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David Wagner
Columbia University

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COLLECTIVE MOBILITY AND FRAGMENTATION: A MODEL OF

SOCIAL WORK HISTORY

BY

DAVID WAGNER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

ABSTRACT

The author utilizes recent sociological approaches to professionalism in order to develop a dynamic conceptual model of the history of Social Work. Professionalization is understood as a social movement or "collective mobility project" of the lower middle class which has been the dominant force in Social Work for a century. This social movement seeks control and expansion of professional markets for services and recognition and sanction from elites. In each period of

history, however, Social Work professionalizers have had to struggle against popular unrest and elite criticism aimed at the field. Challenges to Social Work professionalizers and their basic paradigms emerge historically in different counter-segments within the profession which threaten the dominant segment (eg. the Settlement House Movement, the Rank and File Movement in Social Work in the 1930's and the Community Organization/Advocacy segment in the 1960's).

Analyzing the Progressive Period, the Depression years, and the 1960s-1970s, the author shows how in each period the casework professionalizers were challenged by counter-segments in the profession which reflected both client unrest and elite criticism. In each period, the profession moved to absorb the critiques and, on the surface, to embrace them. In turn, reformers themselves have generally abandoned their attacks on the profession and have become absorbed in the collective mobility project. However, the unity achieved is a "spurious" one. First because in each period professionalized casework actually triumphed over Reform segments, rather than merged with. Second, each period of history creates new fragmentations in the field in terms of employment, methodology, ideology, manner of organization and social class and status positions for its members. While the structural and ideological splits within the field are frequently bemoaned by many professional leaders, the author suggests fragmentation may not only be inevitable, but may be functional for the profession as a whole.

Two debates have dominated virtually all literature on the history of the Social Work profession: whether the approach was from within the Social Work field, within the Sociology of the Professions literature or from Social Welfare historians. On the one hand, at least since Abraham Flexner's famous speech to the National Conference on Charities and Corrections in 1915 denying that Social Work was a full profession, a debate has raged on how to characterize Social Work. Was it a full profession,

a "semi-profession," an "emerging" profession or simply consumed with an ideology of professionalism?¹ Secondly, historians and intellectuals within the field have long debated the troublesome dichotomies within the Social Work profession, sometimes referred to as the "Cause" versus "Function" debate, sometimes as a debate between "retail" and "wholesale" methods of practice, and sometimes as a question of "reform" versus "technique." As the field has split along lines of methodology, fields of practice, knowledge bases, and social class and status lines, almost all observers have viewed these splits as dysfunctional. Professional leaders and sociologists have viewed fragmentation as retarding true professionalism in Social Work, as a basic consensus is assumed to be a criteria for successful professionalization. Even those who opposed professionalization ideologically have asserted the field² required a consensus, albeit a very different one.

The following article attempts to develop a conceptual model of Social Work professionalization from a historical sociological approach. Professionalization will be understood, as described by Magali Larson, as a social movement or as a "collective mobility project" by lower echelons of the middle class. This project is an organizing strategy aimed at achieving upward social and economic mobility and an expansion of a market for professional services. From this perspective, Social Work professionalization will be viewed as a successful strategy throughout the century. Rather than viewing competing segments within the field as problematic, the author suggests that conflicts within the field actually advance the professional project (sometimes very much in spite of the intent of reformers and radicals.) The author drawing on sociological and labor market segmentation theory, suggests that fragmentation is a natural state of the professions. Further, fragmentation serves a key role in the struggle to expand the market for services and to retain the legitimacy of a profession both with clients and with elites which must support a profession. It is suggested that Social Work has advanced as a profession through resolution of a number of crises in which of official unity of the profession

increased along with broad, absorptive paradigmatic statements, while at the same time social structural fragmentation and ideological disunity among the ranks of Social Work increased at the same time.

PROFESSIONALIZATION AS A COLLECTIVE MOBILITY PROJECT

For many decades, sociological theory on the professions described a profession as an "ideal type" of occupation which met a series of attributes usually based on the profession of medicine; this approach, labelled the "sociologists' decoy" by one critic,³ led to and continually reinforced Social Work's comparison to the so-called "true professions" to attempt to measure how far Social Work had come in meeting the standards of professionalization.⁴ In recent years the meaning of professionalization has been greatly re-defined. Not only has it been accepted that degrees of professionalization exist along a continuum⁵ but the discussion of professionalization has begun to emphasize social and political power as a variable in achieving the structural positions of authority and as a variable in the organizing of occupations in such a manner as to assert collective power.

Magali Larson's book, The Rise of Professionalism, has synthesized a new historical sociological approach which views professionalization as a strategy. Larson locates the origin of this strategy in the lower status and class ranks of the emerging professions in the 19th century. Thwarted by the dominance of entrenched corporate privileges of elite professionals who controlled their fields because of the patronage of wealthy clients, a professional strategy was embraced by self-conscious vanguards of lower echelon members of the medical and legal occupations. Professionalization developed in the 19th century as a reform movement; it challenged a wealthy elite who held a stranglehold on positions of power based, not on skill or training, but on their class and status positions.

For Larson, professional movements are "collectivities" of people who organize around certain core paradigms and who drive to control markets in order to assert their collective status. Self-conscious professional leadership must present a solid unified front, not only for public relations purposes, but to wrest from the State the monopoly power it seeks. In reality, professions are hardly homogenous, but are highly stratified along a variety of lines. Yet all factions and levels of the professional groups come to realize that successful organizational efforts, resulting in monopoly and increased markets, benefits all practitioners. While on the one hand, unity is a "fiction" in the sense of any common method or ideology or even status position in society, professionals do share in the "collective credit" from the gains made by the profession as a whole.

Using Larson's analysis, the author will trace historically the origins of Social Work professionalism to a leadership dominated by lower middle class organizers who had to fight a battle against elite domination of the Charity Organizations and other early philanthropic organizations. The struggle to assert the need for trained professional staff entailed securing a core of unified practitioners (a vanguard group) united around a core paradigm (social casework) to challenge the elite conception of voluntary "friendly visiting" by the rich. As they organized, the professionalizers had to convince elites that the expertise of professional social work was necessary. While battling with elites, however, professionalizers also had to gain legitimacy among potential client groups which, as we shall see, were often hostile to organized Social Work. It is suggested that in order to gain such legitimacy, the profession during periods of social unrest, had to absorb ideas of social reform and social action. The need for legitimacy led to major paradigmatic changes in Social Work on an official level, but the more radical germs of theory and Social Work practice were quickly discarded once the period of unrest is over in order to preserve elite recognition of the profession and retain its expanded market.

PROFESSIONAL SEGMENTS: A SPURIOUS UNITY

Early work by sociologists of the professions asserted that professions, in contrast to non-professional occupations, constituted homogenous sub-cultures organized around consistent socialization to values, common symbols and language, and strong respect for the boundaries and social control set by professional standards.⁸ In a 1961 article, Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss⁹ became the first of many critics to revise this view. In examining the most prestigious professions, such as medicine, Bucher and Strauss denied any evidence that professions could be considered as unified communities. Rather they asserted that professionals in every field perform tremendously variant tasks, in very different work settings, with markedly different strategies of organization, and without any agreement on a dominant paradigm or "core" professional activity.

Bucher and Strauss conceptualized a profession as a group of "segments" organized around specialities which often conflict with one another in their sense of mission, work activities, methods and techniques, types of clientele, colleague relationships, interests and associations, and in their forms of unity and public relations.¹⁰ Professions are loose amalgamations of segments pursuing objectives in different manners and more or less held together under a common name in a particular period of history" note Bucher and Strauss.¹¹ While professions present a "spurious unity" to the public through vehicles such as Codes of Ethics, licensing requirements and professional associations, these forms obscure the fact that there are different antagonistic segments in opposition at all times within a profession.

There has been at least one study of Social Work which concluded that no coherent professional community existed,¹² and one attempt to directly use Bucher and Strauss' model in relation to Social Work.¹³ However, there have been no attempts to tie the segments of

Social Work to the historical development of the field. Moreover, there have been few attempts to look at the structural fragmentation within the field of Social Work as also evolving historically through segment struggles. It is suggested that Social Work must be viewed not only as ideologically split (clinical casework versus ecosystems approaches, casework versus groups versus community organization versus social administration versus social policy, field of practice conflicts,) but as existing in a segmented labor market. Social Work is split between public and private sector employment; between private practice and agency work; between unionized fragments and non-unionized ones; between administration, supervisory, and "line" positions, to name but a few cleavage lines.¹⁴

It will be argued that the very success of the professional mobility project, particularly in gaining new markets, creates new structural positions and ideological segments which therefore fragment the profession.

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF SOCIAL WORK HISTORY

Rather than fully chronicle the century old history of Social Work, the author will analyze and interpret key developments in Social Work which occurred at crisis points in American history. The two charts below identify (1) the vanguard groups leading Social Work's collective mobility project (2) the barriers or obstacles to success which emanate from elite and popular (client) sources (3) the synthesis in each period which officially absorbs opposition and asserts a generic professional paradigm and (4) the results of the crises which paradoxically fragment the profession at the very times in which key intellectuals and professional leaders are asserting unity.

CHART I

A General Model of Professionalization

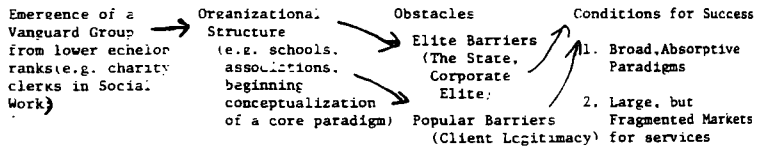


Chart II

Model as Applied to the History of Social Work

Period I - 1890-1917

Vanguard Group	Elite Barriers	Popular Barriers
Early Charity Clerks	Work with the poor as "noblesse oblige" opposition to paid labor by wealthy	widespread opposition among poor to 'charity snoopers'
<u>Paradigmatic Absorption</u>		<u>Structural/Ideological Fragmentation</u>
Settlement Movement and Academic reformers as bridge to new paradigm; Mary Richmond's "Social Diagnosis" broad model of "retail" and "wholesale" work with clients		Splits develop between fields of practice: splits by level of organization, professionalization; stratification by income/status develops; splits between psychiatric, reform, custodial, and other roles

Period II (1930s- 1950s)

Vanguard Group(s)	Elite Barriers	Popular Barriers
Professionalized Casework Leaders v. Public Welfare Vanguard	New Deal patricians response to social unrest; recognition of need for state intervention superordinate to psychiatric treatment	Mass unrest of the 1930s; mass strikes & unionization, battles for public aid, old age pensions, etc; revolt against voluntarism and charity
<u>Paradigmatic Absorption</u>		<u>Structural/Ideological Fragmentation</u>
Social Work accepts public role and adopts liberal programs; Social reform and action re-integrated: "person-in-situation" metaphor as absorptive paradigm		Major splits between public and private sector employees; deepening stratification by bureaucratic levels with growth of administrative & supervisory apparatus; growing splits by specialties: split between unionized & non-unionized sectors

Period III 1960s-1970s

Vanguard Group(s)	Elite Barriers	Popular Barriers
Professionalized Casework Leaders v. Community Organization Vanguard	LBJ's War on Poverty: elite pressure on Social Work to 'cool unrest'; role of foundations and liberal elite in opposing psychiatric casework	Mass unrest of clients (civil rights, ghetto riots, consumer movements); movements among students and young professionals v. dominance & mystique of professional ideology
<u>Paradigmatic Absorption</u>		<u>Structural/Ideological Fragmentation</u>
Community Organizing Group Work leaders as bridge to new advocacy paradigm; client primacy over agency is adopted; development of generic curricula and ecosystems models		Creation of Human Service fields BSW recognition further fragments field; dramatic increase in employment; stratification; widening splits between agency practice and new clinical roles including private practice

Among the points to be examined further in this historical treatment are:

(1) Like other professions, Social Work professionalization emerged as collective mobility project of a lower echelon group within a broad field (in this case, primarily in charity work). A group of self-conscious leaders sought organizational unity and has waged a successful, if torturous, struggle to assert its status in gaining legitimacy from the State and from elites. (2) While there have been many historical changes, the casework leaders have remained a dominant vanguard throughout Social Work history. But the casework vanguard received numerous challenges. The most significant segment battles occurred in the Progressive Era when emerging professionalizers were challenged by the Settlement House/Reform Movement; in the 1930's when professionalizers were challenged by both the radical Rank and File Movement and by elites which were linked to public welfare programs; and in the 1960's and early 1970's when Community Organization activists were linked to both elite and popular attacks on Social Work professionalism. (3) In each instance above, the counter-segments raised challenges to the professionalizers which could not be ignored. The challenges both reflected the protests at a popular level (working people, labor unions, poor people, minorities) which could potentially de-legitimize Social Work, and the needs of elites who were more concerned with social reform than professionalization because of the primacy of maintaining order. (4) Because of the power of these counter-segments, in each period, ideological and structural changes were made by professional leaders to absorb criticism and contain protest. Thus, the profession, at an official level, altered its dominant paradigms as a result of these challenges. The dissidents then greatly abandoned their attacks on professionalism and were often themselves absorbed in the professional project. (5) Each period developed a "spurious unity" in which the field could speak of space for a variety of methods and a "generic" practice base. In actuality, each period created new fragmentation along lines of employment, methodologies, ideologies, manner of organization, and

social stratification within the profession. Each period ultimately ended in an uneasy disunity in which professionalized casework was dominant. However, all segments made gains in status and authority by association.

ORIGINS OF CASEWORK AND PROFESSIONALIZATION

The origins of American Social Work were primarily in the Charity Organization Societies which mushroomed in the 1880's and 1890's. The COS's as well as other philanthropic enterprises of this period were based in native born Protestant upper class circles. As has been well chronicled, "Scientific Charity" originally favored the repression of pauperism by the regulation of charity by scientific principles as well as the socialization of the vast numbers of poor and immigrants who were crowding the urban areas. The ideology of "Scientific Charity" reflected the harshness of Social Darwinism and the Poor Law tradition as well as the benevolence of Christian revival and the noblesse oblige of service which had a long tradition. The early charity movement developed the "friendly visitor," a volunteer drawn from the ranks of "solid society" to visit the poor. The visitor was to serve as a role model for the poor against vice, intemperance and pauperism, and engage in a kind of relationship therapy. While initially the COS's adopted the slogan, "Not Alms, But a Friend" in their campaign against relief, quickly all charitable effort led to the dispensation of large amounts of relief. By the 1880's, the COS's were hiring paid agents whose purpose were to administer budgets, record case histories, dispense funds, and supervise volunteers. Staff were considered ancillary, however, to the real goal of visiting the poor, and were hired to conduct work considered repugnant to the rich visitors. The paid agents who were to be the originators of Social Work were clerks in the service of the elite philanthropic societies.

Most historians treat the "role reversal" that occurred between staff and volunteer in the early 20th Century as a historical inevitability. ¹⁵ While no doubt

the ideology of science and the Progressive Period's "search for order" had its impact, these views minimize two elements of the collective mobility project of professionalization: (1) the class conflict between the professionalizers and the more elite reformers and philanthropists and (2) the very hostile environment which existed for professional Social Work in which to assert its collective status, develop markets for services and develop a core paradigm.

Most texts in Social Work combine the historic roles of leading patrician social reformers such as Josephine Shaw Lowell, Robert Treat Paine, Louisa Lee Schuyler, Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, and Edith and Grace Abbott with the professional contributions of early social workers, such as Mary Richmond, Zilpha Smith, and others.¹⁶ The elite reformers were generally uninterested, if not hostile, to professionalism. As early as the 1890's, Robert Treat Paine and Edward Devine were attacking the idea of a paid agent taking over casework; they objected even more vehemently to social reform being professionalized. Reform and individual aide to the poor were charitable acts; neither payment, religious sectarianism nor political partisanship had a role to play. Josephine Shaw Lowell conceptualized friendly visitors as those who would act in the "noble tradition" of the Dodge and Roosevelt family. Jane Addams not only attacked charity as "obnoxious", but attacked the "negative pseudo-scientific spirit" of its practice, a direct attack on emerging professionalizers such as Mary Richmond.

In contrast to the biographies of the patrician segment,¹⁷ the professionalizers were of working class or lower middle class origins. Mary Richmond was the daughter of a blacksmith who worked her way through high school and was employed as a department store clerk. She was hired by Baltimore COS in 1889 as assistant treasurer, a job akin to a modern administrative assistant. Zilpha Smith, who played a prominent role in the emergence of early training schools and in organizing the first groups of social workers (the "Monday Club" formed in 1888), worked as a telegraph operator and then as a government clerk

before being hired by COS in Boston to supervise clerical staff. The key leaders in the development of hospital social work, Ida Cannon, and in psychiatric social work, Mary Jarrett, were middle class in origin and connected with rising professionalizers in contrast with the pastrician backgrounds of the Lowells, Abbotts, etc.

Conflict between the elite philanthropists' image of Social Work and realtiy of the nascent profession was evident early on. While the Charity leaders wanted solid citizens, they were unable to recruit them. Early paid social workers formed groups called the "Hungry Club" and the "S.O.S. Club." Salary figures cited in texts show early social workers trailed many other women's occupations, ¹⁸ further, social service organizations were usually bodies which combined volunteers and elite leaders with paid staff, preventing the self-organization of paid staff. Submerged in forums such as the National Conference on Charities and Corrections, employees were an afterthought. It was not until the 1910-1920 period that a major conflict would surface between segments as to who was a "social worker." One part of the field, its developing leadership, sought a clear seperation of paid workers; Zilpha Smith urged in 1911 that clubs should be formed in each city with more than a dozen social workers who were paid employees to discuss professional issues and improvement of working conditions. ¹⁹ But a continued effort was made to center the profession around the elite Eastern women's schools which would merge paid and voluntary labor. This was the approach of the Intercollegiate Bureau (founded 1911) , and its successor, the National Social Work Exchange (1917). Early efforts to form a professional association floundered on this problem. It was not merely a definitional problem, but one of social class. To the dismay of those who sought to continue the link between social service and noblesse oblige, it was found that "too frequently it appeared applicants resembled the women who wanted a position in social work after a public employment agency had dismissed her as unqualified for clerical work". ²⁰ Another elite reformer, Joseph Lee, decried by the 1920's that "Social Work (was passing) from those who

had the vision to create and, the persistence to continue it, into other hands." 21

Although major economic and political events were critical in dictating the emergence of a paid staff, 22 this transition can also be viewed as a successful social movement led by young women leaders. As opposed to strikes and banners of the labor movement, the early professionals rallied for training schools, organized clubs and associations, and pressured volunteers out of daily work. Only in passing do most histories note how resistant philanthropic boards were to payment, and once paying, to their continual equation of women's work with voluntary labor worth only meager sums. Resistance of hospitals to social workers and educational institutions to social work training is also noted only briefly.

It was the development of an absorptive paradigm-social casework, particularly as codified by Mary Richmond (and eventually published as Social Diagnosis in 1917) - along with calls for training and associations which were critical to the success of the professional project. The paradigm of social casework developed in such a manner as to accentuate the scientific expertise of the emerging professionalizers, using metaphors of diagnosis from medicine and social evidence from law. In order to assert a status claim and stake out professional markets, casework as a technique had to exclude (1) the possibility of voluntarism inherent in the relationship model of "friendly visiting" (2) the association with mere recording or budgeting which would have left social workers as clerks and (3) the possibility that social work could be defined as work that committed non-experts could perform as a part of a social movement.

Strategic victories such as the development of educational training schools and the critical link with the Russell Sage Foundation were among the early harbingers of professionalizers overcoming the elite volunteers who were now characterized as mere sentimentalists. Similarly, Mary Richmond's early rejection of trade unionists as volunteer visitors 23 illustrates as well the hostility professionalizers

would have toward those with low class status, but motivated only by cause rather than sufficient training.

SEGMENT BATTLES IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA AND THE BEGINNINGS OF FRAGMENTED PROFESSION

The Settlement House movement, together with other reformers, such as early faculty members in the emerging field of Sociology, presented professionalizers with a challenge which reflected both elite qualms about Social Work and potential client opposition of Social Work. While the social class status of the Settlement Movement as well as some ideological components of its mission was similar to the Charity Movement²⁴ the paradigms of settlement work contrasted sharply with both conservative philanthropic elites and with the professional project.

Settlement work was developed in England by Christian Socialists who sought to bring the social classes together by democratic relationships established through community living and participation in the natural activities of the neighborhood. In the settlement activities, the "obnoxiousness and intrusiveness" of means-testing and charity were discarded for encouragement of the "common human fellowship of men." Self-determination, respect for cultural differences and an accent on the rhythm of daily life contrasted with the medical model of the professionalizers and the social control model of the conservative elite. Further the settlements did not promote professionalism in employment since often its residents received only room and board; as altruists and reformers there was little division of labor in activities. The American settlement residents were involved in sanitation, public health, labor affairs, and many worked in professions other than social work. The settlements were the Peace Corps or Vista of a generation of young people (primarily women) in the 1890-1914 period who sought to escape home and join a vibrant, altruistic movement which also linked economic, political, social and philosophical concerns.

As is well known, the Settlements and the most prominent leaders such as Addams, Lillian Wald, Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop, the Abbotts, and Mary McDowell became extensively involved in reform movements. The reform leaders developed links with science and education which were quite different than early charity workers. Addams, Kelley, and Lathrop pioneered the social survey at Hull House and University of Chicago Settlement House. Both were interested in documenting the problems of the poor, the needs of working people, and statistics on health and safety. This led them into close relationships with Sociology; and to a lesser degree, with Economics and Philosophy. In the late 19th century, the settlements and allied reformers attacked the Charity movement. The NCCC proceedings include lively battles between the two movements. Mary Richmond at this point opposed most reforms, such as the minimum wage law and the 8 hour day law, and found a focus on reform irrelevant. ²⁶ She urged early social workers to not permit themselves to be swept away by enthusiastic advocates of social reform. ²⁷ Richmond argued that the settlements were sentimental, unscientific, and relied on pure pragmatism since they lacked a theory. Moreover, Richmond and her followers opposed strong academic links, preferring vocationally oriented training rather than affiliation with universities. Early professionalizers were oriented towards agencies, not the academy; they wanted training for practical tasks of interviewing not the economics, political science and sociology courses demanded by the reformers.

It is frequently stated that the two movements came together. As early as 1897, Jane Addams suggested that there was room for both approaches in Social Welfare. Most of the leaders of COS, including Mary Richmond herself (after assuming the command of the Philadelphia COS) came to accept reform activity. In 1905, the journals of the NY COS, Charities, and the voice of the settlements, Commons, merged to form Survey. Some authors cite this as the final consolidation of the two movements, while others cite the election of Addams as president of the NCCC in 1909 as the symbolic unity. ²⁸ Certainly by the 1910's, Mary

Richmond's conception of social casework was not only providing for environmental study and "action on the environment" but stated that there was a need for both "wholesale" and "retail" approaches to social problems (reform and one-to-one treatment).

The "convergence" of the two movements can be explained by the need of the emerging professionalizers to absorb the reform critiques. The reform segment held power to retard professional status. First, the reform leaders had elite origins, connection with political leaders, and a great deal of prestige; they had to be listened to. Second, the Reform segment spoke for many potential social work clients who opposed charity work. While the settlements and reformers were themselves not immune from stiff criticism, there is no doubt that their critique of 'snooping,' 'investigating,' and 'penny-pinching' charity workers was shared by millions of workers and poor families. The settlements and some reformers also had organic links to trade unions, immigrant groups, and other social forces from which early social work professionalizers were isolated. When the Reform segment spoke at NCCC or at other forums, they spoke, whether commissioned to or not, for potential client groups. Thirdly, as is true with most reform groups, the Settlement Movement, while not interested in Social Work professionalism per se, were in a position to create additional professional markets for services by their demands on the State for Social Welfare programs. This was precisely the interest of the professionalizers. The settlement houses pioneered school social work (the visiting teacher movement in 1906-08) whose positions female teachers flocked to hoping for upward mobility. The pressure mounted by Addams, Lathrop, Kelley, and others which led to the famous 1909 White House Conference on Children ultimately expanded Social Work's professionalization. The agitation of reformers led to professional roles in foster care and adoption, in residential treatment for children, in the mother's pension movement, etc. The development of federal programs such as the Children's Bureau and the Sheppard-Towner Act on infant mortality secured state backing for professional services and new expert roles in the child welfare and health fields.

But the Reform segment was absorbed and not merged; it was subordinated in the spurious unity. While officially there was a new absorptive paradigm of Social Diagnosis with room for all tenets, in fact, the distinctive nature of settlement work, of the reform movements themselves, and the broad academic base for social welfare were to be defeated, and buried within a fragmented profession.

The Settlement movement declined in influence by World War I and was not to be central to Social Work either in employment or as a center of professionalization. The distinctive techniques pioneered at the settlements, groupwork and the social survey, were cast to the fringes of the nascent field or allowed to be absorbed by other emerging professions. A second indication of the subordination of this segment was its educational defeat. The reform segment succeeded in putting its principles of broad sociological, economic, and political training into practice only at the Chicago School of Social Service. Elsewhere, the professionalizers fought for limited training focused not on broad academic disciplines, but on the practical skills of interviewing and social diagnosis, and learning through field work at social agencies. The defeat of the academic/reform segment at the New York School of Philanthropy occurred in 1912 with the resignation of Samuel Lindsay, its president, under the pressure of NY COS to orient around a field work curriculum rather than a broad social science curriculum. At Smith's newly founded school, an early attempt to have study in social legislation was defeated.²⁹ The Russell Sage Foundation withdrew a grant to the Chicago School when they formally affiliated with the University of Chicago.³⁰ By the postwar period, Edith Abbott, a key representative of the Reform segment, was denouncing Social Work education as narrow and restrictive.³¹

Further as employment in social agencies came to dominate Social Work, as well as the development of a myriad of professional associations, reform was also cast to the margins of the profession. The newly formed American Association of Social Workers was fearful of "being seen as sentimentalist, now

reformers, now philanthropists, radicals or what not. " 32 Rather than reformist, many social workers opposed reform, particularly public benefits which would erode their professional role by making benefits a right rather than 33 requiring assessments by skilled professionals.

Fragmentation in the nascent field was both ideological and structural. The key needs of the professional project, to persuade elites of their skills and to expand professional markets, led to a public 'core skill' of psychiatric casework, although numerically these Social Workers continued to be a small percentage of the field. The very success of the early professionalizers created a multitude of different settings which hired social workers. Each setting had its own forms of organization, its own culture, and, in some cases, its own training schools. As the field of Charity and Family Services, Settlements, Child Welfare, School Social Work, Hospital Social Work, and Psychiatric Social Work diverged, each developed their own associations. But additionally within each sub-field as well as across the field, structural divisions caused dramatic differences in response to professionalization. In many areas of practice workers were apathetic; they would not join professional associations of any kind, would not read newly formed journals and certainly could never afford to go to Social Work school. The most professionalized settings, such as hospital and school social work, had the initial advantage of recruiting among professionally aspiring women (nurses, teachers) in settings dominated and conceived around professional ideology. In each historical period there is a tendency to ascribe ideological and structural unity to the profession; so historians focus on the "psychiatric deluge" of the 1920's for instance, 34 yet this focus ascribes too much unity to the field. Some psychiatric and family service agencies became consumed with a medical model of treatment; and these workers and others in complex urban agencies dominated by high income professionals (e.g. physicians) were able to extract higher pay and social status. But large numbers of social workers were non-graduates working in foster care, in settlements, in charity work with

little or no identification with professionalism. Community chest administrators viewed themselves as fundraisers; settlement house and boys club workers as group leaders; and child welfare workers as custodians.

While fragmentation and disunity is regretted by leadership, since professional leadership always seeks expansion, there are positive functions of fragmentation for the professional project. Each field of practice and methodology expanded a market for social services. While structural positions develop for reformers on faculties, in agency administration or in policy groups, the very fragmentation of these segments allowed the casework paradigm to become more psychiatric and specialized in other settings. The most professionalized segments of the field (family service, psychiatric, hospital) were freed from duties considered "unprofessional" and enabled to raise their status with elites, while Social Action was restricted to other areas of employment and the caretaker/custodial role was restricted to still other areas of employment. Fragmentation serves to (1) delegate "inferior" roles to certain lower status professionals and to non-professionals, while developing a public model of high status and skill claims (e.g. psychiatric casework) and (2) to incorporate divergent segments and paradigms into the field to insure broad markets for services and to co-opt potentially dissident groups into marginal areas of the broad profession.

ABSORPTION AND FRAGMENTATION IN THE 1930's CRISIS

The Depression period provided a second challenge to the professional project. The basic engine of change was economic disaster and massive unrest. In addition to mass strikes and demonstrations, much popular unrest involved the social services directly: unemployed councils sitting in and demanding aid; marches on relief offices; direct action against evictions; the movement for old age pensions, etc. Social workers themselves were hard hit by layoffs and wage cuts as private agencies cut back staff. One response to this crisis was the rise of an elite social welfare segment

which actually was the historic remnant of the Progressive Period. A cadre of social welfare administrators, policy makers, and labor relations intellectuals still existed in 1920's who favored social insurance and government regulation of the economy particularly, the "New York crowd" who later served FDR. Some have argued that the existence of this group proves Social Work was still dedicated to reform in 1920's³⁵; rather, as Walter Trattner has suggested, it proves only that a small number of thinkers kept alive reform ideas.³⁶ The New Deal Welfare State called back to arms the old reform contingent as well as new leaders such as Reginald Tugwell, Eveline Burns, and Frances Perkins who were associated with the administration of new social programs.

At the same time, social workers hard hit by the Depression, and new recruits to the field had begun to organize trade unions, participate in demonstrations, and in radical political movements. A segment organized around these emerging Social Work unions and the journal Social Work Today (founded 1934) came to be known as the Rank and File Movement (RFM). This movement included prominent social workers such as Bertha Reynolds, Mary Von Kleeck, Grace Coyle, Harry Lurie, and Jacob Fisher. The Rank and File movement was to view Social Work as a newly proletarianized profession which should abandon its professional pretensions, organize in unions, and ally with other workers to fight for revolutionary change.³⁷ During its early years (1931-36), the RFM attacked professionalism as an "atrophied manifestation of what once was proper belief in the value of . . . objective scientific approach."³⁸ While the early thrust of this movement, closely linked to the Communist Party, was on economic and broad social issues rather than on practice, the RFM did attack the condescension of charity workers toward the mass of workers applying for relief and the irrelevance of psychiatric paradigms to the current situation. The RFM was initially attacked by the professionalizing segment of the field. The AASW charged that RFM members "over-identified with clients" and saw them as revolutionaries who were intent on causing trouble for ulterior purposes.³⁹

The Social Work profession, on an official level, moved quickly to respond to the need for public social services. Public services were the key demands of both the elite social policy segment and popular unrest among clients and social workers. As early as 1932-33, the AASW adopted as its own program such planks as a massive public works program, social insurance, fair labor standards, adequate federal relief, as well as a few planks that the New Deal would never see passed such as health insurance and taxation on "unearned income" rather than on worker's paychecks. It was the first time the profession's leadership would endorse such a program of government intervention.⁴⁰ It is argued that in addition to the shock of massive economic failure (in its own ranks as well as within society) the possibility of increased professional markets was causal and made this dramatic reversal consistent with professionalization strategies.

By the mid-thirties, the professional leadership and the Rank and File movement had seemingly converged in goals. Influenced by the 'left turn' in the Roosevelt Administration in 1935 and the declaration of the worldwide Popular Front strategy of the Communist Party, the RFM began stressing cooperation with the professional associations whenever possible. Indeed this happened frequently in the late 1930's in areas such as opposition to WPA cuts, in organization of support for the Loyalists in Spain, and in the development of both anti-fascist, and, alternatively, peace programs. On various issues, the RFM and Social Work Today garnered the support of major professional figures such as Gordon Hamilton, a professor at New York School of Social Work who was to become the leading casework theorist, and Paul Kellogg, editor of the Survey, the field's leading journal, as well as numerous deans, professors, administrators, and other professional leaders.⁴¹

Of equal importance, the radical segment began to tone down its own criticism of professionalism and to develop its own approach to social casework. Best conceptualized by Bertha Reynolds, Rank and File social casework stressed client self-determination, equality of client and worker, self-help by organizations of

clients (unions, tenant and community groups,) and the precedence of assistance to poor and working people above those less in need. 42 While some of these ideas were innovative and couched in radical rhetoric, the radical segment moved very close to prevailing thinking in social casework, particularly as it was evolving theoretically from the Functional School through the person-in-situation paradigm of Hamilton. Contrary to the early skepticism about the paradigms of Social Work, Reynolds and others came to see social service work as a positive goal in itself. She and others helped move younger rank and filers from a boring-from-within perspective, to the viewpoint that good casework was good politics. 43

As in the earlier period, Social Work advanced by adopting an absorptive paradigm to incorporate new areas of service. Like the Settlement movement, the RFM, despite its radicalism and its initial attacks on professional leaders, held important strengths for the professional project. As the earlier reformers had reflected potential client hostility to Social Work, the RFM, bridged the opposition of client groups (relief recipients, tenant and union groups) with rank and file social workers who had, as yet, little or no identification with the profession. Had the demands for public social services, for the acceptance of Social Action and Social Reform as legitimate methods within Social Work, and the demands for acceptance of social service unionism alongside of professional associations not been met, Social Work as a profession may well have lost its legitimacy with both client groups and with the many new entrants into the field itself. By officially absorbing some of the demands of these groups, Social Work gained legitimacy among working class and poor clients.

Secondly, as with the Settlement House movement, the RFM and the liberal reformers of the New Deal became involved in the collective mobility project of Social Work and in expanding the market for services. Because of the role of both segments in leading the struggle for public services, many figures in the RFM as well as the reformers came to hold administrative positions in the new public welfare bureaucracies. More than simply co-opt the radicals, the mass

development of new centers of power provided opportunities for all segments in the profession to co-exist. Quarrels now would center on educational programs and whether recruits should be trained for public welfare or for Masters level casework⁴⁴ but these debates were more safely confined within the Social Work bureaucratic structure. In addition to public welfare, the RFM pioneered work with trade unions and community groups which provided apparent new markets for services. The link of Grace Coyle and others with the development of Groupwork (which first received recognition in 1936 as a co-equal method of social work practice) also indicates how reform segments provide a link with new professional markets for services, and new roles for radicals and reformers.

The challenge of the 1930's forced the profession to officially develop an absorptive program to incorporate (1) Public Welfare as a legitimate field of practice (although it would numerically dwarf the other fields of practice, it would lack a base for a successful status claim) (2) the development of a Public Administration elite as a permanent feature of Social Work leadership, often uneasily co-existing with clinically minded professional leadership, and frequently at odds with it (3) the acceptance of Groupwork and Community Organization as equal methods (4) the assumption of greater social and economic causation in Social Casework theory which throughout the 1940's would express itself in the "person-in-situation" approach of Gordon Hamilton and the "problem-solving" approach of Helen Harris Perlman. (5) acceptance of Social work unionism existing alongside of professional associations (6) the development of political activism as separate and distinct from on-the-job militancy or professional dissidence came to be accepted in the field, as Social Work had a permanent role in Public Welfare, as radical segments were absorbed, and as a tradition of political commentary on certain national events came to be accepted by the profession.

Just as a "spurious unity" had been achieved earlier, the illusion of unity in the 1940's and 1950's obscured structural fragmentations in the profession. The development of public services allowed private

agency based professionals to abandon concerns with financial eligibility only to increase their concern with the therapeutic. The revolution in social services created a greatly non-professionalized, Bachelors degree educated, industrialized, and greatly unionized segment in Public Welfare . These workers and their advocates in the educational institutions and agencies of Social Work, increasingly were at loggerheads with the localized, individualized system of private agency based therapeutic services led by professional leaders who were wedded to Masters programs in Social Work. The vast increase in personnel (Social Work doubled in the 1930's) created fragmentation between the cadres of 'non-professionals' and those with Masters degrees; between those wedded to a professional strategy and those to industrial strategies; and between those in major urban areas and those in rural and non-Eastern areas where there were few social work schools. Meanwhile the huge growth of both public and private bureaucracies led to increased stratification; levels of supervisory and administrative personnel increased dramatically. With increased scrutiny on the job came, paradoxically, the tendency of high level officials to speak for the field. Yet the interests of different levels of social work personnel diverged dramatically.

Though Groupwork and Community Organization were officially recognized as methods, they lacked major markets for professional mobility and hence were marginal to the professional project. Reform, which had also been declared in a field of practice in the 1930's, ⁴⁶ was embraced only as a ritualistic function: speeches were delivered as were occasional position papers, but Social Action was not to be part of daily Social Work practice.

As has been argued, the casework professionalizers triumphed because of their ability to garner new markets, and, at the same time, maintain the symbols of professionalism. So while large numbers of recruits were added to public welfare in the 1930's through the 1950's, casework in private agencies, in contrast to public services, appeared to have an even stronger base for professional public relations. Schools were

reluctant to train for public services, and higher status entrants to the field avoided it as well, while the high administrative posts within public services met the professional mobility project, the line positions did not. In fact, to the professional leaders, the further recognition of the State of the Social Work profession as a sanctioned part of Mental Hygiene (notably achieved by such gains as the screening of Selective Service recruits by social workers, among others, for service in World War II; and the passage of the National Mental Health Act after the war with concomitant growth of the VA services and NIMH) was far more significant than the development of state welfare services.

Despite the organizational mergers of the 1950s (as the National Association of Social Work formed in 1955 and the Council on Social Work Education in 1952, both from numerous predecessor groups), Social Work left the second period of reform more fragmented by employment, methodology, ideology, auspice, and speciality than it had entered the 1930s with.

THE 1960's - 1970's CRISIS AND NEW FRAGMENTATIONS

Events of the 1960's would challenge almost all aspects of Social Work: the casework method, the need for professional credentials, and the dominance of professional over client would all be questioned. Like previous crises in Social Work history, the challenge to Social Work was a combination of social unrest at society's base and elite pressure which reflected itself in different segments within the profession.

The civil rights movement and urban riots created the impetus for social change and professional challenge; but while black unrest created the War on Poverty and other new social programs, unrest did not cease, but spawned a radicalization in the Black community and, in elements of the white community, notably in the advent of the anti-war movement and the New Left. Pressed by social unrest, the government itself acted as an elite pressure on Social Work, illustrated by Sargent Shriver's 1964 speech on the War on Poverty in which he attacked social casework and

called for less psychiatric, professionalized interventions.⁴⁸
The insertion of "maximum feasible participation" language into the OEO legislation, while its intent was politically aimed at circumventing Southern racists and Northern political machines, had the effect of by-passing the established professional leadership of Social Work. Whatever its intent, the phrase provided an official legitimacy to client demands for power, rather than subordination to professionals. It became critical as a linkage to slogans of "community control", "power to the people", and "participatory democracy" which served in general way to link the Black movement, the New Left, certain government officials, and Community Organizing segments in Social Work.

Within Social Work, a segment of Community Organization faculty, policy makers, and administrators had been in the forefront of criticizing Social Work's "disengagement from the poor." Casework was subjected to numerous studies and critiques, questioning its effectiveness, accessibility, and relevance to the poor.⁴⁹ This segment came to view community organizing as the primary means of assisting people overcome poverty and dependency, not one-to-one intervention. Beginning with the experience of the Mobilization for Youth Project in NYC, continuing through the War on Poverty, and into the National Welfare Rights Organization, a self-conscious vanguard again emerged to re-legitimate Social Work. This segment, including Richard Cloward, Frances Fox Piven, George Brager, Charles Grosser, and many others urged challenges to the welfare system, to the educational and health care system, and to the local political machines. The growing New Left supported this segment and came to view psychiatric interventions as an instrument of social control and domination. While not a unanimous view, there was widespread support for the view that caseworkers and most of professional Social Work had as their sole mission "cooling out" the ghettos, rebellious youths, and other social deviants.

Between 1965 and 1975, students and young professionals in many fields were challenging the very need for educational credentials, for professionals'

special mystique and special social power. These elitist traits were contrasted with the new ideas of self-help and social movements' providing their own services. The radicals-in-the-professions movement served as a bridge between demands of Blacks and poor people for community control and citizen participation and the changing paradigms in the professions that dealt with human services .⁵⁰

Social Work was marked by disorientation and shock in these years; virtually every professional journal reflected the ferment in paradigms and ideologies. Scott Briar wrote about "The Current Crisis in Social Casework" and "The Casework Predicament." ⁵¹ Harry Specht learned the "The De-Professionalization of Social Work." ⁵² The NASW Committee on Advocacy stated "the field's faith in its own essential viability is being severely tested" while two social work educators began their 1973 book by noting that "Social Work is a profession in desperate trouble." ⁵³

The reform segment in Social Work, oriented around Community Organization, Social Action, and Advocacy, crossed elite and popular interests, much as the Settlement/Reform movement of the Progressive Period. Many leading planners and faculty members had served on governmental committees, particularly under J.F.K., and many had strong ties with major foundations. At the same time, they took the side of the poor, minorities, and students in asserting the need for client control in social agencies, schools, and hospitals. While it is possible that many of the Community Organization radicals were engaged only in "community sociotherapy," a new rhetoric of reform that would only integrate the poor further into the political system, as many radicals charged by the late 1960's, ⁵⁴ other leaders, such as Cloward and Piven, clearly sought to bring down welfare and other systems, not merely sociotherapy. Others, such as Frank Reissman and Allen Gartner, focused on particular reforms such as the "New Careers" program which served as a mobility project for thousands of poor ghetto residents to move into the social services. Unlike other periods, there was no systematic and consistent identification with one party (such as the hegemonic role of the Communist Party in the 1930's among radicals) nor even with one program

(as was the case for many years among Progressive reformers). Therefore, there was considerable change within a short time in this period; some leaders became radicalized by the Vietnam War and campus protests, while others became alienated by these developments and dropped out of reform movements.

While there has been little research, there is evidence that the majority of practitioners, and, possibly even students and faculty in Social Work, were not particularly drawn to radical critiques.⁵⁵ Many social agencies and clinical practitioners shuddered from these series of attacks on their skills and motivation. In some cases, there was a backlash on the part of agencies towards developments in schools of Social Work where casework appeared to be a low ebb of popularity.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, like the Progressive Period and the 1930's, there were important reasons for Social Work to adopt significant changes in these years.

First, client unrest was directly apparant at welfare centers, in schools, hospitals, and on the streets. When the Community Organization faculty or New Left students or Black social workers spoke about client rights, advocacy for the poor, opening up the barriers of the profession to new recruits or reducing credentials, they were voicing the power of social work clients to delegitimize professional practice. Second, much of the reform segment had key ties with elites who were anxious for reform and, disinterested, if not hostile, to profesionalism. These elites included governmental leaders, large foundation leaders, and political party activists. Just as the professional mobility project was squeezed between prestigious reformers and working class pressure in the Progressive Period and the 1930's, Social Work leaders were faced with opposition from both fronts in the 1960's - 1970's. Thirdly, like the Settlement movement and the RFM, much of the reform segment also held the potential for increased market control for Social Work. The 1960's, like the 1930's, saw social services expand dramatically in response to unrest and elite pressure. The Community Organization segment had direct ties with OEO, the Job Corps, Headstart, and dozens of other

programs which meant that its critique of casework was paralleled by its creation of new professional opportunities. Movements such as Community Mental Health, Health Planning and Mental Retardation reform were led by reform segments. All these efforts led to additional jobs for social workers and additional prestige for the profession. New fields of practice opened up as well as more jobs. Finally the very prosperity of the 1960's created room for the demands of minorities and poor people for professional entrance. Neither the profession as a whole nor radical segments in Social Work appeared to fear a loss in Social Work employment due to embracing controversial strategies or unorthodox rhetoric.

The absorption of unrest on an official level in Social Work took the following forms: (1) The professional association, NASW, agreed to allow Bachelors of Social Work (BSW's) into its ranks while CSWE began affording recognition to these programs. These actions reversed many years of opposition to lowering credential barriers to the profession, and essentially was a capitulation to reform demands of many groups (2) The New Careers Movement, after spawning thousands of paraprofessional positions, led to the development of the Human Service professions with their own curricula, schools, and work roles. This change came in spite of the organized Social Work profession, but a direct result of the segment battles (3) "Social Advocacy" was officially adopted as a professional paradigm, greatly accomodating demands to provide a new sanctioned role for social workers as clients defenders, against oppressive environmental systems (4) NASW, contrary to earlier policies, also vowed to protect professional advocates; and the profession's Code of Ethics was changed to reflect worker loyalty to the client above the agency when they conflict (5) Social work education changed dramatically; first because both Community Organization and Groupwork gained new inclusion in curricula; then by the 1970's a generic curriculum began to replace the old divisions by method in many schools of Social Work (6) Casework practice, at least in some schools, went through dramatic changes. This was reflected in new systems, ecological and behavioral approaches which

replaced the medical model as a core paradigm. Many of the theorists were self-conscious about the influence of unrest on the need to change the theoretical base of social work practice.

Yet again, official changes that appeared great, only obscured new structural and ideological fragmentation. With all the zeal toward Community Organization, Advocacy, Social Action, and other roles, these methods were thrown to the borders of the field. The combination of the end of social unrest, government cutbacks, and a new renaissance of clinical casework had greatly cast aside the new paradigms. Many of the segment members entered faculties, administration; some even went into private practice. As the official paradigms became absorptive, in practice clinical casework emerged triumphant in a more professional, psychiatric garb. Private practice in Social Work has grown dramatically since the early 1970's, as has attendance in clinical institutes and other programs specifically geared toward clinical social work. Only a few years after the attack on professionalism in Social Work, the dominant segments have placed their primary emphasis on the passage of licensing and social work vendorship bills in order to insure reimbursement from insurance companies for casework services provided by private practitioners and agency based clinicians.

Structurally, the greatest changes in the 1960's - 1970's fragmented the entire social service field. With the rise of the Human Service programs throughout the nation and the recognition and growing use by agencies of both non-professionals and BSW's, several fields of Social Work now exist with markedly different interests. While Human Service and BSW workers will seek increasing professionalization, including dissociation from lower status work and increased association with MSW workers, the MSW's will seek increasing work differentiation in which non-MSW's perform most direct practice, while MSW's can become supervisors, consultants, and administrators. Along with the historic splits between public and private sectors, between fields of practice, between methodologies, between administrators and line workers, fragmentation became even more dramatic as private

practice and agency social work split, and Masters level and BSW and Human Service Social Work split.

Once again though, fragmentation, while confusing to the public many be a condition for professional gain. On the one hand, BSW and Human Service programs serve a collective mobility function for working class recruits. On the other hand, for the MSW sector, the development of lower level staff again allows for an increase in clinical concentration and a shedding of the very roles so focused on in the 1960's: social advocacy and direct concrete services to clients. Just as the creation of LPNs and aides increased the ability of RNs to bargain by allowing them to differentiate their skill claims, so MSW's are able to bargain with employers for salaries and job descriptions. which suitably distinguish them from lesser trained workers. As long as the psychotherapy market grows, a large entrepreneurial segment will grow in Social Work, a somewhat new phenomenon. The dream of independent practice with all its attendant autonomy will appeal to many, and this segment of the field will have less need for a fictional unity in Social Work than other segments. This segment will orient naturally to developments in psychiatry and psychology as well as Social Work. As many students seek the MSW credential to do therapy and identify themselves as psychotherapists, not social workers, the profession's fragmentation may develop even further.

SUMMARY

The preceding article attempted to develop a conceptual model of Social Work history based on the viewing of professionalization as a collective mobility project and professions as themselves being composed of divergent segments, divided structurally and ideologically. It is suggested that throughout its century old history, the profession has had a significant impact on raising entrants social class positions. The field has done so, as with other professions, by strategies of expanding professional markets and by successful persuasion tactics to ensure

its status claims with both elites and popular forces. In many ways the gains made through professionalization are comparable to the gains made historically through trade unionism. ⁶⁰ Further, much as different theorists have noted the structural limitations of trade unionism, professional organizations (whether associations, educational institutions or social agencies) must incorporate new workers and client groups, but in such a way that it discards the most radical ideologies and safely confines the new groups and ideas within a bureaucratic structure. ⁶¹ Looked at from this vantage point, professionalization is neither opposed to reform or radicalism nor its vanguard. The vested interest of a profession such as Social Work, whose legitimacy is so tied to support from working and lower class groups, is allied with reform in periods of social unrest. However, to the extent professionalization absorbs dissident segments and provides for mobility for poor people, it mitigates against continued protests and provides structural positions which discourage radicalism and reform in periods of quiescence.

The review of the crisis points in Social Work history—the Progressive Period, the 1930's and the 1960's-1970's—would appear to indicate the key role of client legitimacy at times of social unrest. This unrest filters itself into professional practice and official professional policy through dissident segments within the profession. However, the key need for elite sanction becomes predominant quite quickly, and the dissident segments are incorporated at the margins of the profession. Official absorptive paradigms and policies are declared even as psychiatric casework emerges as dominant after each crisis and other areas of practice and segments within the field are lodged in different structural positions.

As has been well documented, the link of casework with the parallel project of medical/psychological professionalization, perhaps, best explains its historic dominance. Social Work, even if perceived by the public as subordinate to other professions, has gained status by association. As a personal service society has increasingly commercialized and socialized

the function of family and neighborhood, the one-to-one helping model whether called casework, counseling or psychotherapy, has been the most expansive market related to "social services". Despite this historic trend, there is no conclusion intended that this trend will continue indefinitely. Psychotherapy and counseling markets are hardly unbounded, and will be subject to new periods of challenge and social unrest which would severely tax its methodology and even its legitimacy. Major economic or political upheavals could also have a crippling effect on ability of patients/clients to pay or on the very preoccupation with personal change which the recent decades have so promoted. For the moment, there is no question that while Social Work represents many segments and claims many traditions, the dominant unity in the fragmented profession remains very much individual casework and psychotherapeutic treatment.

NOTES

1. The evaluation of Social Work's professional status has produced volumes of literature. The most notable from the traditional "attribute" school of sociological functionalism is Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession" Social Work 2 (July 1957), pp. 45-55. The "semi-profession" analysis was popularized by Amitai Etzioni, see Etzioni (ed.), The Semi-Professions and Their Organizations (New York: Free Press, 1969); also Nina Toren, Social Work: The Case of a Semi-Profession (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1971). The concept of "emerging professions" is associated with sociologist William Goode (see "Encroachment, Charlatanism and Emerging Profession: Psychology, Sociology and Medicine," American Sociological Review 25 (December 1960, pp. 902-14). Radicals have frequently argued that professionalism was an ideology that obscured conditions in Social Work and other fields which only served to mystify the actual working class status of the occupants. This was the position of the journal Social Work Today in its early years. For amore recent formulation see, David Wagner and

Marcia B. Cohen, " Social Workers, Class and Professionalism, " Catalyst 1 (Spring 1978), pp. 25-55.

2. Classically Social Welfare historians and Social Work theorists have contrasted periods of social reform such as the Progressive Era with periods of psychiatric obsession such as the 1920's. Porter Lee's speech at the 1929 Milford Conference contrasted the "cause" of social reform, which is necessary to develop social services with "function," which comes to replace the zeal of reform once services are in place. The presentation of this dichotomy and the 'heroic' periods of reform and periods of technique appear in histories such as Roy Lubove, The Professional Altruist: the Emergence of Social Work as a Career (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965); Kathleen Woodroffe, From Charity to Social Work (London:Routledge, 1968); and Walter Trattner, From Poor Law to Welfare State (New York:Free Press, 1974). A particularly dynamic treatment of the cause / function dialectic is found in Carol Germain and Alex Gitterman, The Life Model of Social Work Practice (New York:Columbia University Press, 1980) pp. 343-368.

Almost every historic or analytic article in Social Work has considered fragmentation in the field dysfunctional. Unless the field gained a consensus around its core technical skill or around one set of values or purposes, the field was doomed to low prestige in the minds of the public, and concomitantly low income and status in employment. To cite only some relatively recent examples, see Harriett Bartlett, The Common Base of Social Work Practice (New York: NASW, 1970) who views fragmentation as retarding professionalization in Social Work; Carol Meyer argues that a professional 'consensus' is necessary in order for Social Work to survive as a profession in "Social Work Purpose: Status by Choice or Coercion?" Social Work (Jan. 1981), pp. 69-75. Radicals have also argued that the field was fragmented and therefore needed a radical consensus for activism to overcome its thwarted semi-professionalism; see , for example, Colin Pritchard and Richard Taylor, Social Work: Reform or Revolution? (London:Routledge, 1978).

3. Julius Roth, "Professionalism: The Sociologists' Decoy " Sociology of Work and Occupations 1 (Feb.1974), pp. 6-23.
4. This is illustrated by the approach of Greenwood, op.cit. See David Austin's account of how Social Work's obsession with the sociological attributes of professionalism has been misguided in "The Flexner Myth and the History of Social Work " Social Service Review 57 (Sept. 1983) pp. 357-77.
5. Everett Hughes was the pioneer sociologist in turning from the question of "attributes" to viewing professionalization as a process, and the professional status as a continuum consisting of occupations with greater and lesser degrees of professionalization. An important volume viewing professionalization in this manner is Howard Vollmer and Donald Mills, (ed.), Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966).
6. Many recent sociologists have contributed to the development of a more dynamic view of power and struggle in the development of professional status. In addition to Larson (below), an important contribution is made by Terence Johnson, The Professions and Power (London: Macmillan Press, 1972) and by Dale Johnson, (ed.), Class and Social Development (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982).
7. Magali Larson, The Rise of Professionalism (Berkely:University of California, 1977).
8. This view is the classical formulation of William Goode in "Community within a Community: The Professions," American Sociological Review 22 (1957), pp. 194-200.
9. Rue Bucher and Anselm Strauss, "Professions in Process," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (Jan. 1961), pp. 325-334. Other sources which stress disunity among the professions is D. Johnson, op. cit., Larson, op.cit., T. Johnson, op.cit. Derber, Charles (ed.), Professionals as Workers (C.K.Hall: Boston, 1982), and Robert Perrucci and Joel Gerstl, Profession

Without a Community: Engineers in American Society (New York: Random House, 1969).

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Irwin Epstein, "Professionalization, Professionalism and Social Worker Radicalism" Journal of Health and Social Behavior (March 1970), pp. 67-77.

13. Thomas Carlton, "Social Work as a Profession in Process" Journal of Social Welfare 4 (Spring 1977), pp. 15-25.

14. The major field of labor market segmentation literature has not yet been applied to professional work in detail. The division between the secondary labor market, the primary subordinate, and primary independent market as described by Richard Edwards, Contested Terrain, (New York: Basic, 1979) can certainly be applied to social agencies to distinguish small sectarian, rural, non-bureaucratic agencies (secondary) from highly bureaucratic unionized ones (primary-subordinate) and highly complex, highly paid, and professionally affiliated settings such as urban hospital social work depts. and psychiatric clinics (primary-independent). The recent work by David Gordon, Richard Edwards, and Michael Reich, Segmented Work, Divided Workers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) in which they tie segmentation into the major historical periods of capitalism could also be applied to social work professionals. Since these applications would be enough for another volume, I have made reference to the concept of labor market segmentation/fragmentation as a social structural phenomenon which must be addressed along with the ideological segments of Bucher & Strauss. Because I have treated the ideological together with the structural, I have used the term "fragmentation" as a more general term throughout rather than segmentation.

15. The term "role reversal" is used both in Trattner, op. cit., p. 93 and in Dorothy Becker, "Exit Lady Bountiful: The Volunteer and the Professional Social

Worker "Social Service Review 38 (March 1964), p. 69. Becker is virtually alone among historians in describing the conflict between visitors and agents as "class conflict."

16. Only Becker, "Social Welfare Leaders as Spokesmen for the Poor" Social Casework 49 (Feb. 1968), pp. 82-89, carefully studied the biographies of leaders in Social Work to separate the two factions. While not all of the social reformers were from upper class backgrounds, they were all tied to politically elite families.

17. Ibid.

18. Lubove, op. cit. pp. 132-133.

19. Frank Bruno, Trends in Social Work 1877 -1956 (New York:Columbia University Press, 1957) p. 146.

20. Lubove, op.cit., pp. 130-131.

21. quoted in Edward Saveth, "Patrician Philanthropy in America: The late 19th and early 20th centuries," Social Service Review 54 (March 1980), p. 87.

22. Both Lubove, op. cit., p.19 and Becker, "Exit.," pg. 64 cite the Depression of 1893 as a significant landmark in the failure of the friendly visitors to cope with massive poverty with voluntarism. Becker notes also that the COS's were beginning to criticize visitors for "often being absent from the City on Social obligations" at times when they were most needed. As Lubove (p.163) notes the missionary zeal of the upper class reformers had also faded as relief work became subordinated to business obligations and the wealthy elites eventually established a comfortable role on the Boards to Trustees of agencies.

23. Becker, "Exit.." pg. 63.

24. See Trattner, op.cit., p. 139 and Samuel Mencher, "The Influence of Romanticism on the 19th Century British Social Work," "Social Service Review 38 (June 1964), pp. 174-190 for good discussions of how the

Charity movement and Settlement movement had similarities.

25. This analogy is drawn from NASW, op.cit., p. 1176; see also J.P. Rousmaniere, "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Woman and the Settlement House," American Quarterly 22 (1970), pp. 45-66 for a social analysis of the composition of Settlement residents.

26. Carel Germain and Ann Hartman, "People and Ideas in the History of Social Work Practice," Social Casework 61 (1980), p.328.

27. Quoted in Lubove, Op. cit., p. 11.

28. On the consolidation of journals, see Trattner, op.cit., p. 150; on the election of Addams, see Becker, "Exit.. ", p.67.

29. Lubove, op.cit. p.147.

30. Austin, op.cit. p..359.

31. Lubove ,op.cit., 148.

32. Ibid,p.128.

33. Brian Gratton, "Social Workers and Old Age Pensions," "Social Service Review 57 (Sept.1983), pp. 403-15.

34. The phrase was coined by and is a chapter title in Woodroffe, op.cit., but has been used subsequently to refer to the 1920s, if not to the entire period from 1918 on.

35. Social Work's role in the 1920s as an agent for progressive change and repository of reform is best found in Clarke Chambers, Seedtime for Reform and Social Action 1918-1933 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1963).

36. Trattner, op. cit., p. 224.

37. My account of the Rank and File Movement is greatly based on Rick Spano, The Rank and File Movement in Social Work (Washington, D.C.:University Press of America, 1982.)

38. Ibid , p.83.

39. Ibid, pp. 87-88.

40. Bruno, op. cit., pp. 343-47 for the full program.

41. Spano, op. cit., see particularly p. 168 on the peace program of the RFM. 42. Summarized in Ibid, p. 188; see also Bertha Reynolds, An Unchartered Journey (New York: Citadel, 1963)

43. A debate has frequently occurred on the Left as to the purposes of social service work. In the early and mid 1930s when the RFM began, the focus of organizers was on radical programs and unionization, and practice was only vaguely considered. Similarly in the 1960s at the height of activism, Social Work was an arena like many others to fight the War, racism, etc. As radicalism dies down it tends to center more on professionalism and good service provision is viewed as central. The importance historically of radicals delivering social services is stressed in Ann Withorn "Surviving as a Radical Service Worker: Lessons from the History of Movement Provided Services" Radical America 12 (July/August 1978), pp. 9-23. This article would view the development of radicals-in-traditional-services as part of the professionalization project and the absorption of radicals within that middle class project.

44. For a good history of how the educational dispute played itself out in this period, see, Leslie Leighninger, "Graduate and Undergraduate Social Work Education: Roots of Conflict," Journal of Education for Social Work, 20:3, Fall 1984, pp. 66-76.

45. The links of Hamilton and Perlman, the former's "person-in-situation" model and the latter's "problem-solving approach" with recent generic practice models is pointed out in Germain and Gitterman,

op .cit. p. 352 (for Hamilton); Bartlett, op. cit. on both figures; and see R. Ramsey, "Snapshots of Practice in the 20th Century", Social Worker 52 (Spring 1984), pp. 11-16 which in a short review describes the work of Hamilton and Perlman and the dialectic between the medical model and the more social approaches.

46. Bruno, op.cit ., p. 359.

47. Ibid, p. 319.

48. Noted in Gilbert and Specht, The Emergence of Social Welfare and Social Work. (Itasca, Il: F.E. Peacock, 1976)p. 321.

49. see, for example, Richard Cloward and Irwin Epstein, "Private Social Welfare's Disengagement from the Poor: The Case of Family Adjustment Agencies," in Meyer Zald, (ed.) Social Welfare Institutions (New York : John Wiley and Sons, 1965), pp. 623-644; Henry F. Meyer, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Wyatt Jones, The Girls at Vocational High : An Experiment in Social Work Intervention (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1965).

50. The best sources on the radicals-in-the-professions movement are Joel Gerstl and Glenn Jacobs, Professions for the People: The Politics of Skill (New York:Schenkman, 1976) and Barbara and John Ehrenreich, " The Professional-Managerial Class," in Pat Walker (ed.) Between Labor and Capital (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1979). Interestingly, the idea that professionals would form avanguard and lead the social services to the Left was also believed (though disapproved of) by Daniel Moynihan, see Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding (New York: Free Press, 1970).

51. Scott Briar, "The Current Crisis in Social Casework" in NCSW, Social Work Practice 1967 (New York, Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 19-33; Scott Briar "The Casework Predicament, "Social Work 13 (Jan. 1968) , pp. 5-12.

52. Harry Specht, "The Deprofessionalization of Social Work, Social Work 17 (March 1972), pp.3-15.

53. The Ad Hoc Committee on Advocacy, "The Social Worker as Advocate: Champion of Social Victims, Social Work 14 (April 1969) , p. 16; Willard Richan and Allen Mendelsohn, Social Work: The Unloved Profession (New York: New Viewpoints, 1973), Foreward page.

54. By the late 1960s, once the New Left, anti-war movement, and Black Power movements were at their zeniths, it was clear that simply being for community organization or being a "professional change agent" hardly made one a radical. A major debate developed not only in Social Work, but in related professions, between those who regarded professional advocacy and leadership as a positive force and those who saw it as merely "therapy" or domination and cooptation of the poor by professionals. The debate between Frances Fox Piven and Sumner Rosen in issue 1 of Social Policy reflects this as Piven argued advocacy was at best a diversion for the poor, while Rosen argued expertise was needed by poor people and other social movements which only professionals could provide. See "Whom does the Advocate Planner Serve?" Social Policy 1 (1970) , pp. 32-37; Martin Rein in "Social Work in Search of a Radical Profession, Social Work 15 (April 1970), pp. 13-28 classified "community sociotherapy" along with traditional casework as theories accepting social conditions. He noted it was the purpose a method-casework or organization-was put to, not the method itself, that entailed radicalism.

55. Rein, Ibid, p. 25, argues "it is not surprising that the more radical doctrines have failed to win wide support and hence remain at the margins of the profession." Richan and Mendelsohn, op. cit. not only aver that the profession as a whole was not embracing radicalism, but contrast the rather civil conduct of social work students in the 1960s with protests of students from other academic disciplines.

56. In 1972, for example, the Family Service Association of America, in a statement on education, criticized the repartion and political commitments of

some of the students graduating from Social Work schools, quoted in Gilbert and Specht, op. cit. p. 323.

57. Ad Hoc Committee, op. cit. .

58. Richan and Mendelsohn, op. cit., Chapters 6 and 7 give considerable description of the changes in NASW in the late 1960's and the different manner in which worker-agency conflicts were handled between 1959 and 1969, see particularly pp. 153-55 .

59. Many of the new theoretical approaches were indeed more self-reflective about the need for integration of the field and a move away from both fragmentation and the medical model. Germain and Gitterman, op. cit., p. 343, place their "life model" approach in the historical context of Social Work's dialectical strains and the crisis of the 1960s, Bartlett, op. cit. also sought to resolve many of the historic dilemmas and splits in the Social Work field.

However, while in theory and within the academy this task is well achieved, the theories break down in the employment market and political-social environment. The integrative theories have failed to dominate practice or policies in the field.

60. If upward social and economic mobility and reduction of social inequality are broadly goals of unions, they certainly are also reflected within the professional mobility project. A study reported in NASW, op. cit. indicates that one-half of the NASW membership (which includes only the most self-conscious professionalized members of the field, since most social workers are not members) had fathers who were in blue-collar or low level white collar occupations. The study concluded that Social Work presented a strong upward mobility direction for its recruits, particularly for men and minorities.

61. There is a large literature on the problematic nature of trade unionism as a structure for political or social radicalism. The view of Marx and Engels and Lenin was that trade unionism would breed purely

economistic views unless there was conscious intervention by revolutionaries into the unions. Recent left-wing views have focused also on the structural limitations of trade unionism, and the tendency of unions to absorb radicals, rather than vice versa. See, for example, Stanley Aronowitz, False Promises (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973). The traditional labor relations literature has long argued that unions represent workers' interest in job control, while political and social concerns are solely an importation of intellectuals into the trade unions, see Selig Perlman, A Theory of the Labor Movement (New York: Macmillan, 1928).