large. There is little data to support either contention at this time, thus stalemating the issue of financial payment for alternative forms of long term care.

Evaluating Adult Foster Care Program

Program evaluation in adult foster care has not been actively pursued. The evaluation of these programs should answer the question of what impact do such programs have in relating to identified goals and objectives. In evaluation the basic questions become, who is to be measured?, what is to be measured?, and when should measurement occur? In a comprehensive adult foster care program several groups of individuals are targets for evaluation, e.g. the aged clients, care providers, foster family members, agency representatives or the community at large. Thus far the focus of evaluation has primarily been on the care providers,[23] agency representatives,[24] and the community at large.[25] Unfortunately, no controlled evaluation research related to foster care exists. The question: do older people who are eligible for foster care benefit more from this form of care than that of institutionalization has yet to be answered.

Evaluation of these programs would highlight the battle that community based services (like foster care) need to fight in order to exist. Two national surveys including foster care

conducted by the Gerontology Center, University of Louisville reveal that:

> a variety of state and local agencies were
> performing many functions within one given
> program; that agencies involved in surrogate
> care (foster care) were often unaware of what
> other agencies were doing; that gaps and overlaps
> exist in the areas of regulation, placement,
> training, delivery of services, and payment
> mechanisms; and the central health and social
> planning agencies are only minimally involved
> in this form of community care.[26]

The barriers in delivery of foster care services as well as the impact that these services have on the older person are still only comprehended at a rudimentary level.

Summary and Conclusion

The field of long term care and, specifically, the subject of adult foster care are relatively new considerations in the quality of life for the American elderly. The possibility of choosing the type of care needed is becoming greater although financing is still a serious problem. Foster care has been a dimension of long term care for many segments of the population and now extends to include the elderly. An older person may need a foster care living arrangement to provide a greater sense of well being than was possible when that person lived

independently, but an older person may also find life in a
foster care home more rewarding than it was in a nursing home.

Further evaluation of existing programs is needed to answer
two crucial questions:

> 1. What impact does foster care make on the
> well-being of the older person?
>
> 2. What is the realistic cost of foster care
> in relation to institutionalization?

It is agreed that alternative options like foster care in
long term care should exist. How can foster care exist and why
should it exist are questions needing further explanation.

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SOCIAL WORKERS WHO LEFT THE PROFESSION:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

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ABSTRACT

Why professional social workers leave the field of social work
for other types of employment has implications for social work
practice and education.  The study suggests that economic
advantage is but one of the factors involved in choosing other
employment.

Over the last several years, even before the Reagan
administration began to cut deeply into social programs and to
erode the social work job market, there appeared to be a general
increase in the number of MSWs leaving the field for employment
elsewhere.  In the Seattle area alone, reports about professional
social workers who are no longer in social work are commonplace.
Yet little is known about this group:  why they left social work,
what they were then currently doing, and what they thought about
their decision to change careers.  Because their departures could
signal the existence of serious problems in the profession and
have implications for both social work practice and education,
this exploratory study of 70 MSW graduates of the School of
Social Work at the University of Washington was undertaken.

## Literature Review

To our knowledge, no published research has been directed to the
question of why MSWs leave or never enter the field of social
work.  While several studies over the last twenty years have been
directed at identifying such factors associated with job
dissatisfaction as burnout (Cherniss, 1980), role conflicts
(Lewin, 1962), insufficient recognition of professional knowledge
and skills (Meinert, 1975), and lack of opportunities for
innovation and professional self-development (Otis and Cavagonne,
1979), the relationships between these factors and leaving the
field have not been pursued (Knapp, et al., 1981).

The relevance of job satisfactions and dissatisfactions to a person's decision to leave the field entirely is not altogether clear. Any job is likely to have both satisfying and dissatisfying elements, and an accumulation of dissatisfactions might cause a person to leave a job, but not necessarily the field. Neither is there evidence that some point reached on a scale between satisfactions and dissatisfactions will tip the balance. The literature on job dissatisfactions, however, has been helpful in suggesting factors that need to be considered in this exploration of decisions to leave the field.

## Approach to the Study

The approach to the study consisted of surveying persons who had received the MSW degree from the University of Washington and were not at the time of the study employed in social work. The study population was restricted to those persons who had received the MSW degree from one school in order to set natural limits on the size of the total population, while increasing the likelihood of identifying all potential candidates for the sample.

To guide decisions as to what classes of positions should be considered "in" or "out" of the field of social work, it was necessary to arrive at a working definition of the field. For purposes of this study, positions "in" social work were arbitrarily defined as those in which an MSW degree is formally required for employment, or in which social work is an integral part of the employing system. Employment in positions not meeting these criteria were defined as being "out" of the field, and therefore included in the sample.

Persons not employed because of "normal" retirement at age 62 or older were excluded from the sample, but individuals who retired at an earlier age were included because their reasons for early retirement might be similar to the reasons that other people gave for choosing to leave the field. Individuals who never entered social work employment after obtaining their MSWs were included with those who entered employment and left.

Names of persons who appeared to meet the criteria for inclusion in the sample were obtained from two major sources: the records of the School of Social Work Alumni Association, and faculty and staff members who had knowledge about the status of former students. Not all persons who met the criteria for inclusion could be identified because many graduates do not maintain contact with the Alumni Association, the School, or its faculty. Nonetheless, 160 persons were identified and sent questionnaires.

Returns were received from 89 respondents, of which 66 were found usable. These returns, along with the responses obtained from four persons who had been interviewed earlier in a pretest of the questionnaire, resulted in a total sample of 70.*

## Findings

The findings of this study are organized according to responses to four basic questions: Who are the respondents? What are they doing now? Why did they leave social work? What are their plans for the future?

### Who are the respondents?

More than two-thirds of the respondents were female (68.1%), and an even higher proportion were Caucasian (87%). For the sample as a whole, the mean age at the time of the study was 41.7, with an age range of 28-69. Two-thirds of the sample (67.1%) obtained their MSW degrees between 1965 and 1976. Most of the respondents (87.1%) took social work jobs after receiving their degrees, but nine (12.9%) never entered the field. The average length of post-master's social work experience for those who entered and left the field was 7.5 years; the mean number of social work positions held was 2.3, with an average of 3.3 years spent in each position. Nearly three-fourths (74.1%) of the respondents who were employed as social workers left the field in the period between 1975 and 1980.

### What are they doing now?

According to their own classifications, among the 70 respondents were 10 homemakers, 11 unemployed persons, 4 early retirees, and 45 individuals gainfully employed in occupations outside of social work.

As noted in Table 1, the 45 respondents who worked outside the field of social work at the time of the study were employed in a

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*The 160 individuals to whom questionnaires were sent represented 6.7% of the 2,396 people who received MSW degrees from the University of Washington between 1960 and 1980. All but 4 respondents received their degrees in this period. These four received their degrees between 1948 and 1957, during which time the School had granted approximately 120 MSW degrees.

Table 1

CURRENT OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS BY AUSPICE

| | Auspice | | | |
| | Public Sector | Private Sector | | |
| Levels and Areas | | Self-Employed | Employed By Others | Total |
| | (N=13) | (N=18) | (N=14) | (N=45) |
| **I. Administration and Management** | | | | |
| -Real estate and retail sales and service | 0 | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| -Large corporate enterprise | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| -Education | 5 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| -Contracting and licensing | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| -Other | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| **II. Direct Practice** | | | | |
| -Real estate and other sales | 0 | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| -Other professional | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| -Other | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 |

variety of occupations, under both public and private auspices, and at different levels. The occupations were divided into those where the principal activities involved administrative, managerial, or supervisory responsibilities, and those where the primary activities were in the direct practice of a trade or profession.

While the particular occupations of the 45 employed respondents varied widely, 15 were in sales and 9 were in other professions (including 9 in education and 3 in law). Eighteen individuals operated their own businesses, or were self-employed. The majority of the employed carried out administrative functions (62.2%), while 17 (37.8%) were in direct practice. The private sector was represented by 32 persons (71.1%) and 13 (28.9%) were employed in public agencies or organizations.

## Administrators and Managers

Private sector. Self-employed administrators or managers in real estate or other retail sales and services were typically persons who owned their businesses. One person, for example, managed his own real estate company and was engaged in the buying and selling of residential and commercial properties. Others in this category included a person who owned and managed a store that sold pesticides and related products, a machine shop owner and operator, the owner-manager of a store specializing in art objects, the proprietor of a commercial office- and building-cleaning business, and one person who managed her own investment portfolio.

Administrative persons who worked for others in the private sector included persons who managed small retail businesses, as well as those who were departmental directors in large corporations. Examples of the latter were a marketing administrator, a personnel director, a district manager of a proprietary community home health care service, an executive secretary of a medical society, a director of a university alumni association, and a director of religious education for a church parish.

Public sector. The five persons who held posts in public educational institutions carried such titles as Director of Community Development, Director of Minority Affairs, and Assistant Coordinator of Compensatory Programs. Others employed under public auspices as administrators were heads of governmental departments occupying such positions as State Director of Licensing, Administrator for Naval Contracts, and County Land Use Officer.

## Direct Practice

**Private sector.** Individuals engaged in the direct practice of their trade or profession in the private sector included three attorneys, three real estate brokers, one life insurance agent, two artists, one office receptionist, and a computer programmer.

**Public sector.** The four persons employed in the public sector included two teachers, one of whom held a Ph.D. degree in political science and taught at the college level, and one who taught in an elementary school. The other two persons employed in the public sector were an attendant counselor caring for handicapped persons in a state institution, and an instructor of mental health nursing employed in an educational institution.

### Why did they leave social work?

In Table 2, the reasons given for leaving or never entering the profession of social work by the employed group are compared with those given by all other respondents.

The reasons given by respondents for their decisions to leave the field tended to be of three types: 1) those critical of certain aspects of social work employment and reflective of frustration or discontent, 2) those referring to personal life circumstances, and 3) those citing the attractions of non-social work activity or employment.

As shown in Table 2, the employed group was much more critical of social work than were the homemakers, the unemployed, and early retirees. The specific criticisms most often mentioned referred to low salaries, the unavailability of suitable jobs, the uncertainties of funding for programs and positions, and burnout related to heavy workloads and stress on the job. Additional reasons included a belief that social work is ineffective in helping people or in resolving the major problems in society, criticisms of agency politics, regulations, and red tape, and conflict with supervisors or other agency staff. Similarly, the employed group more frequently (30.2%) emphasized the attractions of non-social work employment or activity than did the comparison groups (10.9%). Interestingly, these attractions were couched in terms of better opportunities for further education, for broadening of knowledge and skills, and for achieving one's career goals outside of social work. Additional attractions referred to the possibility of greater financial reward and security. The employed group also believed that their new jobs made better use of their skills, were more challenging, and

Table 2

REASONS FOR LEAVING OR NEVER ENTERING SOCIAL WORK
BY CURRENT STATUS

| Reasons[2] | HM/UE/Ret[1] (N=25) | | Employed (N=45) | | Totals (N=70) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Criticisms of social work employment | 14 | 30.4 | 59 | 55.7 | 73 | 48.0 |
| Personal reasons | 27 | 58.7 | 15 | 14.2 | 42 | 27.6 |
| Attractions of non-social work activity or employment | 5 | 10.9 | 32 | 30.2 | 37 | 24.3 |
| TOTALS | 46 | 100.0 | 106 | 100.1 | 152 | 99.9 |

[1]HM = Homemakers; UE = Unemployed; Ret = Early Retirees.

[2]The three priority reasons given by each respondent are included.
Some respondents gave fewer than three reasons.

offered the possibility of helping people in tangible ways.

Conversely, personal considerations ranked first in importance
for the homemakers, unemployed, and early retirees for their
decisions to leave or never enter the field (58.7%) as compared
with the employed group (14.2%).  Many of the homemakers, for
example, chose to leave social work employment in order to devote
themselves to their children and families, to care for family
members who were ill, or to tend to their own health problems.

<p style="text-align:center">What are their plans for the future?</p>

As shown in Figure 3, only five (7.1%) of the total sample
planned to seek social work employment in the future.  Of the
employed group, the largest number (77.8%) intended to remain in
their present positions because of the opportunities available
for advancement, development of skills, greater income, a higher
degree of responsibility, or simply their enjoyment of the work
they were doing.  Another three (6.7%) intended to seek other
non-social work positions.  Seven (15.6%) planned to seek other
unspecified employment, in or outside social work, depending upon
circumstances.

<p style="text-align:center">The Findings Revisited</p>

While the limited size of the sample makes it difficult to draw
definitive conclusions, the attempt was made to subject the data
to closer examination in order to determine what, if any,
relationships emerge.  The analyses included the relationships
between stated reasons for leaving social work and 1) year of
graduation, 2) years of social work experience, and 3) school
experiences.  In addition, the satisfactions and dissatisfactions
that employed respondents reported for previous social work and
current non-social work jobs were compared.  Finally, current
salaries of employed respondents were compared with their last
salaries in social work.

Reasons for leaving and year of graduation.  The reasons for
leaving social work were classified according to the major
categories of criticisms of social work, attractions of
non-social work employment, and personal.  When these reasons
were grouped according to the respondents' year of graduation
from school, the graduates in the period 1966-1971 cited
criticisms of social work employment nearly four times as often
as they did either attractions of non-social work or personal
circumstances.  On the other hand, those who received their

Table 3

FUTURE PLANS BY STATUS

| Future Plans | HM/UE/Ret[1] (N=25) | | Employed (N=45) | | Totals (N=70) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Remain in current position | 3 | 12.0 | 35 | 77.8 | 38 | 54.3 |
| Move to non-social work position | 3 | 12.0 | 3 | 6.7 | 6 | 8.6 |
| Move to social work position | 5 | 20.0 | | | 5 | 7.1 |
| Unspecified employment | 3 | 12.0 | 7 | 15.6 | 10 | 14.3 |
| Part-time employment | 1 | 4.0 | | | 1 | 1.4 |
| Retire | 7 | 28.0 | | | 7 | 10.0 |
| Other | 1 | 4.0 | | | 1 | 1.4 |
| No response | 2 | 8.0 | | | 2 | 2.9 |
| TOTALS | 25 | 100.0 | 45 | 100.1 | 70 | 100.0 |

[1] HM = Homemakers; UE = Unemployed; Ret = Early Retirees.

MSW degrees in later years (between 1972 and 1979) divided their
responses nearly equally between criticisms and attractions,
while personal reasons dropped to less than 10% of the responses.
For the total sample of employed respondents, the criticisms of
social work employment outweighed the attractions of
non-social work by nearly two to one.

Reasons for leaving and years of social work experience. For
individuals whose social work experience was one year and less,
the reasons for leaving the field were equally divided between
criticisms of social work and attractions of non-social work
employment. However, respondents with more social work
experience tended to give criticisms of social work as reasons
for leaving far more often than they cited attractions of outside
employment.

Reasons for leaving and school experiences. From the total
sample of 70, 42 (60.0%) indicated that their school experiences
had nothing to do with their decision to leave the field. One
did not respond, but the remaining 27 (40%) who did indicate that
their school experiences contributed to their decision to leave,
cited various inadequacies of the educational program. Typical
comments referred to the lack of curriculum integration,
deficiencies in or the nonexistence of career and academic
counseling, the quality of instruction described as "uninspiring
and lacking rigor," the lack of relationship between study,
career and professional goals, and practicum placement, and the
failure of education to prepare students "for the harsh realities
of practice." Additionally, a few respondents expressed general
criticism of the School for continuing to turn out large numbers
of graduates in the face of a declining job market, as well as
for producing graduates who were described as being incompetent
or lacking in professional values.

Satisfactions and dissatisfactions with social work jobs as comp-
ared with current jobs. The 38 persons who had held jobs in
social work and were employed in non-social work occupations at
the time of the study were asked to indicate what they most liked
and disliked about their social work and current jobs in order to
ascertain how these likes and dislikes compared with their
reasons for leaving the field. In other words, are specific job
dissatisfactions in social work the same as those reasons given
for leaving? Or are the satisfactions found in current
non-social work employment related to what had been perceived as
their attractions?

Although the 38 respondents named a large variety of best-liked and most-disliked aspects of their earlier social work and current non-social work jobs, the item that was most frequently mentioned as best-liked for both had to do with the challenging nature of the work--described as "stimulating," "creative," "interesting"--involving the opportunity to utilize their knowledge and skills to the fullest degree, and in the process to develop their potential. This item was mentioned by 29 (76%) of the respondents as a satisfaction in social work, and by 30 (79%) for their current employment (see Table 4). In second place for social work, named by 18 (47%) of the respondents, was a liking for specific job duties such as program planning, client advocacy, and staff management. The second-ranked item for current employment was "autonomy," by which is meant having control over the use of one's time, how much or little to work, and freedom to make decisions. Positive relationships with clients, customers, and staff ranked third as enjoyable features of both social work and current employment. Salary or income occupied fourth place among satisfactions in current jobs, with 11 (29%) of the respondents so indicating, but was unranked for social work (3%).

The most frequently mentioned dislike of social work employment related to agency structure. Included in this category were complaints about rules and regulations, red tape, and agency politics. Interpersonal conflict, primarily with administrators, supervisors, and co-workers, but also including clients, was the second most disliked feature of social work employment. Since interpersonal relationships on the job were important sources of satisfaction, conflict can be expected to be an important source of unhappiness. The single most important dislike in current jobs was the pressure and stress of work connected with long hours and the necessity to produce in an efficient and effective manner. In most instances, however, people making this complaint tempered their opinions by saying that the pressure was not really a burden, as they liked the challenge and there were payoffs in personal gratifications, recognition, and financial rewards. Several of these respondents noted in contrast that hard work over long hours is not often acknowledged, rewarded, or even supported in social work.

A comparison of reasons given by the employed respondents for leaving the field and their likes and dislikes in social work jobs shows that while economic reasons rank first in importance for leaving, only one person listed low salary as a specific dislike of social work employment, perhaps because no one expects to make a fortune as a social worker. On the other hand,

workload, stress, and burnout tied for second in importance as reasons for leaving, and was cited by only six (16%) of the respondents as a source of dissatisfaction in social work. And despite the fact that the respondents liked many of their specific job duties in social work, they also experienced a "shift in interest" sufficient for it to qualify among the top reasons for leaving the field.

A comparison of satisfactions and dissatisfactions with current employment with reasons for leaving the field showed that economic reasons ranked first for leaving, but only 11 (29%) of the respondents ranked current salary as an area of satisfaction. Autonomy, a highly ranked feature of current work, is clearly related to the respondents' strong dislike of bureaucratic structure and politics in social work. Workload, stress, and burnout were frequently mentioned as reasons for leaving, and continued to be the chief source of dissatisfaction in current employment.

As was stated earlier, social work was seen as providing a challenge as well as positive relationships with clients, customers, and staff. These were also sources of satisfaction in current employment. Thus neither of them appeared among the high-ranked reasons for leaving the field.

Salary. Given the weight of economic factors as the most important reasons for leaving social work, salaries in respondents' last social work position prior to leaving were compared with their current salaries. The most striking finding is that only 6 (16.7%) of the respondents earned more than $20,000 in their final social work position, whereas 23 (51.1%) earned more than $20,000 in their current employment. However, the mean length of time spent in the current job was 4.5 years, with a range of 2 months to 21 years. Given the effects of inflation and normal salary increases, it is difficult to say what salaries they might have earned in social work had they remained in the field. The salary range for the last social work job was from $8,900 to $29,000, compared with a range of less than $10,000 to more than $75,000 in current employment. Salaries for those who had held two or more social work jobs reflected a steady increase. There was no significant difference in current salary between those who left school to go directly into non-social work employment and those who entered social work before leaving. The data suggest no relationship between social work experience and subsequent income.

# Table 4

COMPARISON OF MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED
LIKES AND DISLIKES OF SOCIAL WORK AND CURRENT EMPLOYMENT
REPORTED BY EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS
(N=38)

## GREATEST LIKES

| Social Work | N | % | Current | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| "Challenge" | 29 | 76 | "Challenge" | 30 | 79 |
| Specific job duties | 18 | 47 | Autonomy | 24 | 63 |
| Relations with clients/staff | 16 | 42 | Relations with clients/customers/staff | 14 | 37 |
| | | | Salary/income | 11 | 29 |

## GREATEST DISLIKES

| Social Work | N | % | Current | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Structure/politics | 16 | 42 | Workload/stress/burnout | 17 | 45 |
| Interpersonal conflicts with clients/staff | 12 | 32 | | | |

## Summary and Discussion

This study of professional social workers who had left the field to pursue other interests and careers was undertaken as an exploratory inquiry to open up areas of concern for later research. Toward this end the effort can be considered successful, for it does raise a number of questions that will be noted later on. Originally there had been an implicit assumption that the exodus of social workers from the field signified problems stemming possibly from a variety of sources: the nature of social work itself (e.g., the intangibility of results); the status of social work in society (e.g., lack of prestige or financial rewards); the conditions of practice (e.g., heavy caseloads); the educational process (e.g., preparation not relevant to practice); the characteristics of the persons involved (e.g., personal ambitions); or any other causally related factor that might emerge. The hope was that if the respondents would indicate their reasons for leaving, the problems could be identified, and then appropriate solutions proposed. Needless to say, the situation is not so simple, but some of the findings, summarized below, appear to bear out certain of the assumptions.

Two-thirds of the sample (67%) received their MSW degrees in the years between 1965 and 1976. Most of them entered social work practice (87%), and were successful in their work. As a group, they had risen steadily in rank, increased their breadth of responsibility, and advanced in salary (Patti, et. al., 1979). Despite their dislike of agency structure and regulations and their conflicts with supervisors and administrators, they stayed in the field for an average of 7½ years, perhaps because the enjoyable aspects of their jobs were sufficient to offset the negatives. For some, the frustrations and discouragements inherent in the work led to burnout, a factor contributing to their decision to leave.

The development of outside interests and the discovery that certain occupations offered the possibility of combining elements of what they had enjoyed in social work, while simultaneously eliminating what they had disliked, made the idea of switching careers attractive. In their view, not only did the new jobs offer interesting challenges to their skills, but they also gave promise of brighter financial futures. Even though most of the respondents had found their initial social work positions with little difficulty, the problems that some had in finding suitable social work employment after several years of experience were additional reasons for considering work outside the field,

retiring early, or choosing to become full-time homemakers. For the last two groups, family, health, and other personal considerations helped contribute to the decision. Most of the respondents (93%) left the field between 1972 and 1980.

Having made the change, the respondents appeared pleased with their situations. They liked the autonomy of their current jobs, their relationships with customers or clients, the feeling of being able to help people in tangible ways, and the support and recognition they received for their efforts. Although their current incomes were not so much greater than they might have earned had they remained in social work, some believed that their prospects were unlimited. What they most disliked about their current work was the stress associated with long hours and heavy responsibilities, but they minimized this as a problem because they saw it as "coming with the territory." Most expected to remain in careers outside of social work.

Finally, the respondents noted that their social work education and experience have been useful to them in their current work. For about one-half, the MSW degree itself helped to open doors to employment. For most of the others (75%) the knowledge and skills they brought to their jobs were directly applicable. Foremost among these were the interpersonal, administrative, and organizational skills they had gained in social work education and practice. Interestingly, despite their employment outside the field, about a third of the respondents stated they still thought of themselves as social workers, while another one-sixth thought of themselves as social workers in some ways but not in others. For the most part, even those who no longer thought of themselves as social workers were positive about their former professional identity and liked to think of themselves as "helping people."

A number of areas for further exploration are suggested by this study. A basic one has to do with the overall question of whether professional social workers are indeed leaving the field in substantial numbers. If so, are they leaving at a higher rate now than in the past? And does it constitute a problem? Our society may not need as many social workers as previously. And young people may not be as interested in pursuing social work as a career as in previous periods of history. Nevertheless, the profession of social work and schools of social work have an interest in the future development of the field. A longitudinal career progression study, following people receiving their MSW degrees in a given time period, would provide a useful data base for analyses of trends, rates of leaving, and reasons given.

Second, it is not known if there are significant differences
between those who stay in social work compared to those who
leave. A comparative study could explore such factors as
abilities, characteristics, motivations, and experiences of these
populations.

Based upon the criticisms that the respondents in this study had
of social work employment (e.g., agency politics, regulations,
and red tape), and of their enjoyment of autonomy in their
current jobs, is this an area of concern to practice? If so, are
there ways of increasing worker autonomy in social work so as to
decrease the sense of dissatisfaction noted here?

Further, does it help to know that social work knowledge and
skills are transferable to other occupations as indicated by our
sample? More specifically, what are the skills that are
transferable? Are there implications of this finding for social
work education? That is, given the declining social work job
market and the trend toward lowered application rates to schools
of social work, does this suggest a different kind of role for
social work educational programs in the future?

Finally, the limited size of the sample used in this study, as
well as the restrictions of locale, suggest the desirability of
repeating similar studies with larger samples and in other parts
of the country. Out of such research might come more definitive
findings for consideration by the profession, individual social
workers, the practice field, and social work education.

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A COMPARISON OF SOCIAL SERVICE WORKERS' AND THE PUBLIC'S
VIEWS OF NURSING HOME CHARACTERISTICS*

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ABSTRACT

Using the determinant attribute model, this study examined
and compared the criteria which 277 social service workers and 842
members of a general population would employ in selecting a
nursing home. The results suggested substantial differences
between the two groups in selection criteria. Implications of
these results and of the use of the determinant attribute model as
an aid to practice are discussed.

Among the roles performed by social service personnel in
hospitals and those employed in community programs for the aged is
providing consultation to older persons and their families about
nursing home selection. Goldstucker, et al. (1974) suggest that
the typical pattern leading to nursing home placement is for
physician and family to conclude that nursing home placement is
the most appropriate way to provide needed care. Families tend to
decide which nursing home will be used (Goldstucker, et al. 1974),
and thus their consultation with a social service worker is likely
to involve discussion about how to choose the most appropriate
home for the potential resident from among those which are
available. While there is a growing literature concerning the
initial decision to seek a nursing home placement (Korcher and

Linden, 1975; Miller, et al., 1975; Townsend, 1965), little is known about the process which results in the selection of a particular nursing home. Nevertheless, there is evidence suggesting that satisfactory outcomes of social service intervention concerning long term care of older persons are dependent upon workers' and families' achieving agreement about the goals of their interaction (Berkman and Rehr, 1975). The purpose of this study was thus to explore how persons likely to be involved in a nursing home decision for a relative differ from social service workers in their perceptions of the most influential nursing home characteristics affecting a placement decision. A secondary purpose was to suggest a procedure which might improve communication among family members and social service personnel in the nursing home choice process.

## THE FAMILY SEARCH PROCESS

Both the popular and professional literatures suggest that persons seeking a nursing home placement for an older relative should approach the selection process in a careful, critical manner (Nassau, 1975; Silverstone and Hyman, 1976). It is highly recommended that family (and older person, if possible) obtain reliable information about nursing homes in their area and tour those facilities which seem most appropriate for the potential resident (NRTA, 1978; Silverstone and Hyman, 1976). A number of guides to nursing home selection note characteristics which should be observed, evaluated, and compared as nursing home tours are made (Kart, et al, 1978; NRTA,1978).

There is reason to believe, however, that many families do not approach the search for a nursing home in the thorough, critical fashion recommended. In a study of nursing homes conducted in Michigan, York and Caslyn (1977) found that 51% of families had not visited the home their relative was placed in prior to placement, and only 31% had visited three or more homes before making a decision. Goldstucker, et al. (1974) report similiar findings. Only 44% of their sample of relatives of nursing home residents had toured the home their family member entered before that home was chosen.

Social service personnel whom families consult about nursing home placements have the opportunity to improve the quality of nursing home choice by stressing to families the importance of critical comparison. For the worker and family to approach this process in a cooperative manner, however, it would seem essential that comparison of specific nursing homes be preceded by their achieving agreement about the criteria to guide the final decision. This study attempted to identify the similarities and differences in the selection criteria with which both parties enter the search process.

GENERAL PUBLIC - SOCIAL SERVICE WORKER DIFFERENCES

There is only limited, and somewhat conflicting, empirical evidence to suggest the characteristics which are most influential to families in selecting a nursing home. York and Caslyn (1977) report that availability of a bed and location were the only criteria used by a majority of their respondents. Considerably less influential were quality of staff, quality of physical care, quality of activity program, cleanliness, and cost. Goldstucker, et al. (1974) reported the most influential factors in relatives' choices were reputation, type of care, friendliness of staff and cleanliness, followed in importance by resident-family communication, administrative procedures, activities, and food. Linn and Gurel (1969) also found quality of food to be highly significant in family assessments of the quality of nursing home care.

A review of the literature revealed no parallel studies suggesting social service workers' orientations toward nursing home choice. There are several reasons to suggest, however, that the criteria workers would employ in assessing nursing homes would differ from those used by the general population.

Information Sources
Social service workers in the field of aging are likely to have access to different sources of information about nursing homes than are members of the general public. Their work with elderly persons brings them into contact with several nursing homes, and they thus have the opportunity to folow a larger number of persons through the course of an institutional placement than do members of the general public. Such contact is likely it sensitize them to characteristics of nursing homes which are most and least likely to contribute to quality resident care. Professional workers are also likely to discuss nursing homes with colleagues. Colleagues serve as an additional source of information about nursing home conditions and practices which is typically unavailable to members of the general population. Finally, one would expect workers to be more likely to have been exposed to education and professional literature related to nursing home standards and to indicators of quality care.

By contrast, the typical general population member is likely to have more limited sources of information about nursing homes. Bailey (1971) characterizes the typical health care consumer as uninformed about health care services in general, and McCoy (1971) speaks of consumer ignorance of nursing home services in particular. Typical consumers' knowledge about nursing homes is likely to be based on information provided by the mass media and

on that derived from personal expeience with a limited number of friends or relatives who have been placed in a nursing home. Mass media coverage of nursing homes tends to deal with explicitly negative situations such as those publicized by the Senate Special Committee on Aging (Subcommittee on Long-Term Care, 1974), and may thus provide little guidance about about factors promoting quality care. Since families' previous personal experience is likely to be limited to a small number of homes, their knowledge of nursing home variability may be similarly limited.

## Value Orientations

The criteria used by social service workers and by the public may also differ because the two groups view nursing home care from different value perspectives. Social service workers' professional education might well result in their developing values not widely shared by members of the general population. Since professional social work education and values stress the importance of individualization of clients and of providing persons with opportunities to realize their fullest potentials, such values may lead workers to place more emphasis on characteristics of nursing homes which promote these goals than would general population members. Having experienced professional training themselves, workers may also value the contributions of professionals (e.g., nurses, physical therapists, and recreation therapists) to nursing home care and thus would look to the presence and qualifications of such professionals in a nursing home as indicators of quality care. Such views might not generally be shared by general population members who are less likely to be aware of how the training and roles of such persons influence resident care.

What little is known about families' value preferences concerning nursing home care (Goldstucker, et al., 1974; York and Caslyn, 1977) suggests that families' own convenience and the views of their peers influence assessments of nursing homes. In addition, they appear to be particularly concerned that the nursing homes they select meet their own standards in basic areas about which they feel able to make judgements (food, cleanliness, building safety). Thus, one might expect differences in the two groups' crieteria for nursing home selection on the basis of their different information bases and value orientations.

## METHODS OF STUDY

## The Determinant Attribute Model

This study employed the determinant attribute model from the field of marketing (Myers and Alpert, 1968) to identify the degree to which a selected set of nursing home characteristics were influential to members of each group as they approached the selection of a nursing home. This model suggests that the

characteristics of a product or service which will emerge as most influential in a consumer decision are those which the decision maker perceives to be most important and those along which he/she believes there to be the greatest variability among the potential choices. The relationship between the importance and variability dimensions is conceptualized as multiplicative. This formulation is consistent with the expectancy value model in which the "expected value" of a decision is a product of the value to be gained and the probability of attaining the value by making that decision (Zaltman and Burger, 1975). Alpert (1971), in an experimental study comparing the determinant attribute methodology used in this study with other ways of identifying influential characteristics, suggests that this method is the most efficient in identifying factors predicting final choice. The model appears to have direct relevance for decision making in general and has been used to identify influential characteristics for hospital selection (Seaton and Vogel, 1979).

## Measurement

Each group of respondents was first presented with a list of 27 characteristics of nursing homes (see Table 1 for exact wording of the items). The characteristics were selected on the basis of a content analysis of nursing home characteristics included in nursing home selection guides (e.g., Beverley, 1976; Kart, et al., 1978; NRTA, 1978). Respondents were asked to indicate to a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (extremely important) to 7 (not important at all) the degree to which that characteristic would be important to them in selecting a nursing home for an older person. Respondents were then asked to indicate the degree to which they believed there were differences among nursing homes in terms of these same characteristics (1 = a great deal of differences among homes; 7 = all nursing homes are about the same). For the second assessment, characteristics were presented in a different order to minimize potential response set.

In the analysis phase, the importance score and the difference score on each characteristic for each respondent were multiplied to obtain an estimate of how influential the characteristic would be. The resulting score could range from 1 (characteristic very important, and nursing homes were perceived to differ greatly on the characteristic) to 49 (characteristic not important, and there were no perceived differences among nursing homes on the characteristic). Such a score is referred to hereinafter as a determinant attribute score.

## Respondent Characteristics

Data for the general population were gathered from 842 non-institutionalized Alabama residents who were at least 45 years of age, using a quota sample with a drop off questionnaire method.

The minimum age of 45 was selected under the assumption that persons 45+ either had already or would be likely in the near future to assist in placing a relative in a nursing home. The sample was divided equally between males and females. Respondents ranged in age from 45 to 89, with the median age being 54.5 years. Approximately one sixth (15.8%) of the respondents were non-white. Almost three fourths (74.3%) were married, and over 40% had at least one living parent. The median number of years of school completed was 12.4 (20.7% had less than a high school education), and the median family income was approximately $20,000 (19.1% had family incomes of less than $10,000). Approximately one fifth (18.6%) reported living in rural areas, while 43.6% and 37.8% indicated they lived in small towns and cities, respectively.

Members of this group reported a relatively high level of contact with nursing homes. Nearly all (91.9%) had visited a nursing home at least once in their lives, and 37.1% were regularly visiting someone in a nursing home at the time of the study. Nearly half (49.5%) of the respondents had at one time had at least one close family member living in a nursing home, and 23.6% reported having been actively involved in the selection of a nursing home for at least one such relative.

The target population for the comparison group was social service workers residing in Alabama who were considered likely to work with older persons and their families concerning nursing home placements. A mail questionnaire was sent to all members of the Alabama Society of Hospital Social Workers, the adult services supervisor of each county department of public welfare, and to all Alabama residents who had requested that their name be placed on the mailing list of The University of Alabama's Center for the Study of Aging. This latter list is composed primarily of social service personnel working in community programs for the aged. The response rate for the comparison group was 74.5%, yielding a final sample of 277.

Respondents in this group were predominantly white (87.7%) and female (79.3%). Their median age was 39.8 years, and they had completed a mean 16.9 years of school. Respondents spent a mean of 28.2 hours per week working with older persons or programs for them. Nearly two thirds (64.1%) had assisted in a nursing home placement in the last year, and the mean number of times they had provided such assistance was 9.5 times. Over two thirds (67.5%) rated themselves well qualified to assist families in selecting nursing homes, and 69.0% said they were quite familiar with three or more nursing homes.

# FINDINGS

## Identification and Comparison of Determinant Attributes

To determine if there were overall differences between family members and social service workers in their determinant attribute scores for the 27 characteristics, a Hoetelling T-squared was computed. The results of this omnibus test indicated that the two groups differed in their perceptions of which nursing home characteristics would be most influential in a selection decision (T-squared = 13.57, d.f. = 27,858, alpha less than .001, eta squared = .30). This finding of overall differences suggested that t-tests of differences between means for each characteristic were appropriate.

There were statistically significant differences in mean determinant attribute scores for 20 of the 27 characteristics (see Table 1). The general population was more likely to hold quality of care, nurses' care, reputation, food quality, qualifications of staff, aide care, price, staff relationship with family, policy toward personal belongings, and characteristics of other residents as more determinant than were the social service workers. Social service personnel, on the other hand, were more likely to hold atmosphere, provisions for the handicapped, special services, state licensure, Medicaid policy, Medicare policy, quality of recreation program, appearance, visiting policy, and policy toward alcohol as more determinant than were members of the general population. These findings suggested that the general population and social service personnel would approach the nursing home selection process from quite different perspectives, with the general population being more influenced by characteristics related to basic resident care and the social service personnel oriented more toward specialized services and structural dimensions.

While the analysis presented thus far suggested differences in magnitude and direction of determinant attribute scores, it would have been possible for the ordering of the determinant attributes for the two groups to have been similar. If this were the case, it would suggest that both groups would use much the same selection criteria in approaching nursing home choice. If, however, there were differences in the way the two groups ordered the attributes from most to least determinant, one might anticipate initial difficulties in communication between the two parties in a cooperative selection process. A comparison of the rank orders of the determinant attributes for the two groups revealed only a moderate correlation (Spearman's rho = .54). This finding further suggested that the two groups might compare and evaluate nursing homes in different ways.

Table 1. Ranking of and Mean Determinant Attribute Scores for the General
Population and Social Service Workers on 27 Nursing Home Characterisitics

| Attribute | General Population Rank | Social Service Rank | General Population Mean | Social Service Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Quality of Care | 1 | 5 | 3.75 | 5.25* |
| Nurses' Care | 2 | 15 | 4.06 | 6.17* |
| Reputation | 3 | 12 | 4.10 | 5.84* |
| Cleanliness | 4 | 1 | 4.23 | 4.19 |
| Food Quality | 5 | 9 | 4.76 | 5.58* |
| Building Safety | 6 | 6 | 5.04 | 5.29 |
| Qualifications of Staff | 7 | 13 | 5.10 | 5.96* |
| Atmosphere | 8 | 2 | 5.28 | 4.35* |
| Aide Care | 9 | 18 | 5.31 | 6.52* |
| Location | 10 | 16 | 5.49 | 6.28 |
| Price | 11 | 20 | 6.08 | 7.54* |
| Special Services (special diets, therapies) | 12 | 4 | 6.57 | 4.28* |
| Provisions for Handicapped Residents | 13 | 3 | 6.89 | 4.55* |
| Staff Relationship with Family | 14 | 21 | 7.14 | 8.67* |
| Rehabilitation Emphasis | 15 | 17 | 7.40 | 6.50 |
| Policy toward Personal Belongings (clothing, furniture) | 16 | 25 | 8.03 | 9.93* |
| Licensed by State | 17 | 7 | 8.06 | 5.47* |
| Visiting Policy | 18 | 19 | 8.29 | 6.78* |
| Quality of Recreation Program | 19 | 11 | 8.30 | 5.77* |
| Appearance of Building & Grounds | 20 | 14 | 8.39 | 5.97* |
| Arrangements for Religious Services | 21 | 23 | 8.94 | 9.56 |
| Availability of Private Rooms | 22 | 24 | 9.13 | 9.71 |
| Medicare Policy | 23 | 10 | 9.17 | 5.64* |
| Medicaid Policy | 24 | 8 | 9.40 | 5.52* |
| Length of Waiting List | 25 | 22 | 9.54 | 9.07 |
| Characteristics of Other Residents | 26 | 27 | 10.23 | 13.08* |
| Policy toward Alcohol | 27 | 26 | 12.89 | 10.91* |

*Difference between means statistically significant, alpha < .05.

Yet another way of comparing the two groups is to identify for each the attributes which would be most determinant. Since marketing literature indicates that decision makers attend to at most 11 characteristics when selecting a product or service (Engel, et al., 1978), it is noteworthy that only 5 characteristics (cleanliness, atmosphere, building safety, quality of care, and food quality) ranked among the 11 most determinant attributes for both groups (see Figure 1). Following the model employed here, these 5 characteristics would be critical to members of both groups.

The general population is likely to be more heavily influenced by characteristics of personnel (nurses' care, aide care, qualifications of staff) and by location, price, and reputation. These factors would figure less significantly in social service workers' assessments, with price being the characteristic among these to which workers would give the least attention. Social service workers are likely to pay considerably more attention to special services, programs, and facilities, and to participation in Medicare and Medicaid. This latter finding may be explained by the fact that social service workers frequently help make arrangements for resident coverage by these programs. While state licensure ranks 7th as a determinant attribute for workers, it ranks only 17th for the general population, suggesting that this is not a characteristic to which the general population would give much attention.

Comparison of Perceptions of Importance and Variability

As noted previously, determinant attribute scores are computed as the product of respondents' perceptions of importance and differentiation. While importance ratings reflect value preferences, differentiation ratings are based on knowledge and experience. Stategies to modify determinant attributes would thus be dependent upon determination of whether value preferences or knowledge based assessments of variability are more critical in accounting for determinant attribute scores. The remainder to this section focuses on comparing importance and variability scores for the two groups.

There were overall differences between the general population and social service workers both in their assessments of importance and variability (Hoetelling T-squared for importance = 11.8, d.f. = 27,858, alpha less than .001, and for variability, T-squared = 36.64, d.f. = 27,858, alpha less than .001). It should be noted, however, that eta squared for importance was .23 and for differentiation .53, suggesting greater separation between the two groups in their ratings of differentiation than of importance. Further, when the rank order correlations for importance and for

Figure 1. Nursing Home Characteristics Ranked among the Top Eleven Determinant
Attributes for General Population and Social Service Workers

| Rank among Top Eleven for Both Groups | Rank among Top Eleven for General Population Only | Rank among Top Eleven for Social Service Workers Only |
|---|---|---|
| Cleanliness | Nurses' Care | Provisions for Handicapped |
| Atmosphere | Reputation | Special Services |
| Building Safety | Qualifications of Staff | Licensed by State |
| Quality of Care | Aide Care | Medicaid Policy |
| Food Quality | Location | Medicare Policy |
| | Price | Quality of Recreation Program |

variability were compared, there was considerably more similarity between the two groups on rankings of characteristics perceived important (Spearman's rho = .90) than on rankings of characteristics on which variability was perceived (Spearman's rho = .49). This further suggests that perceptions of variability were more critical than perceptions of importance in accounting for differences between the two groups in determinant attributes.

All of the nursing home characteristics presented were perceived to be at least somewhat important by members of both groups (see Table 2). Items ranking highest in importance for both groups were concerned primarily with basic resident care, while those ranking lowest tended to relate to amenities of nursing home life. These findings suggest considerable similarity between the two groups in perceptions about which nursing home characteristics are important.

When the two groups' perceptions of variability among nursing homes were compared, a somewhat different pattern emerged (see Table 3). Of the 27 characteristics considered, there were 20 statistically significant differences in perceptions of variability. General population members saw more variability in terms of reputation, location, atmosphere, staff qualifications, building safety, length of waiting list, and provisions for the handicapped. Social service workers perceived nursing homes to be more variable on financial dimensions and on a number of factors affecting the psychosocial life of residents. The rankings suggest that the general population sees greatest variability in terms of reputation, location, and a number of resident care dimensions. Social service workers, on the other hand, perceived greatest variability in staff relationship with family, Medicare policy, quality of care, and policy toward personal belongings.

IMPLICATIONS

Direct Practice

The data presented in this study suggest a number of concerns for direct practice with the elderly and their families. The finding that there were considerable differences in the attributes most critical to families and to social service workers in evaluating nursing homes suggests that social service personnel may not be as helpful as they could be to families who approach them for assistance. In practice situations, the potential for considerable misunderstanding exists unless differences between family and worker are identified and discussed. Family members may leave a social service consultation wondering why the worker advised them to pay particular attention to certain nursing home characteristics in evaluating potential homes, and social service workers may be puzzled with families' concern about

Table 2. Ranking of and Mean Importance Scores for the General Population and Social Service Workers on 27 Nursing Home Characterisitics

| Attribute | General Population Rank | Social Service Rank | General Population Mean | Social Service Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Quality of Care | 1 | 1 | 1.25 | 1.09* |
| Nurses' Care | 2 | 2 | 1.32 | 1.31 |
| Cleanliness | 3 | 3 | 1.34 | 1.44 |
| Building Safety | 4 | 7 | 1.40 | 1.54* |
| Aide Care | 5 | 5 | 1.50 | 1.47 |
| Qualifications of Staff | 6 | 6 | 1.51 | 1.50 |
| Reputation | 7 | 8.5 | 1.54 | 1.56 |
| Food Quality | 8 | 16 | 1.56 | 1.82* |
| Atmosphere | 9 | 11 | 1.62 | 1.66 |
| Licensed by State | 10 | 4 | 1.71 | 1.46 |
| Location | 11 | 12 | 1.78 | 1.70 |
| Special Services (special diets, therapies) | 12 | 8.5 | 1.81 | 1.56* |
| Provisions for Handicapped Residents | 13 | 10 | 1.87 | 1.60* |
| Price | 14 | 18 | 1.93 | 1.87 |
| Visiting Policy | 15 | 22 | 1.99 | 2.17* |
| Medicare Policy | 16 | 14.5 | 2.00 | 1.76* |
| Staff Relationship with Family | 17 | 17 | 2.04 | 1.82* |
| Medicaid Policy | 18 | 13 | 2.06 | 1.72* |
| Policy toward Personal Belongings (clothing, furniture) | 19 | 14.5 | 2.09 | 1.76* |
| Rehabilitation Emphasis | 20.5 | 19 | 2.13 | 1.91* |
| Arrangements for Religious Services | 20.5 | 23 | 2.13 | 2.33 |
| Quality of Recreation Program | 22 | 21 | 2.33 | 2.09* |
| Appearance of Building and Grounds | 23 | 25 | 2.38 | 2.43 |
| Availability of Private Rooms | 24 | 27 | 2.46 | 3.27* |
| Length of Waiting List | 25 | 24 | 2.63 | 2.39* |
| Characteristics of Other Residents | 26 | 26 | 2.69 | 3.02* |
| Policy toward Alcohol | 27 | 20 | 2.90 | 1.96* |

*Difference between means statistically significant, alpha < .05.

Table 3. Ranking of and Mean Variability Scores for the General Population and
Social Service Workers on 27 Nursing Home Characterisitics

| Attribute | General Population Rank | Social Service Rank | General Population Mean | Social Service Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reputation | 1 | 7 | 2.57 | 2.91* |
| Location | 2 | 17 | 2.86 | 3.61* |
| Quality of Care | 3 | 3 | 2.87 | 2.67 |
| Food Quality | 4 | 21 | 2.93 | 4.04* |
| Nurses' Care | 5 | 11 | 2.97 | 3.12 |
| Cleanliness | 6 | 12 | 3.04 | 3.29 |
| Atmosphere | 7 | 16 | 3.06 | 3.55* |
| Price | 8 | 5 | 3.10 | 2.87* |
| Qualifications of Staff | 9 | 27 | 3.19 | 4.85* |
| Staff Relationship with Family | 10.5 | 1 | 3.21 | 2.39* |
| Appearance of Building and Grounds | 10.5 | 24 | 3.21 | 4.55* |
| Rehabilitation Emphasis | 12 | 20 | 3.26 | 3.85* |
| Quality of Recreation Program | 13 | 6 | 3.33 | 2.90* |
| Aide Care | 14 | 18 | 3.35 | 3.65 |
| Building Safety | 15 | 26 | 3.37 | 4.84* |
| Special Services (special diets, therapies) | 16 | 13 | 3.39 | 3.35 |
| Length of Waiting List | 17 | 22 | 3.46 | 4.17* |
| Availability of Private Rooms | 18.5 | 15 | 3.48 | 3.54 |
| Provisions for Handicapped Residents | 18.5 | 25 | 3.48 | 4.61* |
| Policy toward Personal Belongings (clothings, furniture) | 20 | 4 | 3.54 | 2.73* |
| Characteristics of Other Residents | 21 | 8 | 3.63 | 2.98* |
| Arrangements for Religious Services | 22 | 14 | 3.85 | 3.47* |
| Visiting Policy | 23 | 10 | 3.91 | 3.10* |
| Policy toward Alcohol | 24 | 19 | 4.12 | 3.73* |
| Medicaid Policy | 25 | 9 | 4.22 | 3.09* |
| Medicare Policy | 26 | 2 | 4.27 | 2.50* |
| Licensed by State | 27 | 23 | 4.37 | 4.19 |

*Difference between means statistically signficant, alpha < .05.

characteristics which they perceive should be of little salience. Such misunderstanding can be avoided if clients and worker engage in full discussion about the needs of the potential resident with reference to their values about the importance of nursing home characteristics and the extent of variability which exists among the nursing homes under consideration.

The methodology employed here sugests a strategy which workers might use to help simplify their communication with families concerning the nursing home choice process. Using a brief instrument similar to the one used for this study, workers might identify their own nursing home determinant attributes for the locality in which they work. Such an exercise would highlight those characteristics which, in general, they would hold critical in a selection process. Clients seeking guidance in nursing home selection could also be asked to rate nursing home characteristics in terms of importance and variability dimensions. This process could help the worker learn quickly which characterisitics clients think are most and least important and the degree to which clients believe there is variability among the potential choices in terms of those characteristics. (This process might also reveal differences of opinion among family members, with which the worker may need to deal.) With this information in hand, the worker might suggest reasons why she/he believes more or less importance should be attached to particular characteristics in each specific case (e.g., the potential resident could benefit from special therapies, and thus the availability of these should figure prominently in a selection decision). The worker might also be in a position to provide information about nursing home variability on the basis of previous experience (e.g., "all nursing homes in this city accept Medicaid, so you needn't concern youself with that in making a choice").

This process should result in families' planfully establishing for themselves (with worker input) the characteristics to which they will pay most attention when they assess specific nursing homes. Such a procedure may be more realistic and less cumbersome than those suggested in nursing home guides (NRTA, 19788; Kart, et al., 1978) which propose that decision makers attempt to evaluate and compare a number of nursing homes with respect to more than 100 criteria. The procedure suggested here has the advantages of being efficient, of having the potential to reveal areas of disagreement among family members, and of raising issues around which the worker can provide information, professional opinions, and clarification. In addition, it prevents the worker from proceeding with the assumption that the client may share her/his orientations toward nursing home selection when this is not the case.

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## Professional and Consumer Education

The data presented here may also suggest directions for both consumer and professional education about long term care. Although it has been difficult for long term care experts to predict high quality nursing home care from nursing home characteristics (see Kart and Manard, 1976; Linn, 1974; and Winn and McCaffree, 1976 for examples of such efforts), there is some reason to believe that those with considerable experience in long term care would view the importance and variability of nursing home characteristics differently than did either group of respondents to this study. The USDHEW guide to nursing home selection (reproduced in Kart, et al., 1978), for example, indicates that under no circumstances should a nursing home be considered if it is not licensed by the state, yet state licensure ranks fourth in importance by social service workers and 10th by general population members. Butler and Lewis (1977) suggest that rehabilitation programs, provisions for religious services, and the opportunity to retain personal possessions should figure prominently in nursing home selection, yet these characteristics were not particularly determinant for members of either group. While Beverley (1976) indicates that in cases where special services (diets, therapy) are indicated, these should be critical attributes in the selection process, general population members rank these as only 12th in determinance. Similarly, Winn and McCaffree (1976) found length of waiting list to be positively correlated with nursing home effectiveness, yet this characteristic ranks very low among the determinant attributes for both groups. Comparison of results of this study with perceptions of "experts" in long term care suggests that both general population members and social service professionals might benefit from knowledge about characteristics of nursing homes which seem to be most highly associated with quality care.

The determinant attribute model employed here, however, suggests that simply changing values about what is important to consider in nursing home selection would not necessarily improve the quality of nursing home choice. When variability exists among nursing homes along valued characteristics, it is important that decision makers be able to perceive such variability in order to make the best choice. At least two studies indicate that nursing homes vary widely across important dimensions (Kosberg & Tobin, 1972; Gottesman and Bourestom, 1974). Unfortunately, it may be difficult for family decision makers to assess variability among nursing homes in the short time that is often available between the decision to institutionalize and the actual placement choice. Social service workers who have frequent personal contact with nursing homes may be in a better position to make such assessments, particularly if they are well informed about how to identify variability on characteristics which are frequently hard

to assess (aide care, staff relationship with family). This further suggests that social service workers might most appropriately be involved in the compilation of the local nursing home guides proposed by Horn and Griesel (1977).


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GOING AMONG THEM:
THE EVOLUTION OF THE HOME VISIT

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ABSTRACT

The methods, motives and objectives of home visiting have
been ignored by most social work historians, while the profession
of social work has become almost universally associated with this
practice by the public.  This paper examines the historical,
social, and political implications of home visiting from the
founders of the profession to the present day, suggesting a
revitalization of this taken for granted practice for the purpose
of collecting "social evidence" to be used for social reform.

Much attention has been paid to the philosophical,
scientific, moral and institutional roots of the profession of
social work.  Mencher has traced the profession's ideologies on
the nature of man and society from their origins in British Poor
Law to their transplantation in the American colonies and beyond.[1]
Klein has reviewed the 'what' and 'why' of American social work
from the history of casework technique to the major social services
offered by social workers today.[2]  Zimbalist has followed the
major trends of social work research from their early 19th century
moralistic beginnings to their present state of statistical
sophistication.[3]  Platt has untangled the complex moral, cultural
and economic conditions that led to the turn of the century
"child-saving movement" and provided the profession with its major
evolutionary impetus.[4]  Finally, Lubove has given the profession

a brilliant historical analysis of the emergence of social work as an organizational career.[5]

## The Early Practice of Home Visits

Despite this extensive historical study, one of the earliest and most distinctive of this profession's practices has been ignored by most social work historians. Home visiting has been a part of professional practice since the early days of charity organizations and today its use is almost universally identified with the practice of social work by the public. Home visits have been made at the discretion of the social worker or they have been made a requirement by law. They have put a client at ease in a familiar environment or have beoeme the necessary part of an investigation process. Home conditions, artifacts and belongings have provided the social worker with a unique per-spective into the client's inner world or they have formed the basis of a judgment regarding the income, resources and quality of family life in relation to community standards. They have been viewed by clients as a genuine attempt and willingness to under-stand, or as a gross invasion of privacy. The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the original assumptions, motives, methods and objectives offered by the founders of the social work profession regarding the seemingly taken for granted practice of the home visit.

Max Siporin, in his introduction to Mary Richmond's early handbook for charity workers, dates friendly visiting to antiquity. He also gives credit to Charles Lock in 1880 for developing home visiting into a _method_ of study to help the poor

and to Mary Richmond for maintaining the distinction between
relief giving and friendly visiting.  According to her, friendly
visiting was meant only in a spirit of "trust and friendliness"
within a "mutual relationship" of "tact and good will" for the
purpose of "personal influence" in the lives of the poor.[6]  In
her handbook, she states:

> Some... question our right to go among
> them with the object of doing them good,
> regarding it as an impertinent inter-
> ference with the rights of the individual...
> We must interfere when confronted with
> human suffering and need.  Why not
> interfere effectively?[7]

Indeed, why not?  Mary Richmond viewed such interference
as a moral obligation and friendly visiting as the means to
combat suffering.  Material relief was seen as somehow
compromising of the moral imperative - "The truth is that
charitable cash and commodities have no moral qualities in
themselves; not even the good intentions of the giver can
endow them with particular virtues."[8]

The primary goal of friendly visiting was the inculcation
of virtue and since hard cash was morally neutral and could be
used for good or evil, it was up to the friendly visitor to see
that it was spent "effectively."  Hard cash or commodities,
however, was the leverage the charity worker applied, in gaining
entrance to the home.  Although friendly visiting and the language
of the period produced an air of moral superiority, it must be
remembered that, in part, the social work movement developed in

reaction against the Social Darwinist moralism of the late
1880's. In 1912, just a few years before the publication of
Mary Richmond's classic text, Social Diagnosis, a volume
entitled The Religion Worth Having appeared. It was very
popular and found many adherents. The author expounded a
peculiar mix of science, mostly Social Darwinistic notions
regarding the survival of the fittest, the social evolution
of mankind, and religion.

> The religion which best fits men
> for the struggle to survive will be
> left in possession of the world,
> just as the 'workbench' philosophy...
> The laws of natural selection are
> merely God's regular methods of
> expressing his choice and approval.
> The naturally selected are the
> chosen of God.[9]

In opposition, the "social gospel" ministers preached the message
of social reform. Washington Gladden urged an "industrial
partnership" between employers and employees as the only
alternative to disaster and tied the notion directly to salvation.[10]
The author meant to jolt the self-righteous middle class out of
their complacency by making human life, good will and mutual help
more important than the struggle for profit and advantage. To
the inevitability of class warfare and the immutable laws of
natural selection, was offered the hope of a just social order
bound by a faith in the equally immutable laws of progress and
science. The new profession of social work emerged straddling
the best of both positions, by creating a method for treating

individuals and reforming society's institutions.

It was in this atmosphere of moral combat during the
Progressive Era that "The Child-Saving Movement" was born.
These child savers, including reform minded social workers
like Sophonisba Breckinridge, Christian Carstens and
Edward Devine, sought to save the children of the working
and dependent classes from the numbing effects of poverty,
urban industrialization and the debilitating features of
slum life. According to Platt, these early pioneers
possessed a curious amalgam of thought borrowed from the
medical profession, Social Darwinism, criminology and the
Protestant ethic.[11] Armed with this mixture of science,
philosophy, religious belief and common sense, they
pursued institutional reform, sought changes in laws and
formed child protective societies, established training
schools and mobilized public opinion. Although they held
a somewhat conflicted view of the causes of poverty, they
tended to stress the negative effects of the environment over
the moral defects of the individual. They brought to the
attention of the American public the tragic consequences of
child labor, excessively long work hours, deplorable housing
conditions and institutional abuses in mental hospitals,
reformatories and prisons. But it was the firsthand obser-
vations of social workers in their daily contacts with the
poor in their homes, work places, and schools that proved to
be one of the most effective weapons in social reform. In a
historic case involving women's work hours, Muller vs. Oregon,
the Supreme Court ruled in 1908 that:

> Social observation was as pertinent
> as previous legal ruling in deter-
> mining constitutionality... after
> which social case material was
> frequently accepted as pertinent
> evidence, and the social worker's
> special knowledge, the burdens of
> the people, became recognized as
> one type of expert testimony.[12]

Early social workers, like Mary Richmond, recognized the tremendous economic and cultural disparity between the classes and sought to mitigate the classbound misconceptions by improving the flow of information upward. Friendly visiting was an important contact point between the early 'have and have nots' and gave workers the opportunity to record their observations for purposes of social reform.

> "In their investigations into the
> 'worthiness' of a 'case', they
> uncovered information about unemploy-
> ment, industrial accidents, sickness,
> wages and family expenditures. In
> nearly every city of any size, these
> trained or partially trained
> observers compiled a fund of more
> reliable and comprehensive data on
> the economic and social problems of
> the very poor than had been available
> since the days of the close-knit
> village economy."[13]

In fact, the development of the case record was initially intended by the aforementioned social workers to serve the dual purpose of reform and treatment.[14]  The case method was also perfected as a technique of social research by stressing the objective and factual over the judgmental and subjective in the recorded impressions of the visitor.  By combining the weight of professional experience and scientific, objective reporting, friendly visitors convinced many organized charities of the significance of industrial, environmental causes of poverty over the individual causes.

## Home Visit, Social Evidence and Medicine

Although this sets the historical context of home visiting, it does not explain its subsequent institutionalization in present day practice.  Again, Mary Richmond provides an early clue. She complained, in Social Diagnosis, that many social workers were seen as "adjuncts" to court and clinic, and living in the shadow of the legal and medical professions without any tradition, procedures, terminology or "sense of professional solidarity" of their own.[15]  She lamented that doctors were using social workers as clerks and many judges used them as detectives.  She believed that social work's proper expertise was in the collection and testing of "social evidence."  In fact, the first four chapters of Social Diagnosis deals with the reasoning process, nature and testing of social evidence using the long established legal profession as a model.  Investigation, however, was not a new concept to social work or charitable organizations as it had its origin in English poor law, and even the medieval Catholic Church required that its parish priests know the recipients of charitable donations in order to prevent misrepresentation of need or

malingering. Partly as a result of the lack of a historical
tradition of its own, early social workers felt compelled to
emulate the established legal profession and since social worker
duties entailed visiting the poor for the purposes of court and
charity investigation, Mary Richmond believed that social workers
should practice their profession in a thoroughly legalistic semi-
judicial manner.

The other long established profession that had profound
influence on the development of social work was medicine.  Here
the relationship between home visiting, social workers and the
medical model is more clearly recognized.  In a book entitled
Social Work - The Doctor and Social Worker, published in 1919 two
years after Mary Richmond's text appeared, Richard Cabot, M. D.,
wrote:

> Home visiting may easily and
> properly spring up in connection
> with schools, courts, or factories
> of the city as well as with the
> dispensaries.  But it is
> essential in home visiting no
> matter what institution it is
> connected with, that the social
> assistant should be distinctly
> recognized as part of the
> machinery of that institution,
> or, in other words, as one of the
> means by which that institution
> does its work.[16]

Cabot saw social workers as part of the medical organization
and essential to the physician's ability to diagnose and treat.
The role of early social workers, as defined by Cabot, was to dis-
cover "nests, foci, or hotbeds of disease" in the homes of the
poor. Again, it must be remembered that the major scourges of
disease, smallpox, diptheria and tuberculosis, were still taking
tens of thousands of lives at the turn of the century and medical
science was only beginning to understand the relationship between
bacteria, contagion, and the treatment of these deadly diseases.
The medical home visitor was "part of plan of antisepsis" and
American social workers became part of a medical vanguard
determined to rid the country of infectious diseases through pre-
vention. Thus, American social workers were concerned with
"the positive measures of hygiene, such as the better housing of
the patient, better nutrition, better provision for sunlight
and fresh air, and above all, instructions of the patient as to
the nature of his disease and the methods to be pursued in com-
bating it."[17] Public health and public good were to become
synonymous with social workers possessing the public knowledge of
both. Social workers, too, became quickly aware of the advantages
of the medical model of practice. "When the social worker
begins the difficult task of acquiring her influence in a family,
she starts with a great deal in her favor if she appears in the
home as the agent of the physician."[18]

As official agents of the medical, legal and charitable
institutions, social workers by the dint of control over hard cash,
fear of infectious diseases, and expert witness status, made their
way into the homes of poor. Their objectives, however altrustic
and noble, began to stress needs over rights, social casework over
social reform, and eventually the medical procedures of study,

diagnosis and treatment over the collecting of social evidence,
although the legal investigatory process and reasoning fit well
within the search for antecedent causes contained in the medical
history.  In addition, social workers had the weight of medical
science on their side.  The social history, then, became a means
of making sense out of the patient's symptoms, determining the
cause of social problems and as a way of legitimizing needs or
establishing moral responsibility.  Social workers' early
fascination with scientific method and the relationship to pro-
fessional respectability has been previously documented.[19]
Social work's early association with the medical science of the
day allowed not only the mixing of metaphors, but also the
mixing of prestige and power as illustrated by this quote:

> Giving creates dependence
> because it atrophies industrial
> and moral initiative, just as a
> crutch or a splint causes muscle
> to waste.  Powers unused atrophy.
> If we support a person, except
> temporarily, he will soon lose
> the power of self-support.[20]

Many would argue that such an analogy is relevant today.  For a
profession struggling to attain respectability, the tradition of
medicine provided fledgling social workers an intelligible frame
of reference for the reading public to understand the causes of
poverty and the profession's role in the solutions.  Just as
medicine needed to enlist social workers to visit the homes of the
poor to combat disease, social workers needed medicine's
scientific status in order to combat the ills of poverty.

> In all areas making something
> 'scientific' became synonymous
> with reform. Between 1880 and
> 1920, progressive Americans
> campaigned not only for
> scientific medicine but for
> scientific management,
> scientific public administration,
> scientific housekeeping,
> scientific child-raising,
> scientific social work.[21]

This period marked the beginning of the age of the expert, which not only offered prestigious employment for America's growing middle class, but promised the solution to society's problems.

> Experts could solve society's
> problems because they were as
> scientific men, by definition,
> totally objective and above
> special interests of any kind.
> In the process, the problems of
> the new middle class itself could
> be solved, too. Specialized
> expert occupations, accessible
> only after lengthy training,
> would provide them a secure occu-
> pational niche and a share of the
> power far out of proportion to
> their numbers.[22]

Bledstein labeled this unique period in American history
between the 1870's and 1880's as The Culture of Professionalism
where undertakers, traditionally simple cabinet makers, insisted
on calling themselves funeral directors, embalming surgeons and
mortuary scientists. Professional societies and associations
with distinguished titles grew at an unprecedented pace, nearly
two hundred in less than 10 years, with the American Social Work
Association being among them.[24]

Professionals of all kinds expanded their bounds of authority
by establishing esoteric bodies of knowledge with highly
technical languages totally indecipherable to the common man.
They surrounded themselves with rituals, ceremonies and symbols.
They claimed the magic of scientific knowledge and dictated their
prescriptions to others on the basis of their advanced training
and expertise.

> It was within the power of the
> professional person to define
> issues of crises - threats to life
> and security - perhaps real and
> perhaps unreal. And it was within
> the power of the professional to
> justify his actions; including the
> use of socially sanctioned
> violence, by appealing to a special
> knowledge called scientific fact.
> No metaphysical authority more
> effectively humbled the average
> person.[25]

Degrees, diplomas, honorary awards, codes of ethics, compre-
hensive examinations, internships, Ph.D. dissertations,
evidence of still higher levels of rationality, served to
indoctrinate not only the participants but the public at large.
Physicians were given the power to quarantine the poor to
control the spread of diseases, while social workers were
given the authority to perform systematic investigations of
their infectious status.  Isolation and control were the methods
used by the newly emerging middle class, aspiring to professional
status to contain the grumbling and dangerous lower classes.
Ehrenreich and English believed that at no time in American
history was the contradiction between wealth and poverty as
great nor the possibility of social revolution as real as in
the second half of the 19th century.[26]

## Home Visiting and Social Control

Despite all the high sounding altruistic rhetoric, the pro-
fession of social work grew, in part, because it was providing
not only a platform for reform through social observation, but an
important social control function for the middle class.  By
diagnosing and treating individuals in the privacy of their homes,
social work's developing scientific expertise was used both as a
call to reform and as a way of isolating individual problems.
From a simple method of friendly visiting to the methodology of
social casework, the inherent focus on individual prescriptions
for treatment served to validate individual rather than collective
failures in American society and sought to adjust individuals to
a realistic acceptance of their condition.  For a newly emerging
profession, the path of least resistance was most often the use
of professional influence in the homes of the poor to change their

immoral, unhygienic and ignorant housekeeping and child-rearing
practices.[27]  Of course, there were notable exceptions, but for
the majority of early social workers, the search for a cause in
the home was more acceptable than to champion a cause in the
street or the court.

Lubove recognized the social control function of friendly
visiting but he also noted the profession's early movement away
from an attitude of moral superiority.  He also understood it as
the profession's solution to a growing dilemma.

> A new relationship had to justify
> interference in their lives; the
> visitor had to demonstrate a
> greater claim to authority
> than class affiliation.  The
> answer seemed to lie in the
> establishment of a professional
> relationship in which the
> social worker's authority
> rested upon superior expertise.[28]

Expertise in social casework method was to become the substance
of that authority.  By 1929, the taken for granted nature of the
home visit was clearly apparent.  The job of the visitor was seen
as synonymous with the performance of social casework.  Louise
Odencrantz, in her classic job analysis text of family, medical
and psychiatric social work, wrote:  "The job of the visitor is
to do family casework."[29]  She also noted the important function
of psychiatric social workers to provide supervision of those
discharged on parole from mental hospitals and for trial visits

into the community.  In fact, "community supervision" requiring
periodic home visits had become no longer a professional
perogative but an institutionalized mandate, especially after
World War I, when the newly developed intelligence tests
revealed a scourge of "moronity" among the general population.

> The moron was an alarming
> discovery.  Surveys indicated
> that thousands of his kind
> were to be found among the
> general population and with
> practically no facilities
> for their social control.[30]

As a result, large institutions had to be built to house them,
psychologists employed to identify them, medical doctors to treat
them and social workers to follow them.  More importantly, how-
ever, was the gradual assumption of the increased financial
burdens of these institutions directly by government.  Lubove
chronicles the vain attempts of individual private charity
organizations and eventually federations of charity organizations
(Community Chests) to meet the needs of hospitals, orphanages
and fresh air camps, notwithstanding the demands for hard cash.
Regretably, Lobove leaves off at the Great Depression when
social legislation put the finishing touches to volunteerism
and marked the beginnings of the huge public welfare bureau-
cracies of today.

The transition, however, involved more than just a shift in
financial responsibility.  It also involved a subtle but equally
powerful, shift toward governmental regulation.  Home visits by

social workers were mandated by law as in the case of public
welfare, and rules and regulations were promulgated by agency
officials, i.e., once every month, three months or six months.
Although social work's founders had intended the home visit to be
used in a spirit of mutual trust and relationship, home visits seem
to have gained increasing bureaucratic utility after 1930.

> Out of the experience of the
> agencies' administering Mothers'
> Aid has come the universal
> acceptance of the fact that money
> unaccompanied by service will
> give no assurance that proper
> home life will be provided for
> all the children, whom it is
> designed to help...
>
> The lawmakers themselves
> recognized, in many instances, the
> need of this oversight by writing
> into the law the minimum number
> of visits required by the adminis-
> trative officer... In most of the
> statutes, this routine is left
> to the discretion of the workers,
> the law providing generally for
> supervision of families receiving
> aid.[31]

In place of Mary Richmond's moral force, home visits were given the
force of law while service and money were also inextricably linked.

Donzelot, in his The Policing of Families, has recorded a
similar process in France, beginning after the French revolution
with the rise of the bourgeoisie and propelled by their govern-
ment's alarm with the educative, hygienic and moral practices of
the lower class families in French society.  He traces the
evolving role of Social Assistants (workers) in gathering infor-
mation on the poor, using investigative techniques, not unlike
those described in Social Diagnosis.  This information, in turn,
was used by officials to insert a governmental agent of
authority into the home "under the guise of a campaign against
moral laxity" which, in effect, meant economic laxity.  According
to Donzelot, this allowed for a more economic method of
administrating individuals.

> This is the technique of removing
> individuals, especially children
> from a family when the cost of
> its social maintenance becomes too
> high.  Juridicial authority has a
> decisive part in this forced
> assimilation of morality to
> economics.[32]

Like Platt, he deomonstrates historically how the noble intent of
child protective laws in France and the juvenile justice system
joined hands to form a new social philosophy of "protected
liberty" and "supervised freedom" for families.[33]

Granted, the deplorable living and working conditions of
the poor, both French and American, during the 19th century, demanded
reform and part of the solution necessarily involved retraining,

education and the use of personal influence and control over the
daily practices of the poor. But as Ira Glasser argues, that
control was often purchased at the expense of the rights of the
poor. He sees benevolence as seldom outwitting the "mischievousness
of power" and points to the Bill of Rights as proof our fore-
fathers recognized the insidious nature of governmental power.
He discussed, in detail, the Supreme Court case of Barbara James,
who in 1970, after applying for welfare, challenged the Welfare
Department's right to send a caseworker to her home on the grounds
that it violated her right to illegal search or seizure under the
Fourth Amendment. More than a century after the organized efforts
of friendly visitors, it occurred to someone that perhaps the
practice of home visits was unconstitutional. Mrs. James' challenge
was short-lived. In a 5 - 4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled
against her petition. Justice Blackmun's legal opinion contrasted
the role of the caseworker and the policeman in society and ruled
that "the primary objective of the caseworker is, or should be,
the welfare, not the prosecution, of the aid recipient for whom
the worker has profound responsibility."[34]

Home visits and visitors were declared safe for democracy.
The "doing good" that Mary Richmond's critics characterized as "an
impertinent interference" passed away with the legal fiction
created by Justice Blackmun that the caseworker and welfare
recipients both wanted the same thing. As anyone who has made
home visits knows, that is often not the case. But recipients can
only refuse entry into their homes if they are also willing to
give up their benefits. The needs of society and the rights of
individuals are often in conflict, especially with regard to the
poor.

Piven and Cloward exposed the real as opposed to ideal functions of public welfare, when they argued convincingly that public relief arrangements had historically been initiated or expanded during threats to civil disorder by masses of unemployed. During periods of political stability, welfare regulations were used to enforce very low wage work.[35]

For the years 1940 to 1960, suitable home rules, man-in-the-house rules, income rules, asset rules, work rules, required the collection of social evidence by home visitors. Although today social evidence is gathered not so much to discover moral defects, it is used to establish psycho-social diagnoses for planned treatment interventions. Piven and Cloward, however, fail to see the difference.

> The older philanthropic treatment consisted of a strict regimen of individual surveillance and discipline, the contention being that poverty proved the existence of moral weakness. Casework prescribed 'individualization' and counseling, as if by being poor the client proves his personality weaknesses and the need for professional treatment.[36]

## Conclusion

Historically, the profession, the public and the courts have legitimated the role of the social worker as home visitor.

Given this long tradition, it is difficult to imagine a system of human services that does not rely on some measure of personal influence and control over the poorer, dependent segments of society, but is would seem important for the profession to acknowledge the double-edged nature of this "profound responsibility." Whichever view is held, control or treatment, it seems likely that social workers will continue to visit the homes of the poor and that governmental regulation of families will continue. Perhaps one way of mitigating the adverse effects of regulation would be for social workers to begin again collecting data, i.e., social observations, much as was done at the turn of the century for the purpose of social reform.

With the recent massive cuts in social programs, new social evidence will be needed as to the impact of these cuts upon the poor. Who is in a better position than social workers to provide this educative function to the whole community? Since the profession has the legal mandate, why not train social workers to observe with the detached, systematic objectivity of the qualitative researcher. The potential for abuse and exploitation is omnipresent in such a suggestion. However, with proper professional safeguards and the informed consent of the participants, home visits might again serve the purpose which Mary Richmond and others intended. Objective reporting worked once to mobilize agency officials and the public toward social reform. Perhaps it can again.

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Qualitative Methodology, Hypothesis Testing
and the Needs Assessment

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ABSTRACT

     The qualitative methodologist argues that data have
meaning only when they are verified experientially.  In
order for this type of verification to take place, program
evaluators must utilize a "responsible" methodology when
conducting research.  In this paper a definition of
responsible methodology is advanced, while the proper
operationalization of this type of methodology is
illustrated.  In particular, it is shown how key needs
assessment strategies can be used in a responsible manner,
so as to capture the experiential significance of data.

Qualitative Methodology: An
Introduction

     Qualitative methodology advances one major assumption
that quantitative methodology does not.  Simply, all
research endeavors must be responsible relative to the
methodology which they employ.  What it means to be
methodologically responsible is really quite simple.  When
researchers are methodologically responsible they do not
approach an object or environment of inquiry as if it were
something universal (Douglas, 1976: 1-9).  Rather, the
researcher who is using a qualitatively-grounded methodology
must be extremely sensitive to the contextual exigencies of
any milieu that is investigated, and must simultaneously
make sure that the methodology or knowledge assumptions which
he or she is making are not different from those made by the
people who are under investigation.
     This idea of methodological responsibility has received
a lot of attention recently by social scientists, but is
just beginning to appear in the program evaluation literature
(Murphy, 1979; Murphy and Pilotta, 1980; Patton, 1979: 199-
238).  For example, Gouldner (1970) has referred to "domain
assumptions", Foucault (1970) to "epistemological grids",
Kuhn (1962) to "paradigms", and Goffman (1974) to "frames".

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What each of these authors is saying in his own inimitable
terminology is that the individuals who live in the social
world take-for-granted major assumptions which are thought
to be valid for _anyone_ who lives a social existence.  These
assumptions, moreover, outline what is thought to be factual
or socially real for those persons who inhabit the social
world (McHugh, 1970).  Social facticity or truth to the
researcher who is grounded in a qualitatively-oriented
methodology, however, cannot be naively taken-for-granted.
It is viewed as having the status of a social assumption
which must be thoroughly exposed before any truth claims
can be advanced.

This approach to social facticity or evidence, of
course, makes new demands on the researcher or program
evaluator.  Both the evaluator _and_ those persons that are
evaluated make assumptions about the nature of social
reality.  Traditional quantitative methodologists assume
that the individuals who are investigated merely possess
opinions about the social world, while scientists are thought
to be able to purge themselves of mere opinion, in order to
ferret out from these prevailing opinions what is really
truthful or factual about a social setting.  Because of this
belief, social scientists are thought to be capable of
attaining a state of "value neutrality", and therefore are
not presumed to be harboring assumptions about the nature
of social reality which could eventually become manifest in
their research methodology (Morris, 1977: 4-42).

Accompanying this philosophical shift away from value
neutrality is an awareness of exactly how any social
environment must be approached.  Social scientists must now
be cognizant of the fact that, throughout an investigation,
procedural decisions are made that are totally imbued with
assumptions about the nature of the social reality that
may or may not be held in common with the persons who are
investigated (Lee, 1979).  For example, when choosing a linear
regression model for projecting the number of heroin addicts
that may enter treatment in the coming year, a major assumption
is made pertaining to the actual linear nature of the data or
reality that is investigated.  When this type of model is
employed for use in conducting a needs assessment, much
concern is devoted to understanding what data mean mathe-
matically, but little to what they actually mean experien-
tially (Murphy, 1978).  What the investigator who is
grounded in a qualitative methodology must now do is to
become aware of the assumptions that are made throughout an
investigation and the limited applicative validity they have
as truth statements.

This theoretical gambit made by the qualitatively-sub-
stantiated social investigator has in recent literature been

referred to as attaining a state of "reflexivity", in that
the ability of reality (i.e, methodological) assumptions to
guide and, possibly, distort the focus of an investigation
is recognized.  Then, social scientists must take extreme
care to ensure that the reality assumptions they are making
about the social world are similar to those made by the people
who are investigated.  If the proper alignment is made between
the reality assumptions of the investigator and the persons
who are investigated, the possibility of obtaining valid
research results is appreciably increased (Douglas, 1979:
125ff).  This entire process of aligning reality assumptions
embodies the essence of a responsible methodology.  Without
a responsible methodology data collection proceeds in a very
haphazard manner, thus generating data that have little
validity and, thus, generalizability.  The use of irrespon-
sible data for the purpose of social planning, moreover, must
be viewed as highly suspect.
     With this notion of responsible methodology in mind,
the remainder of this discussion will be devoted to exploring
a variety of research techniques that are presently used by
program evaluators to generate data, in order to illustrate
how they may be used in a totally irresponsible manner, and
how such irresponsibility can be corrected.

## The Experimental Design

     Most evaluators and managers agree that the highest stage
of program evaluation is represented by evaluation research.
Evaluation research, moreover, is assumed to be synonymous
with experimental research which employs some type of experi-
mental research design.  The experimental design that is employed
may be either classical or what is commonly referred to nowadays
as quasi-experimental.  No matter what type of design is employed,
however, the attempt is made by the researcher to systematically
isolate a particular variable, in the hope of assessing the
effects that a so-called independent variable has on producing
concomitant changes in other dependent variables.  Stated
simply, the use of an experimental design announces on the part
of the evaluator an attempt to isolate at least minimal causal
relations among variables (Bailey, 1978: 191-214).
     The qualitatively-oriented researcher does not deny that
causal relationships between variables can be discovered, but
fears that the use of an experimental design, because of the
sterile mode in which it is often operationalized, must
necessarily distort data.  The qualitatively-oriented researcher
believes that the rendition of causality which usually accom-
panies the use of an experimental design must be deepened before
any valid data are forthcoming from that style of research.

It appears as if evaluators are mesmerized by the prospect of advancing the scientific status of program evaluation primarily through the use of experimental designs. They seem to believe that the successful use of an experimental design in some way guarantees the generation of precise data, as if precision is an adequate measure of accuracy. Therefore, pressure is currently on the evaluator to perfect the use of experimental designs, despite their difficulty within the confines of an applied setting, so that the scientific status of program evaluation will be upgraded. The hoped-for result of this increase in the scientific stature of program evaluation is that more valuable (i.e., causal?) information will be generated for the purpose of enhancing the decision-making capability of program administrators (Wilner, 1975).

The qualitatively-oriented researcher believes that this focus of attention on experimental designs in evaluation research is misguided. Specifically, it appears as if evaluators are fundamentally concerned with eliminating the logistical problems that are associated with implementing an experimental design in an applied setting, and thus with merely refining the formal structure of this procedure. When this occurs, the issue of the content that is introduced into these experimental procedures is obscured. Therefore, an enormous amount of energy is spent attempting to remove all the possible sources of error within an experimental design that may reduce the internal validity of information, while the issue of external validity is not taken seriously.

The difference between internal and external validity is important. Internal validity is concerned with systemic completeness, so that the experimental system is closed to the extent that all unwanted information is excluded. External validity addresses the issue of the adequate conceptualization of the variables that are included in any experiment. These different types of validity are only logically and not necessarily structurally linked. That is, the generation of highly reliable information, through the successful implementation of an experimental design, in no way guarantees the simultaneous creation of valid information, even though on the surface the relationship between these types of information seems to be perfectly logical. Getting good answers is not useful if the wrong questions are asked.

Therefore, in terms of adequately implementing an experimental design in evaluation research, the qualitatively-oriented researcher asks that the evaluator not become enamored with the form of an experiment to the extent that an in-depth analysis of the conceptual problems facing the evaluator are ignored or taken-for-granted. Moreover, the qualitatively-oriented evaluator must also not merely be concerned with

procedural issues that pertain to the proper operationalization
of a variable, e.g., merely refining the definition of a
concept that is used.  But additionally, an evaluator must
ensure that all concepts embody the logic-in-use of the persons
who are assessed (Kaplan, 1964: 3-11).
    The research concepts that are used must not only be
clearly delineated, but more importantly must be defined in a
manner which ensures that the meaning they embody is similar
to that used by the individuals who are evaluated.  In this
sense, the qualitatively-grounded researcher focuses not only
on logistical proprieties, but also on the content or meaning
of all the variables that are included in an experiment.

## The Questionnaire

    It is usually assumed that a questionnaire can provide the
most comprehensive source of data when conducting a needs
assessment.  A questionnaire is believed to be a truly compre-
hensive approach to data collection simply because it can be
created in a methodical manner, and can be distributed according
to the canons of scientific sampling procedures.  Questionnaire
data, moreover, can be systematically retrieved and reinterpreted
in a variety of ways by the researcher, and can be more easily
coded and prepared for computer analysis than, say, strict
interview data, due to their more tangible nature (Rossi,
Freeman, and Wright, 1979: 112ff).  In a much more mundane vein,
a questionnaire can also be administered relatively cheaply.
All-in-all many evaluators immediately view the questionnaire
as an excellent vehicle for collecting needs assessment data
because it is generally believed that a properly used question-
naire can reduce the error variance present in an investigation
to a minimum.
    This is not to suggest that fundamental problems are not
associated with collecting information via the questionnaire.
Quite to the contrary, numerous problems will automatically
be identified by a competent researcher with the use of a
questionnaire.  For example, it is coming to be more widely
known that a questionnaire is not an appropriate method for
eliciting information from certain populations, e.g., heroin
addicts.  Likewise, the usual problems that are thought to be
inherent to questionnaire design are also raised.  Every
evaluator using a questionnaire will most likely address issues
that pertain to, for instance, questionnaire length, the
interaction effect that can take place between the individual
items of a questionnaire, the clarity of items, and the
relevance of specific items to the construct that is assessed.
And of course, the problems associated with sampling will also
be recognized (Bailey, 1978: 93-133).

The qualitatively-oriented researcher does not suggest that finding solutions to the aforementioned logistical problems associated with questionnaire use is irrelevant, but that such solutions may not be sufficient to ensure that accurate and, thus, valid data are collected. As with the experimental design, the problem-solving activity employed most often by evaluators to remedy the difficulties associated with using a questionnaire is primarily logistical or formal. That is, time is spent ensuring that the questionnaire is long enough to guarantee a high degree of reliability, but not too long so as to induce fatigue. Instructions are articulated in simple language, in order not to confuse respondents. Also, care is taken to ensure that irrelevant or distracting stimili are excluded from a questionnaire. And most likely the issue of contend validity will also be raised, while the logistics of generating a random or representative sample are also discussed. In a word, a competent researcher will devote a lot of time to developing the technical accuracy of a questionnaire.

The qualitatively-oriented researcher, however, requires that construct validity be given much more serious consideration. Most often the issue of construct validity is handled by pilot-testing a questionnaire. It is at this juncture in the process of developing a questionnaire when the subjects to be surveyed are supposedly allowed to have "in put" into its design, so that a high degree of construct validity might be ensured. However, most often pilot-testing is viewed as merely an academic exercise that should theoretically be conducted, or, again, the opportunity is merely taken to work some of the logistical "bugs" out of the method used to administer a research instrument (Isaac and Michael, 1971: 92ff). It is not very often that the pilot-testing procedure is taken seriously enough that it is used as an opportunity to raise trenchant questions which pertain to construct validity. Specifically, questions are not often raised that relate to the definitional adequacy or validity, as measured by the individuals to whom a questionnaire is applied, of the variable(s) that is represented in a questionnaire.

A qualitatively-grounded researcher advances the notion that the process of constructing a technically accurate questionnaire should be supplemented by a seriously under-taken ethnographic study of the population to be surveyed before it is designed. The members of the population to be surveyed should be actively involved in the process of con-structing the questionnaire to which they will eventually be asked to respond. If this ethnographic procedure is done correctly, the values and social/cultural meanings of a population can be contained in the language of the questionnaire.

When this is the case, the validity of the constructs used
in a questionnaire will certainly be enhanced. What is
important to remember at this juncture is as follows:  an
unambiguously outlined construct is not at all synonymous
with one that is experientially valid; standardization is
only indirectly related to validity.

## The Community Forum and the Key
## Informant Technique as Data
## Collection Methods

        Relative to the other needs assessment methods discussed
thus far, these two approaches to gathering information are
usually associated with a unique problem in program and
evaluation research.  Even though this problem is indigenous
to the use of the experiment and questionnaire, it seems to
manifest itself most often when a researcher has to infiltrate
a group to gather data.  This problem relates to ethics, or
specifically the ethical responsibility or conduct of the
evaluator.  It is in terms of the focus of this ethical
concern that the qualitatively-oriented researcher differs
from those who are guided by a positivistically or quanti-
tatively-grounded methodology.
        Both the community forum and the key informant technique
require that a strong bond of trust must be established between
those who are being evaluated and the evaluator (Warheit,
Bell, and Schwab, 1977).  In order for valid information to
be gathered, an evaluator must constantly labor to maintain
this bond of trust.  If this bond is abridged or destroyed,
subjects can easily begin to feel that they are being
manipulated, and can start to sanction their responses or
refuse to respond altogether.  This is an old problem, and in
point of fact was recognized by the ancients.  Since Aristotle
wrote his Rhetoric, however, this problem of convincing
respondents that a researcher (or a speaker) does in fact
possess high ethical standards has been approached in
primarily one way (Perelman, 1979: 1-41).  Specifically,
researchers have usually tried to illustrate that they are
responsible individuals by adhering to both formal research
and professional standards that are presented as being
inherently unbiased, and thus naturally legitimate.  Through
the use of these assumed universal standards it is believed
the ethical integrity of the researcher will be maintained
throughout an investigation.
        When conducting a community forum or a key informant
interview session, these ethical considerations take a
variety of forms.  For example, care is taken to ensure that
a community forum is well advertised, so as to guard against
a community feeling it was not well informed in advance that a

session would be conducted to develop social policies. When a forum is actually convened, care is usually taken to ensure that the various segments of a community are represented, in order to make sure that different community interests have equal input into any decision that might eventually be rendered. Similarly, many times elaborate schemes are devised to guarantee that these meetings are not dominated by one particular group, merely because it may be, for example, more aggressive or better educated. In addition, highly sophisticated procedures have been developed to guarantee the systematic treatment of all the ideas that are generated, so that only the proposals that truly represent a particular group receive attention during any policy decision (Patton, 1978: 97-117).

Similar practices are followed by the researcher who conducts a key informant needs assessment. Care is taken, for example, to ensure that all key informants are really voicing the opinion of the group they supposedly represent, and not merely their own self-interest. A key informant's group ties can be monitored through the use of network analysis. Most important in this type of "closed" interview session, however, is that the impression should not be created that an interview actually constitutes surveillance. It must be made perfectly clear to the informant at the outset of this procedure that the community has control over all the data that are generated, and that this information will never be used against it. This type of stipulation can be met by making it necessary for a community to be consulted before data are used for any purpose, therefore allowing a community to actively decide exactly how all information shall be utilized. In both the community forum and key informant approaches to gathering data, the members of a community must sense that they are active participants in any project that is undertaken. This can be accomplished by creating a situation where all subjects are fully informed of the decisions made throughout a project, and because of this feel that they can trust an evaluator's judgments.

The attempt here is not to be exhaustive in specifying how an evaluator's ethical integrity can be maintained. Rather, the point is to illustrate that the solutions to the ethical problems associated with these data-generation procedures have traditionally been merely formal. Stated simply, ethical responsibility is equated with methodological consistency and the ostensive adherence to a set of procedures that are presented as being inherently unbiased and, thus, held to be universally legitimate. The qualitatively-oriented researcher requires that ethical responsibility acquire a more in-depth meaning if an evaluator is to ever be truly ethically responsible. This means sharing control of the data.

In addition to adhering to experimental proprieties, a researcher must also be capable of providing a responsible account of what is actually transmitted between a subject and the evaluator. Only if an evaluator makes an attempt to interpret information correctly, to understand the meaning it has for a community, will ethical responsibility be exhibited. These two approaches to data collection require an evaluator to penetrate the interpretive dimension of social existence, so that the meaning social life has for a community's members can be adequately grasped. In order to accomplish this task evaluators must undertake a field study of the community, so that they become familiar with its values, argot, and general cultural orientation. Only if this is do e will there be a good chance that an evaluator will ever really tap the true needs of a community.

## Mathematical Projection Models

With the budget cuts currently facing every program manager, the needs assessment requirements of a program are many times met in the most expeditious manner. When economics begins to dictate the manner in which needs assessments are conducted, a manager's best bet is to opt for some type of indirect indicator of a community's treatment needs. One approach to the use of indirect indicators that is presently gaining currency is the mathematical forecasting technique. (Murphy, 1978; Nakkash, 1977). This technique is relatively inexpensive, in that data are used which are already being collected, e.g., intake admissions, or are readily available in the form of, say, census tract demographics. Once these data are garnered, they are fed into a mathematical model and, simultaneously, combined with some theoretical assumptions that pertain to the nature of social life in order to generate a hypothetical account of a community's treatment needs. The problem with this method is not that it produces an inherently speculative picture of a community's treatment needs, but that many times these projections are treated as unquestionably real.

The mathematical and theoretical models that are combined to provide the substance for these indirect projection techniques make major assumptions about the world, and because of their presumed universality, many times, go unchallenged and, thus, unverified. Therefore, these models advance a view of the social world that may or may not in fact be real. Just because these models are abstract they should not be treated as "value-free", as if they are not connected to the real world. These models and theories not only have impact on the so-called real world, but in fact shape data to the extent that they do not even vaguely resemble the world from which

they are originally extracted.  When this occurs, these forcasting techniques advance propositions that are totally erroneous.  Most often these incorrect projections are attributed to historical changes, when in fact a major source of their error may be that originally the assumptions that were advanced were unsubstantiated.  Actually, how many evaluators who employ these forecasting techniques take seriously the methodological assumptions that accompany their use?

Again, a qualitatively-oriented researcher does not demand that a program evaluator totally reject the use of these forcasting models.  Instead, all that is required is that the assumptions in which these models are couched be taken seriously.  For example, a linear projection model makes significant assumptions about the nature of time, for it is thought to proceed in a rectilinear manner, at a constantly increasing velocity.  A curvilinear model makes a shift in the assumption made about the velocity of any increases or decreases that may be witnessed in a specific phenomenon in the future.  Time series analysis can theoretically accomodate a variety of data trends, yet a major assumption is still made about the linear nature of all data.  The "concentric ring" theory which is used most often by evaluators who attempt to make prognostications about a community's treatment needs, makes key assumptions about the attitudes of individuals who live in certain spatial locations.  In this case assumptions are not advanced about time, but space.  As these examples show, an evaluator may be making major assumptions about the tacitly held beliefs of a population that may, in fact, not be true.

In order for these projection models to produce accurate data, a researcher must carefully reflect upon all the significant methodological assumptions that are made by an evaluation technique, and subsequently try to verify those assumptions against the validity they have for the population that is surveyed.  This alignment of assumptions can be accomplished in a variety of ways.  The following section of this paper will briefly discuss one approach that has recently been developed by Murphy and Pilotta (1980).

## The Penetration of Assumptions

In order to expose the assumptions that are made by a particular speaker (i.e., researcher or subject), a situation must be created in which individuals must act on information they believe to be obviously factual.  Only through this type of strategy can the limits of the specific understanding a person has of a situation be revealed.  When an individual acts on information that is presented by another person, the

interpretation which the acting person has of the original
information is open to public scrutiny.  Simply, the
original presenter can challenge any interpretation of
his or her original presentation.  Public scrutiny of a
particular interpretation of information creates a type of
"shock effect", which many times will force individuals to
recognize the limited view they have of the world, and realize
that the assumptions they are making about the world in fact
have limited validity.  When interpreters are held publicly
accountable for their interpretations, they must be more
sensitive to the intended meaning of the information
expressed by subjects.

The strategy for facilitating this mutual clarification
of concepts is relatively simple.  In the key informant
methodology, for example, key subjects may be interviewed by
three different interviewers at <u>three different times,</u> as
opposed to the same time as is suggested by Rothe (1978).
These three interviewers ask the key informant similar
questions.  Once these three private interviews are
completed, all the interviewers and the subject should meet
together, in order to engage in what might be called a final de-
briefing session.  At this session, each interviewer will act
on his or her interpretations of the information that was
obtained from each private interview, i.e., each interviewer
begins to draw conclusions.  It is that this time that the key
informant can correct the interviewer's interpretations of the
originally presented information as needed.  This type of
public scrutiny many times reveals significantly different
interpretations of similar information.  It must be remembered
that interviewers only tend to ask questions about answers
which <u>seem</u> unclear, and not about every response.  Because of
this, individual errors in interpretation may go unnoticed
until conflicts in interpretation arise.  If the reader is
interested in investigating further the various other
strategies that can be used to get individuals to seriously
reflect on the assumptions they make about the nature of the
world, the work of Garfinkel (1967) should be consulted.  The
point that should be emphasized at this juncture is as follows:
the private interviews conducted by each interviewer, even
though similar questions are asked, may produce totally
different interpretations of the information the key informant
presents.  It is from these differences in interpretation that
may emerge at a public meeting that the limits of a possible
interpretation can be made known, and the assumptions of that
interpretation can be explored.

## Conclusion

In this paper the attempt has been made to present the reader with a view to what the qualitatively-oriented researcher means by the phrase "responsible methodology", the hallmark of a qualitatively-grounded research endeavor. Following this, the idea of responsible methodology is applied to a variety of evaluation techniques. The attempt is made to illustrate how these procedures are usually used in a manner that is methodologically irresponsible, and how they can be supplemented by the principles held by the qualitative methodologist in order to render them more responsible. When these traditional quantitative methodologies are used responsibly, they pose no real threat to the collection of valid data. Yet as a qualitatively-oriented researcher asserts, a methodologically irresponsible application of quantitative techniques may result in the generation of data that have little utility for community planning.

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# VARIABLES INFLUENCING PUBLICATION IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL WORK[1]

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## ABSTRACT

The manuscript presents a descriptive summary of variables influencing professional publication in four major journals: Social Work, Social Service Review, Social Casework, and Clinical Social Work Journal. Data were drawn from a random sampling of the years 1960 to 1976. The following descriptive variables were analyzed: degree, sex, occupation, organizational affiliation, and geographic location of author; topic of article; and single VS multiple authorship. Implications the data have for the production of knowledge in social work and future research questions are briefly educidated.

## Introduction

Publication of manuscripts should be an important facet of one's professional involvement in that the advancement of any profession depends upon members' abilities to systematize knowledge and provide rationale for the provision of services. Kuhn (1962 and 1970) in classic works on the study of the sociology of science indicates that the production and systematization of knowledge is like a political process; that is, the debate that occurs about knowledge is similar to the passage of legislation which is affected by who supports it and the power they hold, how it is introduced and other competing legislation and issues.

Lindsey (1976, 1977, and 1978) studied the composition of editorial boards in the social science disciplines and the professions including social work in an effort to relate board composition to production of knowledge in the field. His data emphasize factors that influence what articles are accepted for publication such as methodological preferences, i.e., the use of different measuring techniques and designs; employment setting - university, public or private agency; and so forth. Moreover, the data suggest that reviewers' scholarly productivity varies greatly among the social science disciplines. Editors of social work journals publish less than editors of psychology and sociology journals and this suggests a different selection process for knowledge that will be formalized. Research studies such as these provide insight into the factors operative in the selection of knowledge to be formalized and systematized for the profession. Both Lindsey and Kuhn provide preliminary support to the assumption that power and status of professionals are important variables in the acceptance rate of publications and therefore those who possess power and status in the field greatly influence the production and systemization of knowledge (Ben-David & Sullivan, 1975).

To date there have been no major studies executed to determine what factors influence professional publication in the field of social work, even through there exist many assumptions and stereotypes in this regard. We lack an initial descriptive study of characteristics of those who publish in the field and who thus ultimately influence the development of the knowledge base. A descriptive study would provide the basis for more extensive research to isolate the effects of such variables as author's power and status on publication productivity and to determine how these variables influence the production of knowledge. This study examines the descriptive variables of degree, sex, occupation, organizational affiliation, geographic location and faculty rank of author; topic of article; and single versus multiple authorship in relation to rate of publication in four major journals. The manuscript concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings and suggestions for future research.

## Methodology

Four journals were selected for analysis, **Social Work**, **Social Service Review**, **Social Casework**, and **Clinical Social Work Journal**. The first three have been the major vehicles for social work publication in the past, and the last journal

was included for its emphasis on clinical articles. From the pool of years, 1960-1976, a random sample of years was drawn. Years selected were 1960, 1968, 1975 and 1976. The sample consisted of all the articles of the above journals for those years. This procedure yielded a 29% sampling of all possible items. The time span chosen was believed to be large enough to reflect current trends. Since "Clinical Social Work" has only been in circulation for the years 1973-1976, it was sampled in toto. Data from each article were recorded as follows:

1. Journal name

2. Year: 1960, 1968, 1975, 1976 (1973 through 1976 sampled for "Clinical Social Work Journal")

3. Degree of Author: Ph.D., D.S.W, M.S.W., M.S.S.W., M.A., M.S., J.D., L.L.B., Ed.D, Unknown, Other

4. Sex: Male, Female, Unknown

5. Occupation: Educator, Administrator, Practitioner, Researcher, Student, Other, Unknown

6. Organizational Affiliation: University, Private Agency, Public Agency, Private Practice, Research Institute, Unknown

7. Geographic Location: Northeast, Southeast, Northwest, Southwest, Midwest, California, Other, Unkown

8. Faculty/Rank: Lecturer, Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, Professor, Dean, Researcher, Student, Unknown, Not Applicable

9. Topic of Article: Casework, Groupwork, Community Organization, Research, Social Policy, Social Work Education, Other, Unknown

10. Number of Authors: 1, 2, 3, 4

The data were coded and subjected to computer analysis. The reliability for the classification system was established by subjecting a 10% random sample of articles to another person's classification. The reliability scores were above .98 on the classification of items. When disagreement occurred regarding classification, the data were not included in the analysis unless the disagreement could be resolved.

## RESULTS

Descriptive Analysis

In order to permit meaningful interpretation of the data, percentage publication rates were compared where appropriate with the manpower statistics provided by the

NASW Manpower Data Bank (1975) and the Council on Social Work Education publication entitled "Statistics on Social Work Education in the United States: 1977." Percentage publication figures therefore are viewed in reference to percentage of individuals, schools, and so forth, that fall into the various categories. Percentage difference scores then provide a means for comparing the differences in publication rates among the categories.

Review of the data in Table 1 provide several interesting comparisons regarding geographic region. Geographically the Northeast is the leading producer of publications in social work with 39.78%; the Midwestern states follow with 30.50%; and California produced 12.42%. Other geographic regions, including the Southeast (6.76%), Northwest (3.62%), Southwest (2.67%), and other, i.e., foreign countries and territories (2.20%), provided a lesser contribution.

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To be meaningful, percentage data on publication rates must be compared with the percentage of schools of social work located in a given geographic area. Percentage difference scores depicted in Table 1 were derived by subtracting the percentage of publication from the percentage of schools in the same area. Two contrasts are particularly obvious. The Northeast produced 13% more publications as compared to the percentage of schools and the Southeast produced approximately 17% less. Perhaps the initiation of new schools of social work in the South has directed attention from the publishing process to organizational and curriculum requisites. Or, the larger difference in publication rates between the Northeast and Southeast could be due to the historical emphasis on publication that has characterized the Northeast. Another factor might explain the discrepancy. Articles initiated from the Northeast could have a higher acceptance rate due to the status these universities historically have and/or that a substantial number of reviewers come from these universities (Lindsey, 1978). Differences among other geographic regions are not as dramatic. Since the number of schools located in the Northwest and Southwest is small, the data should be reviewed carefully.

Data in Table 2 indicate that by gender, 40.25% of the publications in the social work journals were published by women as compared to 58.96% published by men. The

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discrepancies between publication rates of men and women as compared to membership in the two professional associations during the time of the study suggest that men publish more than women.

Data on the type of degree were difficult to compile since of those journals

sampled only 55.98% reported the degree of the author. From the available data pre-
sented in Table 3, it may be surmised that professionals with the M.S.W., M.S.S.W.,
M.A., M.S., Ph.D., and D.S.W. degrees publish at a similar rate. However, there are
wide discrepancies when viewed in light of percentage composition of the Council and

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of NASW. The percentage discrepancies in publications of those with masters and with
doctorates differ in magnitude in the membership categories. However, both discrep-
ancies for the doctorate are positive whereas both for the masters are negative. These
data suggest a possible relationship between the doctorate and publication in social
work. It is feasible that the doctoral degree program, as contrasted with the mas-
ter's program, socializes students to the value of adding knowledge to the profession
through the publishing process. Whereas the main focus of the master's degree program
centers on understanding the behavioral science knowledge developed from research and
the application of practice principles from such an understanding (Hudson, 1978;
Weinbach and Rubin, 1980; Wodarski, 1981). However, we must again caution the reader
against drawing any firm conclusions since in 44.02% of the articles studied no in-
formation was provided on degree of the author.

Data in Table 4 on the type of position held by the author indicate this to be

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a major factor contributing to publication rate. Educators produced 45.98% of all
publications in the reviewed social work literature. Administrators produced 22.68%,
or approximately one-half the number of publications as did educators. Practitioners
in agencies produced 17.64%, students produced 3.15% of the publications, and re-
searchers 4.09%. The reported low figure for researchers might possibly be due to
their classifying themselves as educators.

The comparison data provided by the NASW Manpower Data Bank reveal similarities
in percentage of administrators comprising the profession and percentage of publi-
cations they produce. The largest discrepancy occurred in the proportion of educa-
tors to their contribution to the publishing process. Educators comprise 9.2% of
the membership; however, they provided 45.98% of the articles produced, a discrepan-
cy of +36.78%. In sharp contrast, practitioners comprise 63.7% of the membership
yet provided only 17.64% of the articles, a discrepancy of -46.06%. One prerequisite
to publishing is keeping abreast of the literature, a characteristic that does not
appear to be common among practitioners. Kirk, Osmalov, & Fischer (1976) and Weed
& Greenwald (1973) have indicated that only a small number of practitioners read
journals. One might conclude that this factor might be operative in the low publi-
cation productivity of this group. Moreover, there is an incentive structure pre-
sent for publication among educators where there is little or none for practitioners.

Analyses according to the type of institution (Table 5) reveal that 54.25% of the publications came from universities whereas private agencies produced 25.94%.

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Public agencies produced 16.82% and individuals in private practice, 1.41%. Again the discrepancy between publication rate and percentage of NASW membership is substantial. Most significantly, the percentage difference for universities is +45.05% and for public agencies -29.18%. A less substantial discrepancy occurred between percentage of individuals in private agencies (-10.56%) and practitioners involved in private practice (-2.39%). These data illustrate an interesting dilemma for the profession. The bulk of its knowledge is produced by individuals in universities who for the main part are not involved in practice. Thus it is possible that knowledge producers may not be experiencing the relevant practice situations necessary to produce the requisite information for the profession.

Examination of the data in the category, faculty rank of those in educational institutions, shown in Table 6, reveals that 24.18% of the publications came from

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assistant professors, associate professors accounted for 21.82%, professors 20.94%, and deans 3.24%. The greatest negative discrepancies occurred at the lecturer and assistant professor ranks. At the associate and professorial ranks the discrepancies increased in a positive direction, +2.00 and +8.47% respectively. The discrepancy for deans is small and in a positive direction.

Data in Table 7 show the majority (49.43%) of the articles published in the journals studied center on topics relevant to casework. 18.78% are relevant to social

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policy, 3.2% to community organization, 8.8% to administration, 4.8% to social work education, 3.53% to group work, 1.9% to research, and 9.5% cannot be classified according to these categories.

It is interesting again to compare the proportion of publications related to casework with the percentage of practitioners who identify themselves as caseworkers. The percentage discrepancy here is +17.7%. The next largest discrepancy, -12.20%, occurred in administration with only 8.8% of the literature being devoted to this category but with 21% of the practitioners identifying this as their major area of practice.

Other discrepancies shown might be expected to occur within normal variations. No category existed that provided a comparison level for social policy. It is possible that the high percentage of articles devoted to casework could be explained by the fact that the majority of leaders in the field were trained as caseworkers. They now have assumed leadership positions on editorial boards and thus influence the types of articles published.

As is the case with other social science disciplines, social work articles are predominantly of single-authorship. 54.63% of all articles were single-authored, 29.83% were reported by two authors, 11.77% by three authors, and 3.77% by four authors. No article reviewed within the time frame of the study had more than four authors.

## Summary of Association Between Selected Variables

In order to isolate the effects of the combination of different variables, a variety of 2 x 2 tables were constructed and subjected to Chi-square analysis. The following combinations were analyzed: time, i.e., years sampled in the study, and sex, time and type of institution, and time and multiple authorship. The combinations were based on the rationale that time and sex would reflect changes.

Position and sex of the author combined to produce interesting findings. Educators and administrators who publish are mostly male. Practitioners who publish are mostly female. Males and females account equally for the researchers who publish. Another significant combination was the position on the faculty and sex. Males at the lecturer and assistant professor level published more than females, whereas female associate professors published more than male associate professors. Professors and deans are about the same in terms of publication output according to gender.

## Discussion

A number of major implications are evident from results of this descriptive study. The predominance of single-author articles in the social work literature corresponds with the incidence observed in such related disciplines as psychology and sociology. This incidence does not correspond, however, with developments in the hard sciences such as physics and mathematics where the majority of articles are multiply-authored. Multiply-authored articles offer a means of more adequately testing ideas in terms of validity of conceptualizations and the empirical methods employed to test the various hypotheses. It will be interesting to see if as social work develops as a science, the number of multiply-authored articles will increase correspondingly (Kuhn, 1962 and 1970).

That more men than women publish might be expected to change in the future. The discrepancy in publication productivity between the sexes may be due to males having been involved longer in professional positions that require publication as a means of advancement. Even though social work historically has been a field staffed largely by women, they have not dominated faculty and university administrative posi-

tions. Now, however, more women are obtaining faculty and administrative positions. Since promotional requisites of faculty positions include more publication, it might be expected that as job trends become more homogeneous, publication rates would equalize. However, our preliminary data and data recently provided by Kirk and Rosenblatt (1980) are not validating such an assumption.

Data in Table 3 clearly indicate a relationship between possession of the doctorate and publication in social work. The data are quite striking in terms of the percentage discrepancies for both NASW and Council membership. At the master's level there is a negative relationship between percent of membership and percent of publications, whereas at the doctoral level the discrepancy is in a positive direction. Thus it can be concluded that knowledge development in the field is enhanced by persons holding doctoral degrees. Moreover however, the doctorate serves to socialize one more into the pursuit of publications (Orcutt & Mills, 1979).

Table 4 indicates that as the professional gets away from a university environment where there is an administrative demand to produce publications and a peer structure to support publishing, there is a concomitant reduction in publications. Practitioners in public or private practice produce substantially fewer publications than individuals located in universities. These data emphasize the schism that exists between producers of knowledge and the individuals who apply it (Bernstein & Freeman, 1975; McNaul, 1972). Such a division cannot enhance the exchange of ideas between practitioners and educators that is necessary for production of knowledge relevant to practice needs. Data in Table 1 suggest also that certain university environments may be more committed to the publishing process. Future research should isolate the variables that can facilitate the exchange of ideas between practitioners, such as prior educational experience, incentive structures for publishing, and ideas and norms regarding the publishing process (Kirk, Osmalov, & Fischer, 1976; Reid, 1978; Rosenblatt, 1968; Weed and Greenwald, 1973; Kolevzon, 1977; Wodarski & Feldman, 1973; Wodarski, 1981).

The data on faculty rank raises some interesting questions (Table 6). Negative discrepancies occurred in the percentage of publications and Council membership at the lecturer and assistant professor ranks. The discrepancy is smaller and in a positive direction at the associate level and increases substantially in a positive direction for professors. Professors make up 12% of the Council membership but account for 21% of the publications. Two explanations might be posited. One, rank leads to publication, or two, publication leads to rank. In light of the emphasis on publication as a prerequisite to promotion at most major universities, it is more logical to assume that the latter explanation is more valid. The data on faculty rank suggest that organizational goals for promotion operate to add to the profession's knowledge base.

Interestingly, the percentage difference for deans is not as great as might be expected. One of the assumptions in regard to administrative positions is that time is rarely available to publish, therefore deans would be expected to publish less. However, in a study by Otis and Caragonne (1979) it is suggested that a substantial

number of deans are committed to their own research and writing. Deans surveyed in that study indicated they wanted more time to continue their research and for subsequent publication of their findings. The more difficult question to ascertain would be, do deans provide an atmosphere that facilitates publication by the faculty.

The data on the percentage of publications related to casework and the percentage of individuals who make up this segment of the NASW membership support an assumption that the major portion of literature in the social work journals still emphasizes the traditional approach in social work, that is the one-to-one approach (Glenn and Kunnes, 1973; and Ryan, 1971). The emphasis, however, on solving social problems through this approach is currently undergoing dramatic changes (see Social Work, January, 1981, which is the second issue devoted to synthesis of old and new approaches to social work practice).

This study describes the relationship between knowledge production and various author and situational variables. It builds on Lindsey's 1976, 1977, 1978 findings that elaborate the factors operating to influence the composition of editorial boards and thus the knowledge development in the social sciences disciplines and professions such as social work. As social work emerges as a science akin to such other social sciences as psychology and sociology, it will become necessary to study in much greater depth the variables that affect the accumulation and production of knowledge.

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Table 1

Percentage of publications, percentage of schools and
percentage differences according to areas of country

| Area | % Publications | % Schools | % Difference |
|------|------|------|------|
| Northeast | 39.78 | 26.50 | +13.28 |
| Midwest | 30.50 | 26.50 | + 4.00 |
| California | 12.42 | 9.63 | + 2.79 |
| Southeast | 6.76 | 24.09 | -17.33 |
| Northwest | 3.62 | 6.02 | - 2.40 |
| Southwest | 2.67 | 7.23 | - 4.56 |
| Other | 2.20 | ----- | ----- |

Table 2

Percentage of publications by sex
according to percentage of N.A.S.W. and C.S.W.E. membership

| Sex | % Publications | % Membership N.A.S.W. | % Difference | % Membership C.S.W.E. | % Difference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 58.96 | 37% | +21.96 | 50% | +8.96 |
| Female | 40.25 | 63% | -22.75 | 50% | -9.75 |

Table 3

Percentage of publications by type of degree

according to percentage of NASW and CSWE membership

| Type of Degree | % Publications | % Membership N.A.S.W. | % Difference | % Membership C.S.W.E. | % Difference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Master's | 44.10 | 82.2 | -38.1 | 61.47 | -17.37 |
| Doctorate | 42.97 | 3.3 | +39.67 | 33.42 | + 9.55 |

Note: The only other substantial contribution to publications by degree were M.D.'s at 8.98%. Other degree holders yielded the following percentages: the Ed.D., 2%, the J.D. and L.L.B., 1% and others, .5%.

Table 4

Percentage of publications by type of position
compared to percentage of membership in N.A.S.W.

| Type of Position | % Publications | % Membership N.A.S.W. | % Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Educators | 45.98 | 9.2 | +36.78 |
| Administrators | 22.68 | 21.00 | + 1.68 |
| Practitioners | 17.64 | 63.7 | -46.06 |
| Students | 3.15 | .6 | + 2.55 |
| Researchers | 4.09 | .9 | + 3.19 |

Table 5

Percentage of publications by type of organization as
compared to percentage of N.A.S.W. membership

| Organization | % Publications | % Membership N.A.S.W. | % Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Universities | 54.25 | 9.2 | +45.05 |
| Private Agencies | 25.94 | 36.5 | -10.56 |
| Public Agencies | 16.82 | 46.0 | -29.18 |
| Private Practice | 1.41 | 3.8 | - 2.39 |

## Table 6

Percentage of publications according to rank on faculty
as compared to percentage of C.S.W.E. membership

| Rank | % Publications | % Membership C.S.W.E. | % Difference |
|------|------|------|------|
| Lecturer | 6.19 | 14.84 | -8.65 |
| Assistant Professor | 24.18 | 29.19 | -5.01 |
| Associate Professor | 21.82 | 19.82 | +2.00 |
| Professor | 20.94 | 12.47 | +8.47 |
| Dean | 3.24 | 2.2 | +1.04 |
| Researcher | 6.78 | 1.86 | +4.92 |
| Unknown | 16.81 | ----- | ---- |

Note: Instructors composed 9.17% of the Council membership and the
classification of others yielded 14.28%. Not reported yielded
.0019.

Table 7

Percentage of publications according to topic, percentage of N.A.S.W.
membership in respective categories and percentage differences

| Topic | % Publications | % Membership N.A.S.W. | % Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| Casework | 49.43 | 31.7 | +17.73 |
| Community Organization | 3.2 | 3.3 | - .1 |
| Administration | 8.8 | 21.0 | -12.20 |
| Social Work Education | 4.8 | 6.3 | - 1.5 |
| Group Work | 3.53 | 2.4 | + 1.13 |
| Research | 1.9 | .9 | + 1.0 |
| Social Policy | 18.78 | ---- | ---- |
| Not Classified | 9.5 | ---- | ---- |

Note: No corresponding category could be derived from the N.A.S.W.
membership.

THE NEW CLASS WAR: REAGAN'S ATTACK ON THE WELFARE STATE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES,
by FRANCES FOX PIVEN and RICHARD A. CLOWARD. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.
160 pp. $11.50 cloth, $4.95 paper.

SAMUEL R. FRIEDMAN

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Piven and Cloward are well-known to readers of this journal as critics of
the welfare system and as advocates of mass insurgency as a pressure tactic
(rather than as the prelude to a revolutionary transformation from below or to
the continuing organization of the poor). Now they turn their attention to
current politics.

They trace the history of welfare and labor policies, arguing that when
the traditional community was destroyed the propertyless were forced to seek
work as wage-labor. The American state was institutionalized as a business-
dominated state through the Constitution and through such usages as vote fraud
and repression. By putting economic concerns outside of politics, the ideolo-
gy of laissez faire provided a reasonably stable defense for elite domination
of a society in which most voters are decidedly non-elite. This left a local
politics of individualism, ethnicity, and neighborhood in which democracy had
some reality but in which it would not challenge the real power of the busi-
ness class.

The Depression of the 1930s caused economic problems to be seen as
political, and mass action by the unemployed and by labor partially democra-
tized the use of political power for economic benefit. During and after
World War II, government-business ties increased and the political aspect of
the economy became more visible. In the 1960s, Black insurgency led to great
expansion of social welfare programs and created state agencies linked to
democratic publics (parallel to the older linkage of state and business).

In the 1970s, economic difficulties beset American capitalism. Piven and Cloward see this as based in the emergence of strong international competition, rising energy costs, and shrinking Third World opportunities. This seems to me to be inadequate as an explanation of what is a world economic crisis since it leaves only rising energy costs as the cause of the crisis and, indeed, the crisis antedated their rise. I would point to the evidence for a declining rate of profit as a much more basic cause (see Kidron, 1970; Hill, 1979).

Piven and Cloward argue that the crisis led corporations to seek lower tax rates and labor costs. The attacks on labor and on welfare programs that were part of Carter's program, but more visibly the core of Reagan's, aim to drive down the cost of labor by forcing desperate former welfare clients to compete and struggle for jobs and thus to lower wages and working conditions for all workers.

The authors argue that this attack can be defeated. The expansion of the welfare state created a mass of program personnel and a mass of clients. This opens the possibility for a truly broad and deep protest movement. Furthermore, this movement shares an anti-corporate-domination approach with environmentalists; religious, student, civil rights, and civil liberties groups; women; the aged; and labor. The combined power of these groups for disruption and thereafter for voting into office a new politics that will "limit capital's right to invest as it chooses" (p. 149) makes Piven and Cloward optimistic about the outcome.

I have several reservations about their analysis. First, since they view the crisis as a product of corporate competition and high profits, they underestimate the difficulties facing the coalition they call for. As I see it, the crisis is so built into the structure of capitalism (and its Eastern analogues: witness the crisis in Eastern Europe) that the corporate leadership of this country have no choice but to fight for a politics of austerity (whether Reaganomics or Rohatyn's industrial policy). To solve the crisis requires that the poor and, more generally, the entire broadly-defined working class take control of the society and build a new system based on democratic cooperation and initiative rather than elite authoritarian competition. We might learn lessons about how to do this from Polish Solidarity.

My second reservation concerns their analysis (p. 125) that "...the state has finally become the main arena of class conflict. Working people who once looked to the marketplace as the arena for action on their economic grievances and aspirations now look more often to the state." As one who has done much research on the sociology of work and labor (Friedman, 1982), I question this. Although it is true, as they claim, that economic issues now dominate American politics, this reality coexists with a continuing depoliticization of the working class. Thus, massive numbers of workers don't vote-- and many of these are extremely alienated from and cynical about all politics, whether centrist, right, or left. Furthermore, most worker activists see

politics as alien to their shop floor, collective bargaining, or union reform struggles; and, indeed, labor bureaucrats often raise "politics," such as U.S. content laws or budget coalitions, to channel discontent away from shop floor and union reform struggles. That is, they set up political apparatuses run from the top as supposed solutions to problems in an attempt to keep workers from mobilizing around their immediate problems at work. Even more telling, the lack of political interest among workers has led many socialists who work in industry to downplay their politics and to treat unionism as unrelated to politics.

In conclusion, my reservations do not detract from my enthusiastically recommending this book. It is a fine blending of serious scholarship and political commitment. Its political recommendations point in the right direction: towards mass activist resistance by welfare state workers and clients and by their potential political allies. Many of the places where the authors and I disagree, furthermore, seem to be based on the lack of relationships among the movements and their associated intellectuals. Labor activists and welfare activists need to work together more and to learn more about each other and about the insights available from the social position of the other movements.

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SOCIAL SERVICE POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN, by WILLARD C. RICHAN.  Philadelphia:  Temple University Press, 1981.  viii, 276 pp.  $22.50 cloth.

GARY P. FREEMAN

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This unpretentious yet ambitious comparison of Britain and the United States asks (1)  if social workers are able to influence policy decisions in areas of greatest concern to them and (2)  what factors are associated with the ability to influence policy.  Though it is well-researched and will

contribute to the political consciousness of the social work community to which it is addressed, the study produces few unexpected or compelling conclusions because of flaws in the research design and a number of conceptual ambiguities.

By focussing on the US and the UK, Richan adopts a most similar systems design. The logic of this procedure is that for relatively similar countries a range of variables are held constant and those differences that emerge with respect to the dependent and independent variables are all the more striking. As the author notes, both countries have tended to adopt a social services strategy to deal with social problems. Actual social service policies in the two countries have nonetheless differed considerably. Responding to different political challenges and opportunities, social worker political strategies in the two countries might be similar or divergent. If the former, then "one can expect to find a similar response in other nations with a comparable political economic structure" (p. 7). If the latter, one ought to be in a position to identify the factors that are related to divergent responses. This reader is unsure whether Richan believes the responses of social workers in the two countries were similar or divergent. Furthermore, though the author stresses governmental centralization as the key structural characteristic distinguishing his two cases, he does not draw systematic conclusions about its effect on social worker responses.

The bulk of the book is devoted to six case studies selected to provide a broad range of data. Two of the three British cases deal with the reorganization of the social services (the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 and the Local Authority Social Services Act of 1970); the other is a series of strikes by social workers in 1978-79. The American cases are the failed attempt to enact the Allied Services bill between 1972 and 1976, the efforts to cap social service spending spawned by the 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act, and the campaign for the licensure of social workers by the states during the seventies. Though the individual analyses are richly documented, the cases do not appear to have been selected either with an eye to their utility to test hypotheses or because of the presence or absence of key variables being explored.

The data allow the author to answer his first question with a weak "yes". Although there was considerable variation, in each instance social work professionals were able to influence policy, though not always decisively and occasionally with consequences not altogether to their liking. Because "influence" is never clearly defined or operationalized, statements about it are largely a matter of the author's subjective evaluation and this is complicated by the necessity of estimating how hard social workers tried to affect policy. The cases are as illuminating for showing how relatively complacent and inactive the social work profession is in the political arena (especially in the US) as they are in demonstrating their clout, as the author realizes.

The answer to question two is both more interesting and problematic. Referring to what he calls the mixed agenda of social work politics, the

author concludes that social workers are likely to be most united and active
with respect to issues which seem to involve both public and self-interest.
Moreover, lacking money, votes, and positions of formal authority, they "must
rely on the quality of their information and their ability to develop strategic
personal ties. In effect, they must borrow strength from others; the charac-
teristic way for them to do this is through coalitions with allied interests"
(p. 233). The mixed agenda reduces the effectiveness of social work control
over information and their efforts to build coalitions. The problem is that
they have neither a clear sense of the interests of their clients nor an
unabashed commitment to the advancement of their own professional interests.
Whether this is simply a growing pain of a profession in evolution or a perma-
nent feature of social work practice is not made clear.

The primary weakness of this study is the failure to delineate carefully
the object of analysis. The author moves too easily between an investigation
of the political activities of social workers, social work professionals and
administrators, social policy analysts and advisors, and professional associa-
tion lobbyists. His cases involve coalitional politics of the associations,
union activities of rank and file workers, and the decisionmaking activities
of social policy elites. Neither the cases selected, nor the interest-group
framework borrowed from political science, is adequate to deal with such
diverse phenomena.

MOTHERS AT WORK: PUBLIC POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES, SWEDEN AND CHINA, by
CAROLYN TEICH ADAMS and KATHRYN TEICH WINSTON. New York: Longman, 1980.
312 pp. $10.95 paper.

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Women have been entering the labor force in record numbers but there has
been little research conducted examining the social policies and programs that
affect women who work and their families. In Mothers at Work the authors
review the career limitations women face because of their dual roles as wage
earners and homemakers. The book details governmental policies, benefits,
and services in three countries which intend to improve women's participation
and status in the labor market.

The authors begin with an inventory of governmental policies in Sweden,
China, and the United States which includes family planning, maternal and child
health, maternity leave benefits, child care, housekeeping and welfare assis-
tance to single parents. The survey is comprehensive and well organized and
provides an excellent basis for comparative policy analysis as well as data
for cross national perspectives on the family. The conclusions drawn from

this analysis are clear - the United States both at the state and federal level does not support or encourage mothers who work. (The notable exception however is the welfare mother who is encouraged by social policy to work outside of the home while relying on the private market to provide such necessities as child care and housekeeping assistance.) The book's intention is to go beyond a simple survey which describes the presence or absence of policies and to explore what may account for the differences observed in the three nations studied.

The central chapters of the book attempt to weigh the influence of interest group politics on policy implementation. Other variables examined are the extent to which social policies for women are merely a part of more general economic and social goals of a government and how differing views of the family and the state's role in the family influence working women's policy development and implementation. These "input variables" frame the comparative analysis among the three nations.

In the discussion of interest group politics and the role of feminist politics in promoting beneficial working mothers policies, the authors contrast "social feminism" with equal rights advocates. They contend that social feminism as found in China and Sweden can be identified by its emphasis on improved living conditions for women (primarily economic issues) even if the policies advocated will treat women "unequally" by providing special forms of support and services for women only. The feminist movement in the United States, however, has focused heavily on equal treatment for women as a gender right and has not coordinated strategies with other coalitions fighting for better economic conditions. While the argument is an interesting one, the authors do not develop it and later suggest that policy outcomes are not dependent on women's political activity or mass organizing. Rather they conclude that in the case of women's issues, the policies which support working mothers were merely a piece of other policy goals such as the full employment policy in China and the pro-natalist/pro-employment policies in Sweden after the Second World War. They see no evidence to suggest that policies designed to assist working mothers in the labor force evidence an attempt at social change or move toward a more egalitarian society. It is somewhat surprising that Adams and Winston, who at the outset define themselves as feminists, never challenge the notion of the "dual role" for women. They seem content searching for policies that support women in "their" housekeeping and child care duties. The authors believe that the only way to achieve equality of opportunity for women in the labor force is to "lower the costs of participation imposed on women by finding ways to reduce the burden of the women's dual role." The discussion to consider the restructuring of family roles and construct a division of labor based on factors other than gender is quickly discounted as impractical. This bias, plus the underestimation of the women's movement successes in the United States, weakens an otherwise very good book.

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