



June 1979

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Recommended Citation

Lause, Timothy (1979) "Status Enhancement and Social Problem Concerns: An Essay on the Course of State Social Work Associations," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 6 : Iss. 4 , Article 10.
Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol6/iss4/10>

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STATUS ENHANCEMENT AND SOCIAL PROBLEM CONCERNS:
An Essay on the Course of State Social Work Associations

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Social work's ability to contribute to the development of a more just and humanistic society is currently inhibited by a state-level preoccupation with status enhancement. Professional status consciousness, in itself, does have potential for promoting developmental forms of professional accountability and the further humanization of service bureaucracies. Current circumstances, however, prevent the fulfillment of either of these potentials.

Professional accountability mechanisms necessarily depend upon the actual or threatened withdrawal of privilege or prestige. A fundamental erosion of status consciousness would reduce the subjective significance of sanctions and lessen their effectiveness in preventing professional negligence and abuse. The developmental character of status accountability, however, is distorted by the distribution of the external sources of potential sanction. Since these sources of sanction generally exclude economically and culturally marginal social sectors, status concern indirectly fosters accountability to the interests of privileged sectors. As social problem generating social structures complement privileged interests, more than those of the disadvantaged, professional status concern involves a measure of tacit support for these institutional arrangements.

The other potentially developmental consequence of professional status consciousness concerns its promise for contributing to the humanization of service bureaucracies. Status concern is a necessary but insufficient condition for the development of a sense of professional identity, which may serve as a countervailing force to those bureaucratic norms and practices which dehumanize service delivery.¹ A constructive professional role in the humanization of the social service sector, however, requires a professional identity that is committed to the engagement of the institutional sources of social problems, as well as effective service delivery.

Several conditions frustrate a fulfillment of this "countervailing potential." First, the distinction of professional identity from those activities performed within existing institutional contexts remains ambiguous. The planned public relations campaign of the National Association of Social Workers, for example, is based upon a portrayal of current practice roles and boundaries. Social work's pursuit of a

traditional model of professionalism may also render the fulfillment of a humanizing countervailing force problematic.² The emergence of such a traditionalist professional force complements the service bureaucracies' assignment of consumers to a powerless status. And it is this very powerlessness that is the primary dehumanizing attribute of existing service systems.

Social work, however, should not be faulted for seeking rewards and recognition for its contributions to the existing order of society. Professional status consciousness becomes problematic when professional discourse implies that the pursuit of status enhancement is unrelated to the support of institutionally generated social problems. Acknowledgement of profession-systemic relations permits a more reflexive orientation toward the interests served by specific professional policy objectives. If the profession is to qualitatively mature in performances and prospects, its orientation toward policy objectives must include a sustained recognition that "what is best" for the current organization of social work may or may not be "best" for the society or its continued development.

The legislative priorities of professional social work associations represent reasonable indicators of the degree of professional emphasis afforded status enhancement, relative to a focus upon social development priorities. The professional associations are formally charged with responsibilities that are directly relevant to the themes of "status enhancement," "humanization of the social services," and "social reform." The explicit purposes of these associations include: 1) development and enhancement of practice standards, 2) advancement of social policies consistent with professional values, and 3) improvement of the conditions of professional employment. The professional association's pursuit of multiple goals requires a relative allocation of limited organizational resources. These allocative choices, in turn, reflect social work's orientation toward its societal context.

Professional preoccupation with increasing access to privilege and prestige serves neither social work's aspirations for the humanization of direct services nor its visions of needed structural reform. Such a preoccupation appears disturbingly pronounced in the state legislative activities of the state chapters of the National Association of Social Workers.

Social work's recent development of an organizational capacity and a base of political experience presents the profession with the opportunity to pursue a range of preferred policies at the state level. During the 1974 to 1977 period, forty-three of forty-six state chapters, responding to an exploratory survey, reported active pursuit of one or more state legislative goals.³ Thirty-five of these chapters reported involvement in state legislative processes for two or more years during

the period. Forty-two chapters reported legislative action during 1976, compared to thirty-seven in 1975 and twenty-four in 1974. Moreover, only five of the chapters, reporting legislative activity, indicated that there had been no significant change in the level of their legislative efforts during the period. The remaining chapters reported a significant increase. Nevertheless, there remains great disparity in the relative investment of chapter budgets to legislative activity. The mean of chapter estimated allocation was fourteen percent but the median estimate was six percent.⁴

While the state chapters evidenced a capacity to address a range of social problem solving state policies, these priorities actually accounted for a relatively minor and declining share of the chapters' legislative agenda. Chapter legislative focus on the problems of poverty, racism, sexism, or the limitations of existing welfare, criminal justice, health and education systems was dwarfed by the chapters' pursuit of social work licensure and vendorship. Each of the forty-three chapters, reporting any legislative activity during the 1974 to 1977 period, placed first priority on licensure for one or more years. This single issue was listed as the foremost priority by thirteen of the twenty-four chapters active during 1974. The share of chapter agenda afforded licensure increased to two-thirds during 1975 (24 of 37) and 1976 (27 of 42). A similar pattern emerges in the chapters' more recent listing of 1977 legislative priorities. Both social work licensure and third-party payment provisions have a common relation to the institutionalization of professional status and privilege. In combination, they accounted for thirty-three of the reported forty-two first priorities of 1976 (78%).

Reference to the issues specifically subject to chapter lobbying efforts further supports the conclusion that state professional agenda have incorporated only a minimal focus upon social problem concerns. Thirty-two chapters reported the employment of lobbying during the period. Twenty-six of these chapters focused the lobbying efforts on licensure for one or more years. For the period as a whole, eighty-one percent of the lobbying-addressed priorities involved licensure or vendorship (47 of 58).

Available evidence, moreover, does not suggest that the legislative focus of state chapters become more social problem focused, following the attainment of legal regulation of social work. Chapters which operated in a context of no legal status were just as likely to focus upon social problem concerns as the chapters which had successfully established state registration or licensure. In fact, each of those chapters which has secured licensed status by 1976 placed first priority upon vendorship or the amendment of an existing licensure law.

Given the ideological heritage of social work, the pursuit of

special interests is typically associated with rhetorical justification of those efforts. Professional self-interest concerns are defined in terms of concern for public benefit.⁵ Creation of a licensed service monopoly, for example, is advocated solely in terms of consumer protection. The political and economic benefits to the profession itself, resulting from the control over the supply of service providers, constitutes a latent issue within professional discourse. In this regard, the nature of the profession's advocacy of licensure fails to facilitate rationality in public decision-making. The rhetorical justification of policy preferences may constitute effective immediate-interest politics. And selective definition of issues need not reflect anti-social intent. Yet, dramaturgical politics may well be dysfunctional to social development. This is most true if the means by which formal public choices emerge are regarded as crucial to the process of social development. The issues do illustrate, however, the selective recasting of the profession's interest in its own status enhancement, particularly in the public advocacy of these two dominant state policy objectives.

One other consequence of this process of recasting policy objectives is the emergence of contradiction in the assumptions of public positions. The consumer protection rhetoric of licensure, for example, assumes that service consumers lack the ability to distinguish incompetent from competent workers. The stated rationale of vendorship, on the other hand, assumes that consumers have the ability to distinguish among relatively fine degrees and dimensions of service provider competency. Given the latter, one would more logically advocate the empowerment of consumers to make choices within an unrestrained service market.

A standard justification of the profession's general quest for improved status also involves problematic assumptions. It has been suggested that the improvement of professional status, relative to other fields, improves social work's ability to recruit and attract more talented members of this society. This recruitment advantage, in turn, is supposed to improve the quality of service. This rationale, however, provides implicit support for a structural-functionalist model of stratification and the oppressive cultural beliefs about the "reason" for gross social inequality. Aggressive pursuit of expanded conceptions of affirmative action, on the other hand, appear to be based upon a more viable model of stratification.

In the 1940s Kenneth Pray asserted that "the usefulness of professional associations as an instrument of social action is necessarily limited by (their) primary functional concern with professional standards."⁶ The recent legislative record of state chapters does suggest that the latter function has been preferred, particularly as the function relates to status concern. Within the sociology of occupations,

it is thought that the primary and most direct consequence of licensing is the improvement of the profession's own political economy.⁷ As professions more actively seek "state-regulation," the consumer protection claims of licensing advocates must be more closely examined in all fields of work. While policy impact is a familiar subject of social work research, very little evidence has been brought to bear upon the actual consequences of social work licensure. During the interim, it is disturbing that studies of the relation between advanced formal education and service delivery effectiveness do not consistently support the logic of the criteria upon which multi-level licensure is based.⁸ As systematic attention is focused upon the possible benefits of licensure, attention should also be directed towards its possible social costs. Does strict licensure further professional disengagement from the plight of those who are marginal to the American cultural and economic mainstream? How adversely is the opportunity for low-income mobility effected by the institutionalization of additional credential barriers in a key field of the service sector? How does licensure relate to non-clinical sectors of the profession or the status of minority group members? Regardless of ultimate research outcomes, it is notable that the continued void in impact research has been accompanied social work's intensification of licensure efforts.

Regardless of the orientation toward the specific issues of licensure and vendorship or the general orientation toward the institutionalization of professional status, the question of the propriety of the state chapters' nearly exclusive preoccupation with these concerns seems most compelling. When one legislative concern dominates professional agenda, at any level of government, there is reason to scrutinize more than simply the consequences of the enactment of a legislative objective. Attention should also be directed to the distribution of costs and benefits. If the reduction of gross inequalities in life chances remains a collective professional commitment, the distributive issue is paramount. Given the commonplace exemption of public employees from licensure requirements, it seems likely that the most disadvantaged are least likely to benefit from an emphasis on licensure. Accordingly, the profession's desired role in the creation of a more just and humane society is poorly served by preoccupation with licensure, even if licensure provides some means of protection for certain sectors of the consuming public. Preoccupation with status concerns also involves opportunity cost. Resources directed toward licensure have simply not available for the pursuit of social problem directed priorities. The ideals of social work seemingly demand that the mix of professional legislative priorities reflect some capacity for the subordination of professional interests and the interests of more privileged social

sectors to the interests of those lacking the necessities of existence and basic nurturance. The political agenda of professional associations, at least partially, reflect the level of commitment to an altruistic ideal. And it is this commitment which may ultimately legitimate a claim to professional status.

The nation-wide pattern of restricted state professional agenda may partially reflect a low regard for state politics and a limited notion of the policy-making significance of the states. As mediating structures within a federal system, the states serve a significant sources of policy innovation. Centrally planned change is not always preferable or politically feasible.⁹ Accordingly, social work's pursuit of a more socially developed society may be supported by the open advocacy of a wide range of preferred state-level policies.

The apparent status-enhancement emphasis of the state-level chapters also prompts concern for the relation of professional identity to social policy relevancy. Ideally, social work's contribution to social policy development incorporates the experiences of direct service practitioners. These practitioners may provide valuable direction by their translation of patterns of encountered private troubles into relevant public issues and proposals for remedial legislation.¹⁰ Jack Rothman has noted that most social workers associate their professional responsibilities for social policy relevancy with intra-professional channels and the subsequent legislative activities of the professional associations.¹¹ Moreover, the state professional associations embody a potential for greater organizational responsiveness to the policy concerns of social work practitioners, than the larger and more distant national organization. Alternate but non-exclusive explanations for the restricted focus of state chapter legislative activity include a lack of professional-organizational responsiveness to the policy concerns of member practitioners or a very limited commitment to state policy relevancy by those members.

As many chapters remain in the formative stages of their organizational development, they vary in the degree and means by which on-going general membership involvement is secured. In most cases, however, annual chapter meetings appear to serve as the prime source of general membership input. In addition to the state chapter boards, the members of voluntary legislative committees exert considerable influence in shaping chapter agenda. Member apathy appears to be a primary factor limiting the legislative effectiveness of the state organizations. Member apathy may also account for the limited focus of state chapter agenda. In response to a recent open-ended inquiry, thirty-four of the responding forty-three chapters cited member apathy as a primary factor limiting their legislative effectiveness. One chapter president, simply explained, "This drastically changes (apathy) when issues become pocket-

book concerns." In their efforts to involve their membership and due to their heavy reliance upon voluntary action by their membership, the state organizations may move toward a heavy status-enhancing legislative focus.¹² This restriction of agenda, in turn, may alienate those who expect priorities to focus more directly upon pressing social problems.

In summary, the recent legislative record of state professional associations suggests that the president of the National Association of Social Workers may have been premature in exempting social work from the category of professions (medicine, law) subject to increasing public disenchantment.¹³ Opportunity for the pursuit of self-serving interests and the potential for manipulation of the public trust may have more to do with the entrenchment of traditional status than the field of professional endeavor. Intra-professional political processes shall determine how future social work legislative priorities relate to the status interests and social problem concerns of social work and its professional associations.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- 2 Alan Gartner, Frank Riessman. The Service Society and the Consumer Vanguard. (N.Y.: Harper and Row, Inc., 1974) p. 148-9
- 3 An exploratory questionnaire was circulated among the fifty state chapters during the spring of 1977. The four non-responding chapters were geographically dispersed and representative of the states according to the legal status of social work. A commitment was made to refrain from identifying any chapter with any of their fifteen item responses. Manuscript on file at Saint Louis University, School of Social Service.
- 4 Measures of central tendency based upon the responses of forty-three chapter offices. Inquiry was issued during the winter of 1977-78.
- 5 For general discussion of the role of interests, recasting rhetoric, and public rationality SEE:

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- 6 Kenneth Pray, "Social Work and Social Action."
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- 7 Randall Collins. Conflict Sociology: Toward an Explanatory Science. (N.Y.: Academic Press, 1975) p. 342
- 8 Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin, Henry Meyer. The Assessment of Social Research. (Itasca, Illinois, 1969) p. 164
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Peter Berger, Richard Neuhaus. To Empower People: Role of Mediating Structures in Public Policy. (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977)

- 10 William Schwartz. "Private Troubles or Public Issues: One Social Work Job or Two?" Social Welfare Forum (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1969)
- 11 Jack Rothman. Planning and Organizing for Social Change: Action Principles from Social Science Research. (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1974) p. 93
- 12 For strong argument that the influence of the most powerful professional associations is attributable to their provision of non-collective benefits to members see:

Mancur Olson. The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Press, 1977) 139-166
- 13 "Social Work Prognosis Is Good, Says Katz," in NASW News vol. 23, No. 1, January 1978, p. 11