

May 1985

Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare Vol. 12, No. 2 (June 1985)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw>



Part of the Social Work Commons, and the Sociology Commons

Recommended Citation

(1985) "Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare Vol. 12, No. 2 (June 1985)," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 12: Iss. 2, Article 1.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15453/0191-5096.1699>

Available at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/jssw/vol12/iss2/1>

This Complete Issue is brought to you by the Western Michigan University School of Social Work. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare



Vol. XII No.2

Jun. 1985

The JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE is published by the Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, Incorporated, University of Connecticut, School of Social Work, West Hartford, Connecticut. Copyright 1985, Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare, Inc.

Editor: Robert D. Leighninger, Jr., Center for Human Services, Western Michigan University. The editorial office is jointly sponsored by the Department of Sociology and the School of Social Work of Western Michigan University.

Book Review Editors: Shimon Gottschalk and Bruce Thyer, School of Social Work, Florida State University.

Editorial Consultants:

David Joslyn
Ronald Kramer
Nathaniel McCaslin

Lewis Walker
Marion Wijnberg

Associate Editors:

Mimi Abramovitz
Paul Adams
Thomas Briggs
John J. Cardwell
Ben Carniol
Harris Chaiklin
Susan Chandler
Pranab Chatterjee
Mary Jo Deegan
Alejandro Garcia
David G. Gil
Gale Goldberg
Shimon Gottschalk
Robert Green
Charles Guzzetta
Margaret Hartford
John Herrick
David Hollister
Joe Hudson
Elizabeth Huttman
Charles F. Jones
Terry Jones
Larry Jordan
Frank Kastelic
Stuart A. Kirk
Jordon Kosberg

Robert Kronick
Timothy Lause
Leslie Leighninger
Philip Lichtenberg
Murray Meld
Henry Meyer
Joe Miller
Kristine Nelson
Larry Northwood
Edward J. Pawlak
Dennis Peck
Felice Purlmutter
Jonathan Rabinowitz
Dan Rubenstein
Jennifer Shirmer
Elfriede Schlesinger
Ralph Segalman
Eunice Shatz
Arthur Shostak
David R. Simon
Bruce Thyer
Danny H. Thompson
John E. Tropman
John Williamson
James Wolk

The JOURNAL was originated by members of the Division of Sociology and Social Welfare, Society for the Study of Social Problems but has no official affiliation with that organization.

Cover: Charlotte Goroff

Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare

Volume XII

June 1985

No.2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Long-Term Trends in Public Concerns in Two Societies RACHEL KATS	pp. 220
Ideology and Opportunity in Social Work During the New Deal Years NORMA KOLKO PHILLIPS	pp. 251
Applying the "Unmotivated" Label to Clients in Social Service Agencies BEN-ZION COHEN	pp. 274
The Immobility of Low-Paid Workers MARSHALL I. POMER	pp. 287
Public Preferences Concerning Future Directions in Social Security DAVID L. KLEMMACK LUCINDA L. ROFF	pp. 311

Tracing the Conception and Meaning of The Age Discrimination in Employment Act: Where Are We With Mandatory Retirement? MONICA FERRELLI	pp. 326
Students' Views on the Future of Social Work DONALD E. MAYPOLE JAMES G. McCULLAGH	pp. 339
Professional Development of the BSW Student JOAN M. MERDINGER	pp. 362
Verbal Strategies That Succeed When Job Performance Fails or How to Eschew Social Work Through Convincing Conversation MICHELLE WATERS PAULA DRESSEL	pp. 383
Evolution of Adult Foster Care JOHN M. McCOIN	pp. 392
Understanding a Presented Problem From a Phenomenological Perspective ANANT JAIN	pp. 413
Health and Social Welfare Needs of the Elderly: A Preliminary Study BAXTER WRIGHT BRUCE A. THYER DIANA DiNITTO	pp. 431

LONG-TERM TRENDS
IN PUBLIC CONCERNS
IN TWO SOCIETIES(1)

RACHEL KATS

University of Haifa

ABSTRACT

Trends in public concerns from the early 1960's to the mid-1970's are compared for Israel and the United States, relating changes in concerns to historical and social change which occurred during the decade in both societies. The analysis is based on open-ended questions regarding views of either personal or nation's future -- hopes and fears for that future -- and a Self-Anchoring Rating Scale, by which the respondent evaluated personal and nation's situation in various time perspectives. The Israeli's future perspective became centered around peace and war, removing other issues to a secondary plane of concern. In contrast, the American became more concerned about social issues. The most striking difference in the evaluations of self and society was that the Israelis revealed in the seventies a personal depressive mood, while the Americans were at that time more pessimistic about their society's situation and future.

The purpose of this paper is to compare public concerns in two societies, Israel and the United States, at two time periods, the early 1960's and the mid-1970's. The basic question asked is: How do different populations react, as evinced in their concerns, to what happened in their lives and country over the course of more than a decade?

The idea of subjective concerns as monitors of social change has recieved ample attention (Land, 1971; Barnes and Inglehart, 1974; Parke and Seidman, 1978). A general assumption has been that objective change leads to change in subjective indicators (Turner, 1971; Rokeach, 1973; Campbell, 1976); or, following Weberian tradition, a mutual relationship is postulated (Lipset, 1963).

As several authors have noted, comparative studies combining a long-term and cross-cultural perspective are less in evidence (Pierce and Pride, 1972; Rokeach, 1973; Campbell, 1976; Andrews and Inglehart, 1973). This lack is due to, besides limitations of resources, the difficulties involved in capturing macro-social change -- its complexity, extent, and duration, and its relation to the change in individual attitudes (Kats, 1982). In addition, a cross-sectional, cross-cultural comparison introduces its own source of error and bias: when patterns characterizing a nation as a whole are overaccentuated, variations between relevant segments of the population and their influence on those patterns may be overlooked (Pierce and Pride, 1972; Rodgers and Converse, 1975). Micro-level analysis, on the other hand, may lead to ecological fallacies. Sampling errors and their effect on the interpretation of results may be compounded in cross-cultural research over time, since populations in different societies not only vary as such, but may also change in divergent ways (Duncan, 1975).

Nevertheless, as advocates of the cross-cultural approach to the study of subjective social indicators argue, only cross-cultural research can adequately "reflect the recent economic and social history" (Barnes and Inglehart, 1974) and provide the proper perspective (Pierce and Pride, 1972). Phenomena in different societal systems are comparable

when the same operational measures are used -- provided these are valid -- and culture-bound concepts can be distinguished adequately (Andrews and Inglehart, 1979).

The subjective social indicators used in the present study were developed by an adherent of the cross-cultural approach -- Hadley Cantril -- and proved itself appropriate for an overall comparison of public concerns in a wide range of countries. Repeated use of Cantril's method in two focal countries offered an opportunity to study and compare long-term trends in concerns.(2)

The two societies selected for comparison -- Israel and the United States -- are characterized by both similarities and dissimilarities.(3) Of major importance for the topic of this paper is the fact that since the early 1960's, when relative calm seemed to prevail in the world, both countries have gone through "major national events" (Bradburn, 1969: 42) -- war, economic upheaval, social turmoil -- which are likely to cause change in people's concerns, otherwise affected mostly by their more immediate personal life situation.

One of the major assumptions in the analysis of the Israeli data was that the rank order of importance of concerns would remain relatively stable over time (Antonovsky and Arian, 1972; Rokeach, 1974; Kats, 1982); that only the most salient public issues, those related to major societal problems and change, could be expected to change in accordance with the objective trend (Turner, 1971). When the assumption is extended to a cross-cultural comparison, the hypothesis might be made that the more stable concerns are basic human concerns, which are similar in different societies, while the varying concerns reflect changes in the societal system and in ideologies.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SIXTIES

What were the major trends of change in the two countries over this decade which are considered to form a frame of reference against which people's concerns were patterned?(4)

Israel's population increased by about 50% from 1961 to 1974, relatively a much more rapid increase than occurred during the same period in the United States (about 15%). This was due to a high rate of both natural increase and immigration, and accompanied by a rise in the Arab share of the population. Emigration increased as well.

In both countries the decade was dominated by war. In Israel, the wars of 1967 and 1973 added new dimensions -- occupied territories, terrorism -- to already existing defense problems, and they overshadowed other international developments of importance. Opposite Israel's military power, there emerged the economic and political power of the neighboring Arab countries, the growing importance of the PLO. America in the 1960's was dominated by its involvement in Vietnam, which not only had a traumatic impact internally, but also changed the position of the United States on the international scene. Shortly before the second survey was conducted, the Middle East crisis introduced the oil embargo and the subsequent energy crisis.

Politically in Israel, the decade of the 1960's has been characterized as one of "dynamic conservatism" (Eisenstadt, 1977; Ellemers, 1981) with continuation of political leadership and institutions. Yet it was a period in which the national consensus seemed to erode: rivalries and conflicts arose within parties; new leadership emerged (Elazar, 1973). In America, the political climate became one of

increasing seeking equality in the Great Society, with descent into rioting and political assassination (Watts and Free, 1978). Closer to the second survey, the political corruption of Watergate brought disillusionment, and changed the relation of the people to its leadership.

Although Israel remained economically far behind the United States, which in the sixties reached an unknown affluence and technological development (Campbell, Con verse and Rodgers, 1976), its economy took large leaps ahead and its standard of living increased accordingly.(5) Except for 1965-67, unemployment remained relatively low. At the same time the inflation rate reached new proportions toward the second survey and other economic problems emerged.(6) Material aspirations rose but income gaps widened. In America, the steady growth in affluence and welfare halted toward the end of the sixties, and serious problems of inflation and unemployment arose for parts of the population.(7)

Socially, the sixties were for Israel a period of consolidation and further development. But, more troublesome trends also appeared; problems of the environment, crime, or drugs were less widespread than in the United States but felt more in the smaller country (Greenberg, 1979). Questions of Jewish and Israeli identity were brought into focus by such events as the Eichmann trial and the aftermath of the Arab wars (Antonovsky and Arian, 1972; Eisenstadt, 1977). The pioneering Zionist-Socialist ideology seemed on the retreat, repalced by a present-oriented, competitive materialism and a self-confident belief in Israel's power that was seriously challenged only by the October War. A declining work ethic, combined with a deterioration in labor relations, in interpersonal relations, and in public morality, were other social trends (Greenberg, 1979; Keren and Goldberg, 1980).

The years brought increasing differentiation and stratified pluralism to Israeli society, notwithstanding the unifying effects of war. The rising standard of living served not only to create aspirations but to make inequalities more sharply felt (Cohen, 1980; Deshen, 1980; Smoohah and Peres, 1980). America in the 1960's experienced a decade of "civil rights movement, social experimentation and criticism" (Simon, 1974). Welfare programs and revolutionary changes in the position of groups such as blacks and women, proved to be insufficient and created, as in Israel, discontent and frustration. These and other disturbing and divisive social problems of the post-industrial society, like alienation or invasion of privacy, affected the self-image of the American, as well as trust in the leadership (Watts and Free, 1978; Abramowitz, 1980).

METHOD

The indicators employed in the study are those developed in the early 1960's in an international study by Hadley Cantril. In order to measure subjective perceptions of the "reality world," Cantril asked his respondents two basic sets of questions. The first set consisted of open-ended questions asking the respondent to describe in as much detail as possible his personal situation and that of his country in ideal circumstances.(8) Similarly, he had to relate to the worst imaginable situation. In the second set, the respondent was to consider the extreme situations he had described as ends of an 11-point "ladder" ranging from 10 to 0, the so-called "self-Anchoring Striving Scale," and to rank self and country on this scale. This ranking had to be done for three points in time: five years before the interview, at the time of the interview, and five years in the future.(9) Thus, feelings of optimism or pessimism, progress or frustration, were able to be mea-

sured.(10)

The present analysis bases itself on data from two Israeli and two American surveys which used these two sets of questions. The surveys in each country were conducted at similar periods. In Israel a national survey was conducted for Cantril by the Israel Institute of applied Social Research at the end of 1961 - beginning 1962 (Antonovsky and Arian, 1972). There were 1,170 respondents. At the beginning of 1975, a replication of that study was made among an urban sample of 531 persons. This number corresponded with the 779 respondents in the first sample who lived in the same cities.(11) The American data have been reproduced from Watts and Free, State of the Nation III, which reports on a series of national surveys using Cantril's questions.(12) For present purposes, data for 1964 and 1974 are compared; these are based on surveys conducted, respectively, by the Institute for International Social Research and Potomac Associates.

Although the survey questions were translated into Hebrew for the Israeli studies, and Israeli respondents mentioned some specific topics, Cantril's original coding scheme was generally applicable without arousing special reliability problems. Intercoder reliability at the two stages was, respectively, 95% and 84% (Antonovsky and Arian, 1972; Kats, 1982).

FINDINGS

Generally, the Israeli respondents revealed a downward trend in the mentioning of personal hopes: a more limited range of hopes was mentioned, and the percentage expressing each hope decreased.(13) "Immediate" issues like standard of living, one's own health, happy family life, and children's prospects, remained highly ranked on the list, but the dominant hope became the wish for peace. Ex-

cept for the hope for a decrease in army service -- extensive after the war period -- no new issue came to the fore (Table 1).

The personal hopes of the American generally increased; however, although the three major aspirations of the 1960's -- standard of living, children's future, and personal health -- retained their primary importance, they also declined in salience, as they did in Israel. In fact, on these issues the personal concerns of Israelis and Americans converged.(14)

There is another difference between the personal aspirations of Israelis and Americans. The former concentrated on a happy family life and on peace; the latter contended with a new set of social issues: the hope for economic stability, more honest government, more social justice, less crime and violence, and more international cooperation. These issues, much less or not at all mentioned by Israelis, probably reflect America's social unrest, reactions to Watergate, and a concern about the nation's position in the world.

Personal fears, too, were mentioned less frequently by Israelis in 1975 than in 1962 (Table 2). Only war-related worries became more salient: the fear of war, its specific impact, terrorist attacks, and prolonged army service. These concerns drove others deeper into the background. Nevertheless, as with hopes, the most salient of the personal fears -- ill health and a lower standard of living -- remained highest in rankorder after the fear of war. The economic concerns of Israelis received a different nuance: The fear of economic instability became more pronounced, a rather obvious consequent of the inflation rate of the time. Inflation seemed to have affected the American more immediately, however; for him it became a major concern, ranking first with ill-health.

Yet, despite large-scale unemployment in America in the early 1970's personal fear of unemployment of the American exhibited stability over the decade. Watts and Free (1978) attributed this to the fact that unemployment hit only specific groups in the population.

Reflecting personal hopes, social issues became more prominent in the personal fears of Americans. In Israel these issues were mentioned by very few. Only in the two major fears of ill health and decline in the standard of living did the Israeli resemble the American in the mid-seventies. As for other personal fears, the percentages in 1975 were even lower for Israelis than for Americans, a reversal of the 1962 situation, when Israelis expressed more fears.

The greatest contrast between Israel and the United States was in national hopes: a drastic reduction in Israel; an increase in the United States (Table 3).

Peace (in Israel, usually meaning peace with the Arab countries) remained the foremost national hope of the majority of Israelis. In the States, peace was also the highest ranking issue; but it declined in importance from 51% to 27% and, despite Vietnam, was of much less national salience than it was in Israel. This Israeli concern for peace removed most of the national issues from the mind, as it did on the personal level, except for the hope for a higher standard of living. The latter and the hope for economic stability replaced a concern for productivity and technological advance, which had been prominent issues in Israel in the early sixties. Furthermore, only some concern about immigration, public morality, and national unity retained their salience among Israelis. The first indicated perhaps a worry about the decline in immigration; The last seemed to reflect discontent and doubts of the period after the October War.

In the United States peace and a higher standard of living ranked in 1964 as high in importance as they did in Israel. These two concerns were followed in rankorder by the hope for employment and the elimination of discrimination, issues of relevance at the time. In 1974, when the Vietnam war had ended, as had Watergate, the American had become more preoccupied with domestic issues. Not only did integrity in politics and inflation rank highest among national hopes, but generally -- in contrast to Israel -- social issues gained in salience: social responsibility, efficiency in government, law and order, democracy in government, public health, ecology. The American clearly held more aspirations for his society than did the Israeli, who wanted above all to be left in peace.

Although the October War had somehow lowered the expectation among Israelis that a new war would erupt soon -- the fear of war with the Arabs decreased from 50% to 8% -- it left at least two immediate national fears: of the destruction of the State (mentioned by 17%) and the burden of continuing army service. Otherwise only the two economic issues, of inflation and an inadequate standard of living, retained a certain salience as nation fear. No further internal issues seemed of importance to the Israeli public (Table 4).

The American pattern bears witness to the internal troubles and the energy crisis that the United States as a whole had experienced by the second survey. War, which in 1964 was of major importance as in Israel, now ranked only second after the economic worry of inflation. The Cold War had ended; fear of communism, second in importance in 1964, lost most of its salience. Reflecting national hopes and in contrast to Israel, the worry over internal political and social conditions, even

though mentioned by a minority, has increased or, at least, not declined in salience.

The reflection of these trends in concerns from the mid-sixties to the mid-seventies in the average ladder ratings -- the views of past, present and future of self and nation -- shows the differences in outlook between the Israeli and the American in yet another way (Table 5 and Figure 1).

Both personal and national ladder ratings in the early sixties showed an upward trend over time: the present was considered better than the past, and expectations were even higher for the future. Generally, the ratings for Israelis on both ladders, were below the level of those for Americans. On the personal level, the slope from past to future was somewhat more even for Americans than for Israelis. In the national ratings, Israelis revealed a stronger optimism: the slope for Israelis was straightlined and steeper than for Americans. Israelis in the early 1960's, then, viewed their past -- perhaps realistically so -- relatively low compared to Americans; but having experienced rapid progress toward the present, they tended to project this evaluation onto an optimistic view of the future, in which, potentially, much could still be realized (Antonovsky and Arian, 1972). The Israeli respondents tended to view their personal past in a better light than that of their country, and the present about the same; but the national future looked rosier than their own. For the Americans, the opposite was true: they considered their own past worse off than their country's, but both their personal present and future better off.

The mid-seventies see a turn in the tide. The mood in Israel had become depressed; in particular, the personal present was seen as more negative than in the past. Hope in the future was not lost; people still expected

improvement, personally and nationally. On the personal level, however, their future aspirations were lower than in 1962. Remarkable enough, the national present was ranked about the same as in the past. Regarding the national future, the Israelis remained as optimistic in 1975 as they were in 1962.

The personal ratings of Americans in 1974 followed parallel trends to those in 1964, only at a lower level. Americans showed no drop in their evaluation of the present as had the Israelis. For the Americans, that happened nationally: the present was clearly evaluated lower than in the past; but, although the future was again rated higher, the level of 1974 fell under that of 1964. National present and future, in contrast to the sixties, were also ranked far below personal present and future.

Finally, comparing the Israeli of the mid-seventies with the American of that period: the former saw his personal present and future clearly at a lower level. The American, by contrast, ranked his nation's present, and even more so its future, lower. The American had become as pessimistic about the present and future of the nation as the Israeli had become about personal life. (16)

DISCUSSION

Public opinion is difficult to link directly and causally to events. Yet the results of the surveys in both countries, as well as to some of the basic trends which developed in their economic, political and social life. This response is revealed most clearly in the changing patterns of concerns of major salience. Of course, answers to open-ended questions, in particular, tend to follow normative issues of concern, the "head-

lines."

Such possible bias in the data, however, does not explain all of the difference between the two countries. A variety of generalized characteristics of the Israelis have been advanced to explain why they remained occupied with the down-to-earth daily problems of personal health, family, and economic situation and seemingly left unattended many social issues that one might have expected to bother them. These characteristics, which existed in 1962, but seemingly became more prominent in 1975, included complacency, narrowness of scope, provincialism, and lack of social consciousness or responsibility (Antonovsky and Arian, 1972; Eisenstadt, 1977; Greenberg, 1979). It has also been suggested that these attitudes may reflect a defensive or hardening reaction, a way of coping with the stresses under which the Israeli constantly lives (Rokeach, 1973); or, that the Israelis concentrate on the basic concerns because the problems of their country are too large and complex to comprehend, and as such are for the government to come to grips with, not for them.

The difference with the Israelis on this plane can be exaggerated; however, the Americans show themselves in this and other studies to be relatively more socially concerned. This is seen as being due to their more activist, participatory orientation, to a confidence in their ability and responsibility to influence and change their government and environment, and to a tendency to criticize (Abramowitz, 1980).

If the personal optimism of the American can be understood by a generally adequate life situation, despite problems (Watts and Free, 1978), then the national optimism of the Israeli, given the situation in 1974, raises more questions than does the personal pessi-

mism. Does the national optimism express loyalty to country -- not allowing the Israelis mentally to be as pessimistic as they are about their personal life? Or is a traditional Jewish cultural trait being expressed here: hope for better times, which remained alive throughout the centuries, not for the person, but for the people?

The Israelis' national image, central symbol of identity, and their aspirations, have always been extended to utopian dimensions in order to enable them to live in a world of uncertainty (Jacob, 1974; Eisenstadt, 1977; Greenberg, 1979). The symbol is related to a belief in the impossible, the miracle. The Israelis can imagine many bad things to happen to them personally, but they cannot afford to be doubtful about their country, the only thing which keeps them standing in a hostile world. Being doubtful for the Israeli does not mean doubting the things the American does; it means fear for the existence of Israel itself. The Americans may have been shocked by objective occurrences; but despite the manifestation and extent of economic and social problems, their basic existence was not felt threatened, the way it was for the Israelis. Thus the Americans may seem gloomy when asked about their country; personally, though, not too much has changed.

At the outset of this paper, it was postulated that, in both the United States and Israel, socially responsive concerns would change according to the social change experienced, while more general human concerns would remain more nearly constant. The data revealed a complex response, in both the changing salience of concerns and the personal and national evaluation of reality. On some issues, Israelis seem to have progressed along the line of development suggested by Cantril (1965), their concerns converging toward those in the more mature American society, which has

reached a stage of questioning the achieved. Otherwise, events and developments seem to have led to some directional change, partially confirming the general hypothesis. Though differently expressed, each country displayed a mood of depression at the time of the 1970's surveys.

The years since then have brought a drastic change in the political constellation of both countries, a new war. The extent to which these and other changes are a consequence of the concerns expressed, and possibly are remolding the public's hopes and fears, is a topic for further research.

NOTES

(1) This study was sponsored by a grant from the Israel National Academy of Sciences. Additional support was received from the School of Social Work, University of Haifa. I gratefully acknowledge the helpful comments of A. Antonovsky, H. Chaiklin, A. Goldstein and J. Shuval. Special thanks are due to A. Antonovsky, A. Arian and the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research for the opportunity to use data from their 1962 survey; and to Lexington Books, D. C. Heath and Company, Lexington, Mass., for its permission to re-print data from W. Watts and L. A. Free, State of the Nation III, 1978.

2) For analyses of trends in public concerns in each country, see, for example, for Israel: Antonovsky and Arian, 1972; Jacob, 1974; Greenberg, 1979; Kats, 1982; for the United States: Simon, 1974; Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, 1976; Watts and Free, 1978.

3) Spechler (1980) argues that a vast country like the united states, with abundant human and natural resources, cannot be com-

pared with a small, isolated country that lacks these assets. Cantril (1965) thought of the United States as a well-developed, mature society, while Israel was on its way to becoming a Western-modelled society, "headed in the same direction but at a slower pace" (Greenberg, 1979). In the latter's view the United States form a major model for Israel, and Israelis tend to stress similarity in problems and values.

4) Cantril (1965: 43) classified the United States in the early sixties as a well-developed, industrialized society, with an unequalled standard of living and further expansion in health, education and culture. Israel, at the time he considered as having a high standard of living, rapidly developing further. For recent reviews on developments, see, on Israel: Greenberg, 1979; Keren and Goldberg, 1980; Spechler, 1980; on America: Watts and Free, 1978; Abromowitz, 1980.

5) Until 1973 the Gross domestic Product growth rate was high compared to other industrialized countries, including the U.S.A. Private consumption showed an 8.7% annual increase (Antonovsky and Arian, 1972).

6) After 1973 the increase in GDP dropped. Labor costs as well as government expenditure increased, the balance of international currency was negative (Spechler, 1980).

7) In 1974 the per capita Gross National Product declined for the first time, inflation reached 22%, the dollar was devaluated, and millions of people faced unemployment (Watts and Free, 1978). The Israeli's real income may have lagged behind that of the American worker, but he still enjoyed employment security and a range of social benefits. In contrast to the United States, family life remained "stable and intensive" (Greenberg, 1979: 77).

8) Sample question: "All of us want certain things out of life. When you think about what really matters in your own life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the best possible light, what would your life look like the, if your are to be happy?"

9) Sample question: "here is a picture o a ladder, Suppose we say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottome represents the worst possible life for you; where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?"

10) Though criticism has been raised about the validity and reliablility of these questions, they have proven to be sensitive indicators of concerns that are of general salience for the public, and as such they have been used repeatedly (Watts and Free, 1978; Kats, 1982).

11) The first was a multi-stage nation sample of jewish citizens, aged 18 and over, drawn from the voting register; the 1975 study was a systematic random sample, drawn from postal zipcode lists and based on sampling within householdunits of jewish citizens aged 20 and over. The second sample had slightly younger, more Israeli born, and higher educated respondents, reflecting population changes, but was otherwise comparable.

12) Data regarding sample size in the American surveys could not be obtained. Usually national samples reanged between 1100 and 1600.

13) Generally, in 1962 the Israel had on the average "many more things to say" than did the American (Anntonovsky and Arian, 1972: 13),

and was more hopeful -- a function of national hopes. Though differences in coding operations were not excluded, the authors offered three other explanation: the verbosity of the Israeli people, the plethora of events experienced by the young nation, and a stronger identification by the Israeli with the nation than by the American. By 1974-75 the concerns of the Israeli had become more limited, in both volume and range, whereas those of the American had increased to the extent that they now exceeded somewhat those of the Israeli. A partial explanation may be that in Israel in 1975, the pertinent questions were part of a larger omnibus survey, which may have suppressed details in the answers. The changing picture, however, seems rather to be a function of less optimistic views held by the Israelis in 1975. Though Israeli respondents still expressed more hopes than fears, these hopes had been reduced in scope. In contrast, Americans mentioned more hopes than they earlier.

14) Watts and Free (1978; 173) explain the decline in importance of a higher standard of living by a partial fulfillment of aspirations, yet a repression of hope through failure to advance. The decrease in concerns for family and children is attributed to frustrations over the young.

15) A reason for this may be that Israeli government policy has kept unemployment at a low rate and at the same time has adjusted wages to the pace of inflation. Neither is the case in America.

16) As later surveys revealed (Watts and Free, 1978: 206), this national ebb in America was not a passing mood.

References

- Abramowitz, A. I.
1980 "The United States: political culture under stress." PP. 177-211 in G. A. Almond and S. Verba (eds.), Civic Culture Revisited. Boston: Little Brown.
- Andrews, F. M. and R. F. Inglehart
1979 "The structure of well-being in nine Western societies." Social Indicators Research 6: 73-90.
- Antonovsky, A. and A. Arian
1979 Hopes and Fears of Israelis: consensus in a New Society. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Academic Press.
- Barnes, S. H. and R. F. Inglehart
1974 "Affluence, individual values, and social change." Pp. 153-184 in B. Strumple (ed.) Subjective Elements of Well-Being. Paris: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
- Bradburn, N. M.
1969 The Structure of Psychological Well-Being. Chicago: Aldine.
- Campbell, A.
1976 "Subjective measures of well-being." American Psychologist 31(2): 117-23.
- Campbell, A., P.E. Converse and W.L. Rodgers
1976 The Quality of American Life: Perceptions, Evaluations and Satisfaction. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Cantril, H.
1965 The Pattern of Human Concerns. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Cohen, E.
1980 "The Black Panthers and Israeli Society." Pp. 147-63 in E. Krausz (ed.), Studies of Israeli Society: Migration, Ethnicity and Community. Vol. I. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.
- Deshen, S.
1980 "Political ethnicity and cultural ethnicity in Israel during the 1960's." Pp. 117-45 in E. Krausz (ed.), Studies of Israeli Society: Migration, Ethnicity and Community. Vol. I. New Brunswick, M.J.: Transaction Books.
- Duncan, O. D.
1975 "Measuring social change via replication surveys." Pp. 105-27 in K. Land and S. Spilerman (eds.), Social Indicator Models. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Eisenstadt, S. N.
1977 "Change and continuity in Israeli society. II. Dynamic conservatism versus innovation." Jerusalem Quarterly @: 3-11.
- Elazar, D. J.
1973 "Local government as an integrating factor in Israeli society." Pp. 15-26 in M. curtis and M. S. Chertoff (eds.), Israel: Social Structure and Change. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.
- Ellemers, J. E.
1981 "Continuïteit en verandering in

- Israeels Politieke verhoudingen
(Continuity and change in Israel's
political constellation). Inter-
nationale Spectator 35(2): 94-104.
- Greenberg, H.
1979 Israel: social Problems. Tel
Aviv: Dekel Academic Press.
- Jacob, A.
1974 "Trends in Israeli public opinion
on issues related to the Arab-
Israeli conflict 1967-1972." Jewish Journal of Sociology 16(2):
187-208.
- Kats, R.
1982 Concerns of the Israeli: change
and stability from 1962 to 1975." Human Relations 35(2) 83-100.
- Keren, M. and G. Goldberg
1980 "Technological development and
ideological change." Pp. 181-94 in
A. Arian (ed.), Israel: a Develop-
ing Society. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Land, K. C.
1971 "On the definition of social indi-
cators." American Sociologist 6:
322-325.
- Lipset, S. M.
1963 "The value patterns of democracy:
a case study in comparative analy-
sis." American Sociological Review
284 515-531.
- Parke, R. and D. Seidman
1978 "Social indicators and social re-
porting." Annals of the American
Academy of Political and Social
Science 435(1): 1-22.
- Pierce, J. C. and R. A. Pride (eds)

- 1972 Cross-National Micro-Analysis: Procedures and Problems Vol. II. Beverly Hills, Ca.: Sage.
- Rodgers, W. L. and P.E. Converse
 1975 "Measures of the perceived overall quality of life." Social Indicators Research 2: 127-52.
- Rokeach, M.
 1973 The Nature of Human Values. Glencoe: Free Press.
- 1974 "Change and stability in American value systems, 1968-1971." Public Opinion Quarterly: 222-38.
- Simon, R. J.
 1974 Public Opinion in America: 1936-1970. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Smootha, S. and Y. Peres
 1980 "Dynamics of ethnic inequalities: the case of Israel." Pp. 165-81 in E. Krausz (ed.), Studies of Israeli Society: Migration, Ethnicity and Community. Vol. I. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.
- Spechler, M. C.
 1980 "Israel's economic achievements after thirty years: comparative perspectives." Pp. 389-413 in A. Arian (ed.), Israel: a Developing Society. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Turner, J. H.
 1971 "Patterns of value change during economic development: an empirical study." Human Organization 30(2): 126-36.
- Watts, W. and L. A. Free
 1978 State of the Nation III. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.

Table 1.
Personal Hopes, Israel and U.S.A., by Period
(Percentage mentioning topic)*

		<u>Israel</u>		<u>U.S.A.</u>	
		<u>1962</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1974</u>
Topic Mentioned	N =	(779)	(531)		
Aspirations for children		48 %	19 %	35 %	24 %
Higher or decent standard of living		46	25	40	29
Personal health		33	22	29	28
House, apartment		31	14	12	11
General concerns for family, relatives		28	6	**	7
Family health		26	10	25	11
Leisure, recreation, travel		24	7	5	9
Happy family life		23	21	18	15
Good job, congenial work		19	8	9	11
Modern conveniences		19	**	-	-
Employment		15	**	-	-
Peace		14	36	17	16
Self-improvement		14	9	-	-
Having own business		9	**	-	-
Freedom from debt		8	**	-	-
Being a normal, decent person		7	**	-	-
Job providing self-development		7	-	-	-
Happy old age		6	**	8	8
Success in one's work		**	8	**	5
Peace of mind, emotional maturity		**	7	9	9
Having wealth		**	5	5	8
Economic stability, no inflation		**	5	**	15
Less army service		-	9	-	-
Better world, international cooperation		**	**	**	8

Table 1. (cont)

Better, more honest government/politics	-	-	**	10
Social justice, elimination of dis- crimination	-	-	**	7
Safety from crime and violence	-	-	**	6
Personal ethical/ religious problems	-	-	6	5
Christian revival	-	-	**	5

* The Israeli data for 1962 are based on an urban subsample, comparable to the 1975 urban sample; source: Israel Institute of Applied Social Research. Tables from Dats (1982) are reprinted with permission of Tavistock Publications. The data for the U.S.A. are based on national samples; source: Institute for International Social Research, 1964; Potomac Associates, 1974; and reprinted, from Watts and Free (1978), with permission of Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company. For the Israeli data a difference of at least 9% between periods was statistically significant (difference between proportions).

** Mentioned by less than five per cent.

Table 2.
Personal Fears, Israel and U.S.A., by Period
(Percentage mentioning topic)

Topic Mentioned	N =	<u>Israel</u>		<u>U.S.A.</u>	
		<u>1962</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1974</u>
		(779)	(531)		
Personal ill-health		42 %	20 %	25 %	25
Lower, inadequate standard of living		35	20	19	16
Ill-health family		30	11	27	12
War		28	38	29	18
Dependence on others, old age, loneliness		20	6	6	*
Unemployment		17	10	14	12
Children (inadequate opportunities)		14	*	10	10
General concerns for, family, relatives		11	*	-	-
Unhappy family life		10	5	8	*
Uncongenial work		5	*	-	-
Economic instability, inflation		*	9	*	26
Specific impact of war, terrorism		-	8	-	-
Army service		-	6	-	-
Social decay, moral disintegration		*	*	*	9
Lack of freedom (of speech)		*	*	6	6
Lack of integrity in government/politics		-	*	*	5
Crime		-	-	*	9

* Mentioned by less than five per cent.

Table 3.
National Hopes, Israel and U.S.A., by Period
(Percentage mentioning topic)

Topic Mentioned	N =	<u>Israel</u>		<u>U.S.A.</u>	
		<u>1962</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1974</u>
		(779)	(531)		
Peace		74 %	72 %	51 %	27 %
Productivity, technological advance	48	7	-	-	-
Population, immigration	36	12	-	-	-
Decent, higher standard of living	33	23	28	11	
Economic stability, no inflation	19	15	5	24	
National independence, economic self-sufficiency	19	81 *	6		
Increased exports	17	-	-	-	
Political stability, national unity	14	11	9	15	
Military strength	14	5	-	-	
Employment	12	*	15	10	
Change in electoral system	11	*	-	-	
Elimination of discrimination	10	5	15	*	
General education	10	*	-	-	
Cultural standards	9	*	-	-	
Public morality	8	11	10	10	
Adequate housing	8	*	-	-	
Free secondary education	7	*	-	-	
Status of nation	6	*	-	-	
International co-operation, better world	6	*	6	*	
Social responsibility, common good	6	*	*	5	

Table 3. (cont)

Interpersonal relations	*	6	-	-
Efficient government	*	5	*	11
Integrity in government/politics	*	*	*	25
Law and order	*	*	*	11
More democratic, representative government	*	*	*	5
Public health	*	*	*	5
Improved ecology	-	*	*	5
Change of presidents	-	-	*	12

* Mentioned by less than five per cent

Table 4.

National Fears, Israel and U.S.A., by Period
(Percentage mentioning topic)

Topic Mentioned	N =	<u>Israel</u>		<u>U.S.A.</u>	
		<u>1962</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1974</u>
		(779)	(531)		
War		80 %	46 %	50 %	24
Lower, inadequate standard of living		17	14	*	6
Economic instability, inflation		13	15	13	28
Political instability, national disunity		11	9	8	12
Increased taxes		10	*	-	-
Population, lack of immigration		9	7	-	-
Low productivity		8	*	-	-
Unemployment		7	5	6	*
Materialism		5	*	-	-
Army service		*	10	-	-

Table 4. (cont)

Lack of public morality	*	5	6	6
Dishonesty in government/politics	*	*	*	8
Loss of democratic government	*	*	*	5
Inefficient government	*	*	*	5
Destruction of state	-	17	-	-
Too centralized, powerful government	-	-	8	*
Threat of communist power	-	-	7	5
Lack of law and order	-	-	5	13
Pollution	-	-	*	6
Food shortages	-	-	*	6

* Mentioned by less than five per cent.

Table 5.
Mean Ladder Ratings, Israel and U.S.A.
by Period *

					Past to Present	Present to Future
	Past	Present	Future			
<u>Personal</u>						
Israel 1962	4.8	5.5	7.0	+0.7	+1.5**	
1975	5.7	4.8	5.6	-0.9	+0.8	
U.S.A. 1964	6.0	6.9	7.9	+0.9	+1.0	
1974	5.5	6.6	7.4	+1.1	+0.8	
<u>National</u>						
Israel 1962	4.0	5.6	7.5	+1.6	+1.9	
1975	5.7	5.6	7.5	-0.1	+1.9	
U.S.A. 1964	6.1	6.5	7.7	+0.5	+1.2	
1974	6.3	4.8	5.8	-1.5	+1.0	

* Based on the Self Anchoring Scale

** A difference of 1.0 in a rating was considered statistically significant for the Israeli data (difference between means, Kats, 1982), of 0.6 for the American data (Watts and Free, 1978)

Figure 1.
Trends in mean ladder ratings, 1960's and
1970's, Israel and U.S.A.

(Sources: Institute for International Social
Research, 1964; Potomac Associates, 1974;
Israel Institute of Applied Social Research,
1962, 1975)

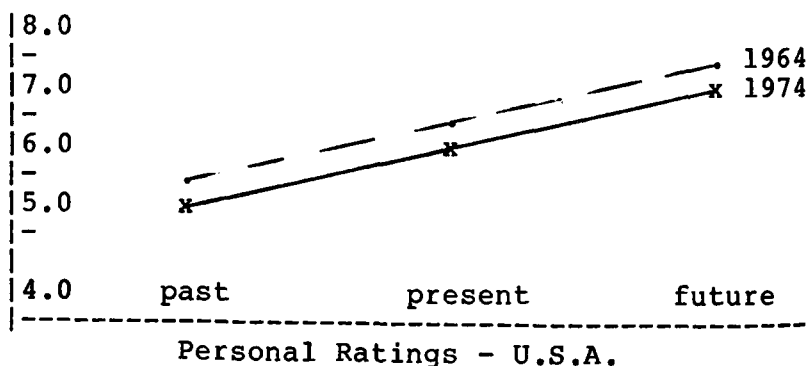
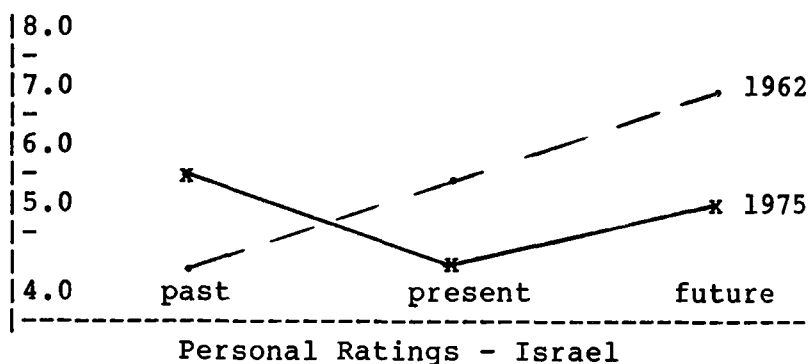
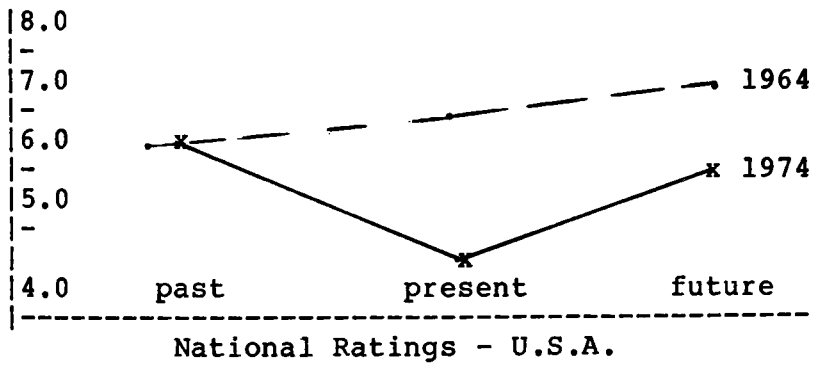
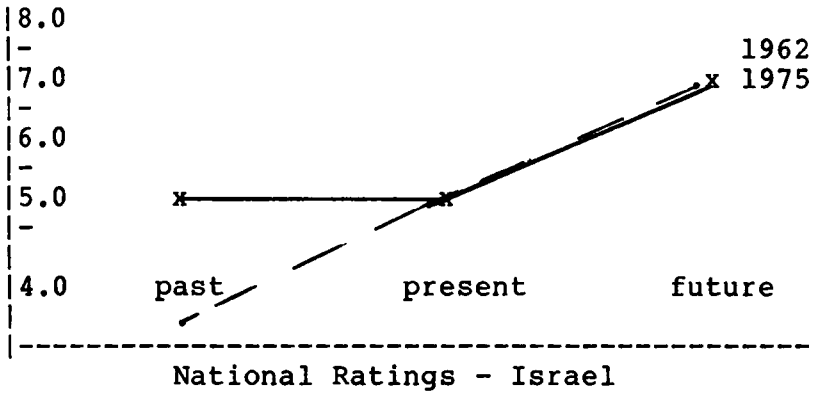


Figure 1. (cont)



IDEOLOGY AND OPPORTUNITY IN SOCIAL WORK DURING

THE NEW DEAL YEARS

Norma Kolko Phillips, D.S.W., Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology and Social Work
Herbert H. Lehman College, City University of New York

ABSTRACT

As the country moved from a dominant ideology of voluntarism towards the welfare state during the New Deal years, conflicts and compromises occurred within the social work profession that required a definition of the role the profession would assume with relation to the public sector of social welfare. The nature of the relationship that evolved between social work and government, and the accommodations made by each during the New Deal years, and particularly around the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, are examined.

INTRODUCTION

The failure of market mechanisms to provide employment and opportunities for economic self-sufficiency for all "able-bodied" people was a major component in the social unrest of the Great Depression and produced critical changes in attitudes of the Federal government towards public and private rights and responsibilities. With the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, the Federal government made its first commitment to permanent involvement with social welfare problems, bringing the social work profession and the Federal government together in a long-term mutual concern for social welfare. This new sponsorship of social welfare programs put the Federal government in the position to offer social work an expansion of professional jurisdiction, including opportunities for jobs. It was at this juncture that the profession had to define its priorities and make clear its position in relation to federal policy and

it was here that social work ideologies were formulated through intense professional conflict and compromise.¹ This paper will explore the nature of the relationship which developed between social work and the Federal government around the New Deal social welfare programs, culminating in the Social Security Act of 1935. This relationship has been crucial to the determination of the scope, direction, values, and goals of social work during the past fifty years, and is again challenged in the debates sparked by Reagan administration policy. The following questions will be addressed:

1. What were the conflicts and compromises within the profession during the New Deal years and what accommodations were made in relation to the Federal government?
2. What influence did the profession have on public policy?
3. Which values were lost, and which were gained as social work accepted the partnership with the Federal government; how did this influence the direction of the profession?

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE SOCIAL WORK - GOVERNMENT RELATIONSHIP

Throughout American history one sees a pattern of slow and uneven movement toward expanded federal involvement in social welfare. These shifts, in turn, created changing roles for social work after the professions's birth at the beginning of the 20th century. Although the tradition of the English Poor Law, brought to this country by the earliest settlers, introduced the principle of government involvement with social welfare, it kept minimal the responsibility that the government assumed for meeting the needs of the poor in the New World. Government tended to follow the ideology of privatism, which can be defined as individual rather than societal responsibility for creating, experiencing, and alleviating poverty. Privatism continued as the dominant ideology until the 1920s. Only in times of crises, when social and political systems were threatened, did the government extend its role in alleviating social welfare

problems, as, for example in the formation of the Freedmen's Bureau in the Civil War period (Olds, 1963). The belief that poverty was associated with immorality and individual failure rather than with the nature of the economic system was founded on the American myth that opportunities existed for economic success, and the individual was responsible for his own economic distress. During the late 19th century, while privatism was dominant, social work developed in divergent directions represented by the Charity Organization Societies and the Settlement House movement, with the former assuming individual responsibility, and the latter societal responsibility for the causes of poverty and its solutions.

During the 1920s, when the United States had seen the dramatic economic and social changes brought about by industrialization and increased corporate power, privatism was challenged and voluntarism, advocated by Herbert Hoover during that decade, took hold as the dominant ideology in the country. Based on the assumption that poverty was a result of the structure of the economic system rather than individual moral failure, voluntarism represented a significant shift from the earlier thinking. Along with this new understanding of the causes of poverty came a broader view of the responsibilities of the society to provide opportunities for people (Hoover, 1922). Although the Federal government was in no way seen as a provider of income or social services, it was seen as the protector of citizens and to this end government intervened by encouraging the development of cooperative institutions, including trade associations, professional societies, and organizations of farmers and laborers (Hawley, 1974; 117-118; Burner, 1979). The 1920s also saw the development of welfare capitalism in America, another form of voluntarism, based on the premise of mutuality of interests between labor and management (Brandes, 1970: 26-28).

Hoover's applications of voluntarism as a solution to massive suffering linked social work and government during the early years of the Great Depression. He maintained that if self-reliance and self-respect were to survive, private charity and local government rather than the Federal government

must assume responsibility for funding and administering social welfare programs. At this point in history the Federal government and the society as a whole turned to social work agencies to take on responsibility for distributing relief funds. By 1931, as mass need increased, more and more people were turning to social workers in family agencies for financial help.

STRUGGLES WITHIN SOCIAL WORK DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF THE DEPRESSION

The first winter of the Great Depression saw social work sharing with many other groups the belief that the economy would soon improve (Bruno, 1957: 300-301).² In spite of the increase in unemployment that began with the economic disaster of 1929, it was not until 1931 that the Proceedings of the National Conference on Charities and Corrections reflect the concern of social workers about widespread unemployment. During the early 1930s, as the severity of the economic and social conditions was becoming apparent to more and more social workers, the process of re-establishing the historical connection between the social work profession and the task of relieving poverty began.

Consequently, two major conflicts arose within the profession. First, in response to public pressure, social work reluctantly downgraded the importance of the counseling function which had been highly valued by family agencies during the 1920s and began the shift to assuming the function of relieving poverty once again. In addition, the profession struggled with the question of Federal government responsibility for relief. In the early Depression years, only some social workers supported federal grants to states for unemployment relief. Others continued to see local government and local charities as the appropriate sources for relief.³ As economic conditions continued to worsen, social work became more unified in its position, supporting federal responsibility for providing relief and advocating more strongly for work relief. In an article in the Survey in April 1931, Mary van Kleeck, of the Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation and an outspoken social work leader,

criticized President Hoover's veto of the Wagner bill, which called for a national employment service. At its annual meeting that year, the American Association of Social Workers (AASW) appointed a Committee on Unemployment to collect information on unemployment from local chapters and publicize it, to consider unemployment insurance and more adequate funding of relief, and to further consider federal funding of relief.⁴

Although more and more social workers supported Federal government intervention in social welfare policy and programs, it was by no means the dominant attitude within the profession and it was not until 1932, three years into the Depression, that AASW gave its support to the Costigan-LaFollette bill providing for federal grants to the states for unemployment relief, thereby officially endorsing the principle of federal responsibility for this program (Fisher, 1980: 39-40).⁵

A group of radical social workers organized what became known as the Rank-and-File movement in 1931. They believed the Depression was the result of a breakdown in the old economic order and that only the replacement of the old social order with one based on public ownership of resources of the nation, and a planned and rational use of these resources would bring it to an end. The movement opposed the political position of the social work establishment which, it claimed, was committed to the preservation of the status quo and was deferential to the conservative views of businessmen who assumed positions of leadership in social work agencies. Although most people in the movement were not Communist Party members, their disillusionment with Hoover's policies and with the ability of social work leaders to propose plans to meet the needs of the unemployed, led to what Jacob Fisher referred to as a "fascination" with Communist thinking. In addition to discussions of social problems and participation in political activities, the Rank-and-File movement sponsored a journal, Social Work Today, which provided a forum for voices of reform thought during the critical years of 1932-1942 (see Fisher, 1980: 91-100).

SOCIAL WORK AND THE PROMISE OF RECOVERY AT THE PRICE OF REFORM

In February 1934, a year after Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, the first AASW Delegate Conference, also referred to as the Conference on Governmental Objectives for Social Work, met for the purpose of integrating the work of government on all levels with that of social work.⁶ Both the AASW establishment and the radical faction were heard, the former advocating recovery of the economy and the latter urging reform of capitalism.⁷

Speaking at the 1934 meeting was Harry Hopkins, who headed the New Deal Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and who previously had headed Roosevelt's Temporary Emergency Relief Administration in New York State. Also a social worker, Hopkins appealed to AASW to support current governmental actions. Hopkins identified Roosevelt's goals with those of social work, focusing on the President's interest in increasing the degree of planning in the economy and his desire to create a structure to provide security for the unemployed, the elderly, and handicapped.⁸

At the same conference, Harry Lurie, of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research, represented the radical social work position that the intention of the New Deal was not change but recovery--"restoration of our present industrial and agricultural system so that it might function again as it did in the reign of Mr. Roosevelt's predecessors." He interpreted Roosevelt's cuts of the emergency welfare programs of the New Deal as surrendering to the pressures from industry which feared that permanent programs would challenge the private ownership system. Lurie encouraged social workers to take a stand in opposition to the President and to urge the formation of programs designed to alter the distribution of wealth (Delegate Conference, 1934: 240-253).

Although the recommendations of the 1934 Delegate Conference were aimed at influencing federal policy in the direction of more substantial relief programs, they did not support the major policy revisions urged by Harry Lurie. For example, the Conference endorsed the Wagner-Lewis bill, which would have established

state systems of unemployment insurance providing seven dollars a week for a maximum of ten weeks, rather than the more liberal Lundeen bill, which would have provided compensation to the unemployed on a level equal to the average local wage for similar work. The Conference's recommendation was that minimum benefits and the period of compensation under the Wagner-Lewis bill be increased.

In her address, "Our Illusions Regarding Government," delivered at the 1934 National Conference of Social Work, Mary van Kleeck criticized the 1934 Delegate Conference, saying that the social work professional association "had committed itself to identification with the present administration, to endorsement of . . . its principles." Van Kleeck urged social workers to surrender their "illusions regarding government" as representing all the people and to recognize that "government tends to protect property rights rather than human rights." She claimed that by failing to approach poverty as a consequence of the economic system, the government avoided making basic changes in the economic system. She encouraged social workers to give up their nonpartisan position, pointing out that failure to make commitments to principles can result in a defense of the status quo. Van Kleeck suggested that social workers refuse positions in public social welfare agencies if the positions required that they serve as apologists of the government (Proceedings, 1934: 474-484).⁹

FERA'S OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOCIAL WORK EXPANSION

In spite of this warning, by 1934 social work was already heavily involved in the new government relief programs. FERA's decision that public funds should be administered by nonpartisan public officials marked the start of the expansion of the public sector of social work, bringing with it a vast enlargement in the jurisdiction of the profession. FERA was able to spend large sums of money to employ as many social workers as could be found. Social workers were hired to work on all levels, ranging from investigators to administrators of FERA's Social Service Division, implementing the government's programs and interpreting them to the community. Hopkins had said, "I want

at least one competent social worker in every district office in America'" (Kurzman, 1974: 174-176). Paul Kurzman has stated of this remark, "and thus in one sentence, the die surely had been cast. All over the country, where there never had been a sign of a social worker before, social workers suddenly appeared" (Kurzman, 1974: 174). The demand created a growth spurt for social work education as well, and early in 1934, Hopkins earmarked funds from FERA for states to send their relief workers to accredited graduate schools of social work, strengthening the professional base of social work. Between 1930 and 1940 the number of professional social workers almost doubled (Kurzman, 1974: 175).¹⁰

Although futile in its efforts to retain FERA, the profession did speak out in unison against Roosevelt's announcement in his State-of-the-Union address that "the Federal Government must and shall quit this business of relief" in the beginning of 1935. FERA was to be terminated and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) created as an alternative work relief program. It was anticipated by the Roosevelt administration that the categorical aid program of the proposed Social Security bill would meet the needs of the aged, the blind, and of dependent children needing relief, and Roosevelt proposed that total responsibility for relief for those not covered by WPA or the social security programs be returned to states and localities. Although AASW welcomed the categorical aid programs, it feared that some states would not have sufficient resources, administrative tools, or in some cases even the necessary legislation to take on responsibility for the needy who fell between WPA and the categorical assistance provisions of the proposed social security program. AASW considered it essential that a general relief or general assistance title be added to the proposed social security bill to provide for families who fell between WPA and the categorical assistance programs.¹¹ At stake, as well, were the self-interests of the profession, which had benefited from its involvement in the administration of FERA (Compass, 1935: 3-6; see Fisher, 1980: 58-59).

In many chapters of AASW, protest meetings were held and telegrams sent to President Roosevelt

opposing the termination of federal grants for public assistance. The executive secretary of AASW, Walter West, sent a telegram to Roosevelt urging the continuation of federal grants to states. The Division on Government and Social Work of AASW suggested, and the executive committee of the association accepted, the recommendation to adopt a resolution calling on the Federal government to resume its responsibility for providing grants to states for general assistance. According to this recommendation, such a plan would be administered by the newly appointed Social Security Board (Fisher, 1980: 62).

FAILURE TO CHALLENGE THE PROVISIONS OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Although two social workers, Frances Perkins and Harry Hopkins, were highly influential in formulating the Social Security Act, their activities cannot be viewed as representative of the participation of the social work profession in the accomplishment of that legislation.¹² To the contrary, the profession was both distracted and torn by various factions and was unable to function effectively as a pressure group to influence it.¹³ In addition, social work was absorbed by the issue of the withdrawal of FERA funds during 1935 and consequently debate within the profession about the Social Security Act, both in its planning stages and after its passage in August 1935, was scarce (see a non-evaluative article, Bond, 1935: 7-10).

During that year, the Compass emphasized professional issues related to the introduction of the public sector in social work, such as the establishment of professional standards, analyses of membership in AASW, education for social work, and the question of the relationship of public relief workers to the profession. Even before the Social Security Act was passed the radical group of social workers also had turned its interests towards professional issues rather than issues of social welfare policy. Few articles appeared in Social Work Today challenging the various controversial aspects of the Social Security bill.¹⁴ Both journals featured articles concerning the professional standing of public relief workers and

the role of social work in public welfare programs. In addition, Social Work Today addressed the issue of labor unions for social workers--a movement which the radical group initiated.

The AASW Delegate Conference in 1935 was devoted to the various controversial aspects of the Economic Security program, later renamed the Social Security Act. Opinions of the members in this group varied widely. Most of the speakers at the Conference prefaced their suggestions for change with recognition and admiration for the advances the bill symbolized. Others were clear in their support for the President's program and declined to suggest changes (Delegate Conference, 1935: 149-50, 235-236). Radical social workers, including Mary van Kleeck, took a position in support of the provisions of the Lundeen bill as the preferred plan for unemployment insurance. Linton Swift of the Family Welfare Association of America advocated putting pressure on the Federal government for change. He warned that if an economic system cannot meet the test of providing an adequate working income to all classes of the population, then "we must develop a different system. It becomes a question in the minds of many of us as to when you apply that test" (Delegate Conference, 1935: 19-20).

The Conference could not resolve differences and no recommendations for changes in the Economic Security bill were made (Delegate Conference, 1935: 22-23). Bertha Reynolds commented on this lack of participation in her article, "Whom do Social Workers Serve?" which appeared in Social Work Today in May 1935. Reynolds said:

For a social worker to deny that there is a class struggle today is to confess to an ignorance of what is going on so appalling that it amounts to a confession of unwillingness to know. As the opportunities to know beat more insistently upon our ears each day, such unwillingness comes more and more to mean participation on the side of maintaining privilege and exploitation, with all its frightful toll of human life (1935: 5-7, 34).

EXPANDED OPPORTUNITIES FOR SOCIAL WORK

In its final form, the Social Security Act of 1935 was a legislative compromise responsive to the complexities of the economic and political conditions of the Great Depression. As with most compromises, it was the result of pressures from special interest groups representing conflicting values. A fundamental objective was the restoration of confidence in the Roosevelt administration and in the existing economic and social system.

Legitimized by the Supreme Court in May 1937 through the *Helvering v. Davis* decision, the Social Security Act signified the Federal government's commitment to responsibility for the general welfare (*Helvering v. Davis*, 1937). With this decision, the Court established a legal basis for the ideology of the welfare state. This critical decision has been described as altering "the future course of social welfare in the United States" (Pumphrey and Pumphrey, 1961: 433).

From the point of view of social work, the social insurances and the public assistance and child welfare titles of the new legislation provided additional opportunities for professional growth by expanding the area of influence of the profession and making permanent the new job opportunities and demands for increased education. The 1930 census counted 31,000 "social welfare workers" while there were 70,000 in 1940. The increase of 117% was greater than that of any other professional group during this period.¹⁵ It is estimated, however, that there were actually 150,000 people employed in social work in 1939 in either a professional or semiprofessional capacity.¹⁶ With this rapid expansion of employment opportunities and lack of qualified people to fill the new positions, seventeen new schools of social work were established during the decade, bringing the total to forty (Fisher, 1980: 235).

Changes were required in social work as well as the government as both joined in common tasks. In addition to the need to further define the social work-government relationship, social work was presented with complex tasks, such as redefining the function of private agencies, coordinating the roles

of public and private agencies, assimilating public welfare agencies and their social work staffs into the profession, determining the extent of the involvement of the profession in the public sector of social welfare, and clarifying the role that the profession would officially assume in social action. Conflicts and opportunities emerged as social workers debated these issues (see for example Swift, 1936: 282-283, 350; Swift, 1937: 10; Hodson, 1938: 33; Belsley, 1936: 9-10; Klein, 1936: 5-7).¹⁷

During the years following passage of the Social Security Act, social work continued its concern with federal legislation. AASW made recommendations for expansion of a federal work program and a non-categorical public assistance program, and the radical social work group as well continued to pressure for liberalization of the Social Security Act.

However, within a few years attention turned from ideology to optimizing opportunities for social work. By 1940, AASW had abandoned its demand for a general assistance title under the Social Security Act or for the alternative plan of a comprehensive public assistance title for all needy people and gave wholehearted support to the administration's social welfare programs. Social Work Today became increasingly involved in discussion of unionism for social workers at the expense of working towards legislative changes. The American Public Welfare Association, which in 1936 had advocated that a general assistance title be included in the Social Security Act, also went along with the administration. The organization's director, Frank Bane, was selected to be executive director of the Social Security Board, and that organization and the Federal government became "partners in a common enterprise" (Fisher, 1980: 179-180). For the mainstream of the profession the struggle--the cause--was over and it addressed itself instead to the details of the new problems centering around implementation and professionalization that were introduced by the passage of the Social Security Act. Social work reconciled itself to the social welfare programs of the administration, supported them, and accepted the opportunities it was offered.

CONCLUSIONS: CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE IN SOCIAL WORK IDEOLOGY

The Social Security Act of 1935, signifying the movement from voluntarism to the introduction of the welfare state in this country, marks that point of qualitative change when, finally, there could be no retreat from the assumption of federal responsibility for "the general welfare." By the time the Act was passed the Depression was into its sixth year. The pervasiveness and severity of the Depression extended beyond previous economic crises. The severity and extent of social distress disputed the viability of privatism and voluntarism; it both required and enabled approaches towards resolution that were beyond the scope of what previously had been done in the area of social welfare in this country. With the passage of the Social Security Act and its hearings in the Supreme Court, the new conception of government's responsibility for the general welfare was broadened, legitimized, and made permanent, paving the way for additional legislation and further development toward the welfare state.

Growing out of its own history, social work was a natural "partner" with government as these changes occurred. This growing involvement of social work with government dovetailed with the process of professionalization. As the institution of social welfare gained complexity, so did the tasks of the social work profession. Herbert Hoover had linked social work and government during the early years of the Great Depression in his request that social workers assume the task of raising and distributing charitable funds. This assignment of relief-giving functions was carried on by Roosevelt. In this latter period, as the profession became involved in the public as well as the private sector of social welfare, these functions became institutionalized.

Social workers were firmly entrenched in the public relief system by the time the Social Security Act was proposed, and continued to work in the administration and delivery of the public assistance titles of the new legislation. The question of how to satisfy both the occupational and the professional aspects of the profession arose for social work in the 1930s and has continued until today.

When the New Deal programs began, social work was well on its way to achieving the status of a profession including a commitment to community interest and an ethical system. It functioned as both a political interest and pressure group, and insofar as it aimed to improve its own status, it also met the criteria of an occupational interest and pressure group. Armand Mauss has pointed out that political and occupational interests may overlap (1975: 12-15). Conflicts arose within the social work profession in the 1930s as the functions of pressuring for political change and striving to expand professional jurisdiction at times worked against each other. It was at this juncture that a price had to be paid by the social work profession, either in ideology or in opportunity.

The choice was determined by the needs of the profession for sanction. M. S. Larson has pointed out that a profession's values and goals will be acceptable and sanctioned by society only if they appeal to the values of the dominant ideology. The quest for sanction and power, which ultimately derives from a profession's connections with government, precludes persistent and serious challenges to government policies (1977: 157-158, 226).

Conflict arises for a profession-occupation which, insofar as it is a profession, is responsible to act in the interest of clients, including political action, and insofar as it is an occupation, needs to protect occupational self interests, including advancement of status. The moderate position that AASW assumed in relation to government policy and legislation during the New Deal years best fits the model of the occupational interest group.

The concept of feedback as a professional function, as discussed by Louis Levitt, bridges the functions of the social work profession and the institution of social welfare:

The two concepts are reciprocal, each intertwined with the other in a constantly interacting relationship, each influencing the other. The institution's constant unfolding of newly legitimated social needs evokes new services as the profession feeds back to society its continuing discovery of the patterning of social hurt emanating from its practice experience. (1980: 637)

Viewing the function of feedback as a cornerstone to the relationship between the social work profession and the institution of social welfare also introduces balance between the preservation of occupational interests and the maximization of professional objectives.

As social work grew in numbers and influence, it became a critical force in advancing social welfare activities involving government interest and funding. As an organized entity the profession did not advocate radical reform but both social work and government accommodated to each other. This stance has required an integration of the concepts of cause and function in the profession. Harold Lewis has suggested that it is the dynamic relationship between cause and function that shapes service. He defines service "as the evolving form and substance of the unity and conflict of cause in function, necessitating the constant addressing of both sides of this conflict if positive social change is to be achieved" (1977: 24).

The recent challenges to social welfare programs in this country reflect renewed and increased conflict between the values of the dominant society and social work. Attitudes in the society and the social work profession are shifting and roles are redefined as voluntarism and privatism are reawakened. We can reflect back to Bertha Reynolds, writing in 1936, "There will never be money enough for relief while the richest country in the world places the burden of taxation so disproportionately, not where there is ability to pay but where there is inability to protest" (1936: 12). Once again the profession must confront the obsolete ideologies of privatism and voluntarism as they again are called upon by the Reagan administration. Now, too, the profession must determine how it will move to sustain permanent Federal government involvement in promotion of the general welfare.

NOTES

¹Theodorson and Theodorson have stated that when the term "ideology" was introduced at the beginning of the 19th century, it referred to the study of ideas. However, it soon took on its present meaning of "a set of ideas justifying particular interests" (1969: 195).

²Samuel Eliot Morison wrote of the 1929 crash, "No nation ever faced a business decline more optimistically than America did this one. Nobody highly placed in government or finance admitted the existence of a depression for six months or more after the crash" (The Oxford History of the American People, Vol. 3, 1972: 291).

³However, later in 1930, statements were made by the Executive Committee of the American Association of Social Workers to the effect that the resources of government and industry, rather than philanthropy and voluntarism, would be necessary to cope with the national emergency (see Fisher, 1980: 34-35). During the same year, Linton Swift, Executive Secretary of the Family Welfare Association, urged that a greater proportion of relief should be publicly funded (Chambers, 1963: 192).

⁴For example, the settlement workers, who favored federal aid to state and local governments for relief, took initiative by stimulating and guiding social protest and moved toward direct political action. In 1931, the Unemployed Committee of the National Federation of Settlements published the widely-read Case Studies of Unemployment, describing 150 cases in which unemployment was seen as a result of industrial rather than individual causes, and which stressed the human cost of unemployment. Around the same time, articles urging social workers to look more closely at the social insurances began to appear in the Compass. Unemployment insurance in the U.S., which was in the form of the dole, was contrasted to the social insurances provided in Europe (Fisher, 1980: 35, 39-40).

⁵Concerning work relief, the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor sponsored a privately supported work relief project as early as 1930 (Chambers, pp. 194-195). The American Association of Public Welfare Officials refused to take a stand on the issue of federal grants to states for unemployment relief (Fisher, 1980: 42-43).

⁶The "Proceedings" of the American Association of Social Workers referred to in this paper are located in the Library of the National Association of Social Workers in Washington, D.C.

⁷Shortly after the 1934 AASW Delegate Conference, Social Service Review reported of the Conference:

In its early days there was danger that the Association might be too much like a narrow kind of trade union. . . . The Washington meeting, in many ways, constitutes a landmark in our professional history. In a time of national crisis, the delegates of the Association accepted their responsibility in regard to national planning and the necessity of formulating clearly the governmental objectives in social welfare. There is assurance that clear thinking to formulate policies that are in the interests of the poor clients whose case and cause we represent and courage to defend those policies should be a part of the new tradition that is in the making. (1934: 145-146)

⁸President Roosevelt was quoted in 1934 as saying, "Social workers and I have the same objectives in common--social justice for everyone" (Compass, 1934: 6).

⁹Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in his book, The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of Upheaval reported a spectator at van Kleeck's address at the 1934 National Conference as saying, "'Never in a long experience of conferences has this observer witnessed such a prolonged ovation'" (1960: 194).

¹⁰The efforts of Sophonisba Breckinridge, the president of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, ensured that the training of personnel for FERA was carried out in accredited professional schools with aid from federally funded scholarships, rather than in brief training courses for emergency relief workers. Edith Abbott, then dean of the School of Social Service Administration at the University of

Chicago, noted that not only were standards maintained, but because of publicity of the new opportunities in public welfare, of which college graduates had not been previously well informed, and because of lack of other employment opportunities, requirements for admission were actually raised (Costin, 1983: 227-228).

¹¹ Social work reformers were concerned that WPA assistance, unemployment compensation, and old age pension were all tied to work, with no federal aid for the millions of able-bodied unemployed who were also dependent on relief (Bremer, 1984: 166-167).

¹² Hopkins and Perkins both made important and controversial recommendations to the President during the process of formulating the Social Security program. Hopkins suggested to Roosevelt that social security and relief be combined so that relief would be given as a matter of right. Roosevelt rejected the proposal, maintaining that although the relief system and the social insurance system often applied to the same people, the two systems should be kept separate. A relief program, Roosevelt believed, should be temporary and should end as soon as business and employment opportunities revived, while he envisioned employment insurance and old age insurance as permanent parts of the economy (Schlesinger, Jr., 1953: 303-304). Concerning Hopkins' attempt to include relief as a part of the institutional social welfare system, Frances Perkins reported that Roosevelt "saw that this would be the very thing he had been saying he was against for years -- the dole" (Perkins, 1946: 284-285).

Another of the many controversial issues around the Social Security program had to do with the decision to fund social security insurances through employee contributions. Frances Perkins was amongst the many who raised objection to this, preferring that it be paid out of general tax revenues. With amazing foresight, Roosevelt saw this as a political decision rather than an economic one. He believed that public insurance should be a self-supporting system financed out of contributions and special taxes instead of general revenues. Years later, in response to a

complaint about employee contributions, Roosevelt said:

I guess you're right on the economics, but those taxes were never a problem of economics. They are politics all the way through. We put those payroll contributions there so as to give the contributors a legal, moral, and political right to collect their pensions and their unemployment benefits. With those taxes in there, no damn politician can ever scrap my social security program. (Quoted in Schlesinger, Jr., 1958: 308-309).

¹³William Bremer maintains that except for Mary van Kleeck and Harry Lurie, the group of New York influential social workers supported the conservative tone of the New Deal's social programs (Bremer, 1984: 173).

¹⁴See for example the challenging article by Dorothy Douglas in Social Work Today, "Unemployment Insurance -- For Whom?" in which she concluded that the Lundeen bill was far superior to the Social Security bill. Of the latter, she said:

At every step the supposed object of the Bill has increasingly been ignored. At every step each real safeguard for the 'security' of the workers had cynically been thrust aside, at every step increasing concern has been shown for each new device for the employers' immediate interests, at every step there has been more effective insistence upon saving the wealthy taxpayer at all costs (Douglas, 1935: 9-12, 34).

A similar point of view was taken in an unsigned article, "New Deal Security" (Social Work Today, 1935: 3-4).

¹⁵These figures excluded nonprofessional employees of social agencies, such as case aides and others who conducted initial interviews with applicants for relief or assisted with forms needed to determine eligibility (Fisher, 1980: 235).

¹⁶This number included newly recruited and untrained people working in the new or expanded local public welfare departments, and professional social workers who worked in FERA and its state and local divisions, in WPA and local work-relief programs in the Bureau of Public Assistance after the creation of the Social Security Board in 1935, and with the federal Children's Bureau, which was enlarged and strengthened (from Marion Hathaway, Trade Union Organization for Professional Workers, United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, 1939, in Fisher, 1980: 235).

¹⁷During 1936, a plea for social action was made by Harry Lurie:

Whether the Democrats or the Republicans achieve political power at the next election, the new Administration will be reinforced in the desire to quit the 'relief business.' There is nothing to prevent such a step except an aroused and organized movement of all elements who are in sympathy with the unemployed and who adhere to economic theories which will not make economic recovery dependent upon reduction of wages, standards, workers' insecurity and destruction of relief provisions (Lurie, 1936: 5-8).

REFERENCES

- Belsley, J. Lyle
1936 "The merit system in social work administration." Compass 17: 9-10.
- Bond, Elsie
1935 "Summary of the provisions of the Economic Security Bill." Compass 16: 7-10.
- Brandes, Stuart
1970 American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bremer, William
1984 Depression Winters: New York Social Workers and the New Deal. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Bruno, Frank
1957 Trends in Social Work. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Burner, David
1979 Herbert Hoover: A Public Life. New York: Knopf.
- Chambers, Clarke
1963 Seedtime of Reform. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Compass
1934 "The conference on governmental objectives for social work." No author. 15: 1-6.
- Compass
1935 "National relief policies." No author. 16: 3-6.
- Costin, Lela
1983 Two Sisters for Social Justice. Urbana, ILL: University of Illinois Press.
- Douglas, Dorothy
1935 "Unemployment insurance - for whom?" Social Work Today 2: 9-12, 34.
- Fisher, Jacob
1980 The Response of Social Work to the Depression. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman.
- Hawley, Ellis
1974 "Herbert Hoover, the Commerce Secretariat and the vision of an 'Associative State,' 1921-1928." Journal of American History 6: 116-140.
- Helvering v. Davis
1937 301 U.S. 671, 57 Sup. Ct. 792, 81 L. Ed. 1336 (1937).
- Hodson, William
1938 Proceedings of American Association of Social Workers Delegate Conference: 33.
- Hoover, Herbert
1922 American Individualism. New York: Doubleday, Page and Co.
- Klein, Philip
1936 "The future of the private agency." Social Work Today 4: 5-7.
- Kurzman, Paul
1974 Harry Hopkins and the New Deal. Fair Lawn, NJ: R.E. Burdick.
- Larson, Magali Sarfatti
1977 The Rise of Professionalism. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Levitt, Louis
1980 "Social work and social welfare: A conceptual matrix." Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare 7: 636-647.
- Lewis, Harold
1977 "The cause in function." Journal of the Otto Rank Association 11: 18-25.
- Lurie, Harry
1934 Proceedings of American Association of Social Workers Delegate Conference: 240-253.
- Lurie, Harry
1936 "Quitting the relief business." Social Work Today 3: 5-8.
- McMillan, Wayne
1937 Proceedings of American Association of Social Workers Delegate Conference: 191-224.
- Mauss, Armand
1975 Social Problems as Social Movements. Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot
1972 The Oxford History of the American People, Vol. 3. New York: Mentor.
- Olds, Victoria
1963 "The Freedmen's Bureau: A 19th century federal welfare agency." Social Casework 44: 247-254.
- Perkins, Frances
1946 The Roosevelt I Knew. New York: Viking.
- Pumphrey, Ralph and Muriel Pumphrey
1961 The Heritage of American Social Work. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Reynolds, Bertha
1935 "Whom do social workers serve?" Social Work Today 2: 5-7, 34.
- Reynolds, Bertha
1936 "Education for public social work." Social Work Today 3: 10-12.
- Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.
1958 The Age of Roosevelt: The Coming of the New Deal. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.
1960 The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of Upheaval. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

- Social Service Review
 1934 "The Washington meeting." 8: 145-146.
- Social Work Today
 1935 "New deal security." No author. 3:3-4.
- Swift, Linton
 1935 Proceedings of American Association of
 Social Workers Delegate Conference: 12-20.
- Swift Linton
 1936 Proceedings of American Association of
 Social Workers Delegate Conference:
 279-294.
- Swift, Linton
 1937 Proceedings of American Association of
 Social Workers Delegate Conference:
 1-12.
- Theodorson, George and Achilles Theodorson
 1969 Modern Dictionary of Sociology. New
 York: Thomas Crowell.
- van Kleeck, Mary
 1934 "Our illusions regarding government."
 Proceedings of National Conference of
 Social Work. Chicago: University of
 Chicago Press: 473-485.

APPLYING THE "UNMOTIVATED" LABEL TO CLIENTS IN SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

Ben-Zion Cohen, Ph.D.
School of Social Work
University of Haifa, Haifa 31999, Israel

ABSTRACT

This study, based on the responses of a sample of 245 public-sector social workers, explores the factors associated with labelling clients "unmotivated." The variables examined relate to clients, workers, agencies, and the interactions among these elements. Multiple regression analysis reveals that the best predictor variables are client-related. The client most likely to be rated by the social worker as lacking in motivation is of lower socioeconomic status and is perceived as believing that he or she does not require much professional intervention. The research supports the argument that clients who workers believe are unreceptive to their professional styles are likely to be labelled "unmotivated."

INTRODUCTION

Question: How many social workers does it take
to change a light bulb?

Answer: Just one, but the light bulb had better
be motivated to change.

That bit of self-critical humor reflects a central concern of social work practice: dealing with the "resistant" or "unmotivated" client. Social workers are more involved with this problem than the other

helping professions because most social workers work in agencies where many clients are socially-selected rather than self-selected (Fischer, 1978). When a person arrives at a social agency having been sent there by a court, a school, a relative, or another social agency, he or she is likely not to resemble the textbook client who arrives at the agency presenting a problem and requesting psychosocial intervention (Briar ` Miller, 1971). In the public-sector social agency the client typically has no "presenting problem." Either no problem at all is presented (only a referral) or the client has already decided on a solution for the agency to implement. In such situations the worker's initial definition of the situation depends largely on the client's motivation, i.e. the degree to which the client appears willing to cooperate with the worker, to perform according to the agency's expectations, and to assume the client role. Most often, it is the social worker who decides to what degree the client is motivated. In this sense social workers "create" unmotivated as well as motivated clients. The present study will attempt to identify the factors influencing this process.

Traditionally, social workers have approached the topic of motivation as if it were a trait or attribute of the client. Hollis (1970), for example, states that the client's motivation is a major determinant of what the worker will offer. Moore-Kirkland (1981) points out that applicants for service are screened during the initial contacts to help determine whether their degree of motivation justifies an investment of resources by agency and worker. Moore-Kirkland suggests that the notion of the motivated/unmotivated client may be "the functional equivalent of early social work's 'deserving' and 'undeserving' clientele" (1981: 31).

The classic treatment of motivation in the social work literature is Lillian Ripple's motivation-capacity-opportunity model (Ripple et al., 1964). This model also regards motivation as a property of the client, a function of the

"discomfort-hope balance" - the ratio of the "push of discomfort" generated by the problem to the "pull of hope" for solving it that the client brings to the treatment situation. Hooker's (1976) concept of "learned helplessness" attributes lack of motivation to the irrational belief that what one does cannot influence what happens, stressing the "hope" component of the "discomfort-hope" formulation.

Siporin (1975) argues that there are no unmotivated clients; rather, there are individuals who may be acting "defensively, or ignorantly, or just contrary to our expectations" (1975: 198). Brager (1965) has pointed out that "unmotivated" is a label that can legitimately be applied to an individual only in relation to a particular activity. According to Brager, an unmotivated client lacks motivation only with regard to a specific service. Zola (1965) added an early interactionist perspective to the controversy:

... unmotivated from whose point of view?
Does "unmotivated" mean that he is a vegetable and does nothing about it? No, it means that he is unmotivated in some area that causes us trouble. (1965: 147).

Kadushin (1972) also regards motivation as an interactive phenomenon, stressing that the client's initial motivation is a consistently poor predictor of the course of his or her therapeutic involvement as the treatment relationship unfolds. He states that motivation increases when the agency and worker are aware of the psychological penalties of seeking help and succeed in counteracting them. This argument is reinforced by the findings of Duehn and Proctor (1977) who, focusing on the question of premature discontinuance of treatment, found that the clinician's behavioral responses to the client are the crucial factor in whether treatment is continued beyond the initial interview. Rosen and Wish (1980) studied the relationship of therapists' responses to clients' affect. They discovered a powerful association between the relevance of the therapists'

responses and decreases in clients' feelings of apprehension and dejection.

Gitterman (1983) sees the widespread use of the concept of resistance by social workers as a tactic to avoid confronting deficiencies in their agencies and themselves. In his view, the client is likely to be labeled "resistant" or "unmotivated" when he or she has been "unreceptive to an agency's system of service delivery or uncomfortable with a worker's method or style." (1983: 127).

The studies reported above differ in their emphases on the relative influence of clients, workers, and agencies on the process leading to some clients being defined as lacking in motivation. The present study will attempt to provide empirical evidence to help clarify this issue.

This research will address the question: what perceived characteristics of agencies, workers, clients, or interactions among these elements are associated with a high probability of the client being labelled unmotivated? Presumably, the answers will provide some clues for understanding how social agencies and social workers use their power to label clients.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The present research focuses on variables related to workers, clients, agencies, and the interactions among them. The data were collected by means of a confidential questionnaire containing thirty-two closed items, administered by trained interviewers in the spring of 1983 to a sample of public-sector social workers in the greater Haifa area. Haifa is Israel's third largest city, with a population of approximately 300,000. Its social class and ethnic composition roughly parallels that of Israel's urban population.

Approximately half the questionnaire items referred to the last client seen by the respondent. The remaining half elicited background material on the worker and the agency.

The dependent variable, degree of client motivation, is ordinal. Each respondent evaluated the relevant client's motivation on a scale from one to ten; the subjectivity of this measure is appropriate here because the respondents represent the very persons who subjectively evaluate the motivation of clients in the real world.

The questionnaire also recorded the background information, presented in Table 1, below. Most of these background items serve as the independent variables of the study. Two additional items measured the worker's evaluation of the need for professional intervention in the case and the worker's perception of the client's evaluation of that need.

The independent variables include two composite measures. The first is an index of client socioeconomic status, derived from the weighting and adding of three items: income level (by population decile), dwelling density (ratio of rooms to persons in the home), and years of formal education. The second composite measure is the differential between the worker's and client's perceptions of the optimal role for the social worker in the case, scored on a ten-point scale, graded from minimally to maximally active.

The study derives its data from the workers' responses, drawing on a research strategy more consistent with a phenomenological than with a conventional positivist position. The phenomenological assumption (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) is that outcomes are best understood in the context of actors' perceptions and cognitive constructions of reality. The outcomes pertinent to this research are the workers' labelling decisions. Consequently, and because no attempt was made to study the clients

directly, the analysis focuses on the connections between workers' perceptions and workers' decisions.

The respondents were selected by a cluster sampling procedure. From a list of the ninety-eight agencies in the greater Haifa area who employ professional social workers, a random sample of thirty-two was drawn. The number of workers per agency ranged from one to twenty-seven. The cooperation of all 269 workers employed in these agencies was solicited and 245 usable questionnaires were obtained. Some respondents, however, did not answer all the questions so that there are variables with less than 245 responses.

The characteristics of the social workers in the sample and their perceptions of the characteristics of their agencies and clients are presented in Table 1.

As can be seen in Table 1, the workers are predominantly female (81.6%), young (mean age = 33.8), experienced (mean years = 7.7), and a large majority (81.2%) have a university degree in social work. Most of them work in public welfare bureaux (55.9%) and most work in agencies employing more than ten social workers (58.1%). It is characteristic of their employment settings that most have regular supervision (69.5%), and that most have professional social workers as their immediate supervisors (82.9%). The clients, on the other hand, are mostly male (54.8%) and somewhat younger (mean age = 30.6) than the workers. The adults among them (N = 195) have had 9.9 mean years of education and a majority of the adults (53.1%) are married. The median number of years these clients have been known to the agencies is 2.0.

Table 1. Sample of Social Workers,
Their Agencies and Clients (N=245)

Characteristics of Workers

Sex: 81.6%(199) Female;
18.4%(45) Male
Age: Mean=33.8, S.D.=8.7 (N=239)
Education: 81.2%(199) BSW/MSW;
18.7%(46) Other
Professional Mean=7.7 yrs,
Experience: S.D.=6.4 (N=241)

Characteristics of Agencies (by worker)

Type: 20.0%(49) Local Welfare Offices
55.9%(137) Govt. Agencies;
24.1%(59) Other
Size: 7.5%(18) Small(<4 wkrs);
34.4%(83) Medium(4-10);
58.1%(140) Large (>11 wkrs)
Supervision: 69.5%(169) Regular;
Immediate
Superior: 82.9%(203) Social Worker;
17.1%(42) Other

Characteristics of Clients

Sex: 45.2(108%) Female;
54.8%(131) Male
Age: Mean=30.6, S.D.=15.4
Years of
Education*: Mean=9.9, S.D.=3.2
Marital
Status*: 53.1%(102) Married;
28.6%(55) Never Married;
18.3%(35) Other

Yrs Known
to Agency: Median=2.0, Range: 0-37

*Computed only for clients aged 18
and over, N=192.

FINDINGS

To estimate the relative explanatory power of the independent variables this study utilized multiple regression analysis. A preliminary procedure was to examine the zero-order correlations of all the independent variables with each other and with the dependent variable: the client's motivation score. Table 2 presents the zero-order correlations among all variables with correlation coefficients stronger than .100 with client motivation.

The eight variables presented in Table 2 served as the variables for the multiple regression analysis. The direction of measurement for the continuous variables (1,2,3,4,6,8,9) is from low to high, and for the two dichotomous variables -- worker's education (0 = Not BSW/MSW, 1 = BSW/MSW) and immediate supervisor (0 = Not Social Worker, 1 = Social Worker) -- it is from negative to positive.

As can be seen from Table 2, many of the correlations are statistically significant ($p < .05$). To prevent problems of multicollinearity a maximum tolerance criterion of .01 was maintained for entering variables into the regression equation.

The results of the analysis -- unstandardized regression coefficients, standard errors of the coefficients, values of "t" and their one-tailed significance levels, and the standardized (beta) coefficients -- are presented in Table 3.

Table 2. Correlation Coefficients Among Variables Included
in the Regression Analysis

Variables	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. C1 Motivation	.369*	.483**	-.180**	.153*	-.326**	-.104	.440**	-.275**
2. Wkr Eval of Need		.390*	-.109	-.071	-.241**	-.156*	.077	-.098
3. C1 Eval of Need			.061	.017	-.181**	-.034	.081	-.400**
4. Yrs C1 in Agency				-.089	.052	.099	-.237**	.011
5. Wkr Education					.027	-.025	.152	.004
6. C1/Wkr Diff in Perception of Wkr Role						-.130*	-.124	.237**
7. Immediate Supervisor							-.175*	.103*
8. Client SES								-.123
9. C1/Wkr Diff in Eval of Need								---

*p < .05, **p < .01

Table 3. Regression Analysis of Client Motivation Score

Independent Variable	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error	"t"	Beta
Client's Evaluation of Need	.451	.084	5.40***	.359
Client SES	.178	.029	6.12***	.377
Cl/Wkr Diff. Perception of Wkr Role	-.133	.048	-2.77**	-.176
Wkr's Eval. of Need	.233	.099	2.34*	.158
Constant	-.778	.490	-1.59	

$R^2 = .45$
 ***p < .0001
 **p < .05
 *p < .01

In considering the regression results it is important to remember that the data derive from social workers' responses. As noted above, so-called objective factors are less significant for present purposes than the workers' perceptions because, in the final analysis, the workers decide which clients they will define as "unmotivated."

The four variables entered into the regression equation generate an R^2 of .45; operating together, they account for forty five percent of the variance in the

clients' motivation scores. The beta coefficients in Table 3 reveal that the most important predictor of the client's motivation score is the client's socioeconomic status ($\beta = -.377$). The lower the client's socioeconomic status, the lower he is likely to be graded on the motivation measure.

The second most important predictor variable in the regression equation is the client's evaluation of the need for intervention ($\beta = .359$). The less the client believes in the need for professional intervention, the lower his or her motivation score tends to be. These first two independent variables are by far the most important and they both represent client attributes.

The third independent variable is interactive: the absolute difference between client and worker in perception of the optimal role for the worker ($\beta = .176$). The larger the difference, the more likely the client will be defined as "unmotivated." The contribution of this variable is significant at the .05 level but it is not nearly as important as the previous two. (It should be noted here that an additional composite variable -- difference between client and worker in evaluation of need for intervention -- was attempted, its zero-order correlation with the dependent variable was significant ($r = -.28$ $p < .001$), but it failed to enter the regression equation.

The worker's evaluation of the need for intervention is the fourth predictor variable in the regression equation ($\beta = .158$). The weaker the indication for professional intervention in the worker's view, the lower the motivation rating the client is likely to receive. This is the only worker variable to enter the equation, the direction of the association is not entirely unambiguous, and the contribution of this variable is the least important of the four.

The most striking feature of Table 3 is that the two most important predictors of motivation scores are client variables, with one interactive variable and one worker variable making extremely modest contributions.

DISCUSSION

The results of the analysis indicate that in public service agencies in Israel the situation most likely to result in a client being labelled lacking in motivation exists when the social worker is confronted by a client of lower socioeconomic status perceived as believing that he or she is not in great need of the worker's services. It is, of course, possible that this finding is specific to Israel, but we can find no basis for such an argument. The welfare state ideology is well-developed in Israel, the social workers are trained in schools using American methods and materials, and the social service system is broadly based on an Anglo-American model.

The predominance of client-related variables in the regression equation appears to reflect a belief on the part of the workers that their use of the "unmotivated" classification is a diagnostic response rather than a defensive or manipulative maneuver. It is difficult, however, to rationalize a diagnostic approach which seems to discriminate against clients of lower socioeconomic status.

Gitterman's (1963) thesis that clients defined as unmotivated are most often those who are incompatible with the worker's style gains support from the findings of this study. Public-sector social workers tend to be upwardly mobile. Moreover, most subscribe to a professional ideology that includes a profile of an ideal-type client on whom they can best practice their skills (Briar and Miller, 1971). Enter the client who, emerging from the lower socioeconomic strata of the agency's target population, appears to be requesting aid while claiming that his or her case does not require much professional intervention. Not only has the ethic of upward mobility been violated, but the client is perceived as deviating even further from the ideal type in underemphasizing the request for professional services. The worker, sensing that this is a client who will not fit easily into the client role, defines him or her as lacking in motivation.

CONCLUSION

Not one social worker in the sample objected to the question asking that the client be scored on a general measure of motivation. This was not because they were in awe of the questionnaire; many of them registered opposition to other items. It seems, rather, that they did not agree with (or never heard of) the idea that motivation should be assessed differentially for different activities. They were prepared to apply the label to the whole client.

This study has addressed the problem of identifying the client to whom the "unmotivated" label is most likely to be applied. The study design, drawing on a phenomenological view of labelling (Daniels, 1970), framed the question in the context of the workers' cognitive schema. The findings of the study support the assertion that clients perceived as unappreciative of social work are the most likely to be labelled "unmotivated."

Additional research is clearly needed on the role of this and other labels in the social services. Meanwhile, it would be wise for practitioners to think again about the use of categorizing labels, especially those that can have far-reaching consequences on their clients' lives.

REFERENCES

- BERGER, PETER L. and THOMAS LUCKMANN
1966 The Social Construction of Reality: A
Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.
Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.
- BRIAR, SCOTT and HENRY MILLER
1971 Problems and Issues in Social Casework. New
York: Columbia University Press.

BRAGER, GEORGE

1965

"Motivation - a social worker's perspective." In Education for Practice in the Treatment of Unmotivated Clients. Brandeis University Papers in Social Welfare, No. 4. Waltham, Mass.: Florence Heller Graduate School, Brandeis University.

DANIELS, ARLENE K.

1970

"The social construction of military psychiatric diagnoses." In Hans Dreitzel (ed.), Recent Sociology, No. 2. New York: Macmillan.

DUEHN, WAYNE D. and ENOLA K. PROCTOR

1977

"Initial clinical interaction and premature discontinuance of treatment." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 47: 284-290.

FISCHER, JOEL

1978

Effective Casework Practice: An Eclectic Approach. New York: McGraw-Hill.

GITTERMAN, ALEX

1983

"Uses of resistance: a transactional view." Social Work 28:2:127-131.

HOLLIS, FLORENCE

1970

"The psychosocial approach to the practice of casework." In Robert W. Roberts and Robert H. Nee (eds.), Theories of Social Casework. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

HOOKE, CAROL E.

1976

"Learned helplessness." Social Work 21:3: 194-198.

- KADUSHIN, ALFRED
 1972 The Social Work Interview. New York:
 Columbia University Press.
- MOORE-KIRKLAND, JANET
 1981 "Mobilizing motivation: from theory to
 practice." In Anthony Maluccio (ed.),
Promoting Competence in Clients. New
 York: Free Press.
- RIPPLE, LILLIAN, ERNESTINA ALEXANDER, and BERNICE
 POLEMIS
 1964 Motivation, Capacity and Opportunity.
 Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ROSEN, AARON and ERIC WISH
 1980 "Therapist content relevance and patient
 affect." Journal of Clinical Psychology
 36: 242-246.
- SIPORIN, MAX
 1975 Introduction to Social Work Practice. New
 York: MacMillan.
- ZOLA, IRVING K.
 1965 "A social scientist's perspective on the
 problem of the unmotivated client." In
Education for Practice in the Treatment of
Unmotivated Clients. Brandeis University
 Papers in Social Welfare, No. 4. Waltham,
 Mass.: Florence Heller Graduate School,
 Brandeis University.

THE IMMOBILITY OF LOW-PAID WORKERS

Marshall I. Pomer

University of California at Santa Cruz

This paper extends the labor segmentation perspective on unequal job access. Analyzed here are Census data on the occupational mobility of low-paid workers during the period 1965 to 1970. Upward mobility, defined as movement from a low-paid to a mainstream stratum, is far more common for white men than for women and blacks—even after controlling for differences in age, education, and type of low-paid job. A worker's particular low-paid occupation also strongly affects chances of entering the mainstream stratum. The dominant paradigm for quantitative research on social stratification is questioned, and social policies are suggested.

Participation in the institutions of American society usually requires that a person obtain a job that is at least moderately well-paid (Coleman and Rainwater, 1978). Thus the degree of immobility of low-paid workers is highly relevant for the study of social welfare. From the individualistic perspective characteristic of much of modern social research, upward mobility will occur in accordance with merit: a free market ensures that a worker will obtain a job that matches his or her productive capacity (Gordon, 1972). A more complete view is that the ability to obtain jobs—not just ability to perform in them—is critical.

Labor market structure and social structure shape job access. The efforts of employers to control the labor process

Author's Note: *This research was supported in part by a grant from the National Institute of Education (Grant NIE-G-79-0050). I wish to thank Robert Alford, Thomas Bailey, Arne Kalleberg, and David Shapiro for comments on an earlier version.*

generate restrictive rules and practices governing recruitment and promotion (Edwards, 1979). "Institutional" barriers between jobs further develop through the collective efforts of workers to obtain shelter from market pressures (Freedman, 1976). These factors render some low-paid jobs more opportune than others and heighten the constraining effects of cultural expectations regarding the roles of women and minorities. At the same time, informal social networks, often delineated by gender and race, produce linkages between jobs (e.g. Granovetter, 1974 and 1981). These "social" linkages—embodied in interactions and contacts among persons who have different jobs—affect socialization and awareness of opportunities, and are basic to obtaining favorable treatment in hiring and promotion.

Thus, in shaping job access, labor market structure and social structure create differences in the advancement probabilities of low-paid workers. This study examines the occupational mobility of prime-age, low-paid workers during the period 1965 to 1970. The primary hypothesis is: gender, race, and particular low-paid occupation affect the probability of entering a well-paid occupation.¹

This paper has four main sections. The first develops the conceptual framework for analyzing upward mobility. The second section describes the data and categories used in the analysis; and it examines the rates of upward mobility for groups defined by gender, race, and industrial sector. The third section fits a model that quantifies the effects of gender, race,

¹ This study shares a major limitation of individualistic studies in that inequality among positions is not directly addressed (Bielby, 1981). Study of mobility and job linkages, however, reveals a source of positional inequality: Restriction on upward mobility promotes a surplus of workers competing for low-paid jobs and reduces competition for better-paid jobs. Such redirection of supply worsens conditions at the lower end of the labor market, while protecting and elevating the positions of well-paid workers.

and particular low-paid occupation—controlling for industrial sector, age, and education. The fourth section discusses implications for evaluating the adequacy of the status attainment model of the stratification process.

CONCEPTUALIZING UPWARD MOBILITY

The concept of labor segmentation is used in this analysis to overcome the tendency to view inequality as the consequence of the traits of individuals. Labor segmentation is regarded here as the analytical device of using groups rather than individuals as the primary units of analysis (Pomer, 1983).² This section defines labor segmentation on several levels.

According to the dual labor market model, the labor market consists of two segments, a primary and a secondary labor market (e.g., Doeringer and Piore, 1971). Discrimination and other social processes funnel women and minorities into the secondary labor market. Jobs in the secondary labor market are not only low-paid but also do not offer opportunity for career advancement. Primary jobs, in contrast, are better-paid and often lead to promotion.

The notion of two isolated labor markets—one for the privileged and the other for the disadvantaged—provides an image of the role of labor market structure and social structure in generating and reproducing inequality. Several studies using this model have aggregated detailed census occupations into two categories (e.g., Osterman, 1975; Rosenberg, 1980). This

² Labor segments are defined more narrowly here than in other studies. Much of the research on labor segmentation has focused on validating, or invalidating, particular two- or three-segment segmentation schemes (e.g., Baron and Bielby, 1984; Reich, 1984; Hodson, 1984; Buchele, 1983). For review of other research applying a labor segmentation perspective and for an application of this perspective to historical materials, see Gordon, Edwards, and Reich (1982).

study also defines an advantaged and a disadvantaged segment on the basis of detailed census occupational categories. The disadvantaged segment, called the "low-paid stratum," consists of a subset of low-paid occupations that are unambiguously low-paid and for which there are sufficient observations for purposes of this study. The advantaged segment, called the "mainstream stratum," consists of all occupations with median earnings exceeding a specified level. Upward mobility is defined as movement from the low-paid stratum to the mainstream stratum.

Since the low-paid stratum consists only of a subset of low-paid occupations, the low-paid and mainstream strata defined here, unlike the categories of the dual labor market model, do not account for all occupations. Also, while it is sometimes assumed that the categories of the dual labor market model correspond to an actual division of the labor market, the low-paid and mainstream strata are intended only to serve as clearly defined analytical constructs for measuring differences in advancement.³

The dual labor market model has also been used to distinguish between a "core" sector of large, capital-intensive enterprises and a "periphery" sector of small enterprises that sell in more competitive markets.⁴ There is evidence that occupational mobility reflects the presence of job ladders and internal labor markets within the core industrial sector (Tolbert, 1982; but see Jacobs, 1983). However, it may be that

³ See Cain (1976) and Wachter (1974) for criticism of the dual labor market model, including the postulate that there is an actual division of the labor market into two parts.

⁴ O'Connor (1973) and Averitt (1968) develop the concept of a dual economic structure. After classifying the three-digit census industries into core and periphery sectors, Beck et al. (1978, 1980), Bibb and Form (1977) and Hodson (1978) found that industrial sector has a strong independent impact on earnings. But see also Hauser (1980).

such promotion channels exclude the lowest paid occupations or that bureaucratic structures characteristic of the core restrict upward mobility, especially long-distance upward mobility.

Since workers in both the core and the periphery are employed at all occupational levels, mobility of workers from the periphery to the core is a poor indication of upward mobility. Thus rather than use the core-periphery distinction to define upward mobility, this study divides the low-paid stratum into core and periphery industrial sectors and then measures whether low-paid workers in the two sectors differ in their likelihood of moving upward.

Gender and race shape social contacts and interactions in this society. As a consequence, informal social linkages between low-paid and mainstream jobs are less likely to arise for women and blacks than for white men. Discriminatory preferences on the part of employers and unions, as well as attitudes and values that erode the authority of women and blacks, may bias institutional procedures regarding recruitment and promotion (Hartman, 1976; Bergmann and Darity, 1980; Wolf and Fligstein, 1979). In this study, therefore, the low-paid stratum is divided by gender and race.

Segmentation is defined in this study on still another basis—a worker's particular low-paid occupation. Some low-paid occupations may include positions from which employers draw to fill positions of greater responsibility. For example, stock handlers may be promoted to positions as stock room supervisors or managers. A worker's particular low-paid occupation also affects social contacts and exposure to labor market opportunities, thereby influencing the probability of obtaining a better job with another employer. For example, through frequent contact with truck drivers, a garage worker may become

aware of the economic benefits of becoming a truck driver, develop a conception of self that includes the possibility of being a truck driver, and learn how to obtain union membership.⁵

A satisfactory analysis of mobility requires that attention also be given to age and education, two factors that are not central to the segmentation perspective but much stressed by individualistic analyses (e.g., Sandefur, 1981; Sorensen and Tuma, 1981; Felmler, 1982). Controlling for level of job rewards, the higher the education of the worker the more likely it is that the level of worker resources will not be matched by the level of job rewards. Thus, the probability of upward mobility for workers in the low-paid stratum can be expected to increase with education. Age, seen as a proxy for experience, has two effects. First, experience may enhance productive capacity, although at some point age may also be associated with obsolescence of skills and weakening of capacities. Second, it takes time for the worker to be matched with an appropriate job, and thus younger age is correlated with higher levels of upward mobility. Also, given the longer time-horizon, the younger worker has more to gain by responding to an opportunity for a better job.⁶

DATA, CATEGORIES, AND MOBILITY RATES

This study utilizes the 1970 Census, a unique resource for studying occupational mobility. For this census, but not for the more recent decennial census, data were collected not only on current occupation but also on occupation five years earlier.

⁵ Low-paid occupations may also differ in their effects on the development of skills and values. See Stolzenberg (1975) and Slomczynski et al. (1981) for discussion of occupational effects.

⁶ The partial adjustment model of Rosenfeld (1980), which incorporates both the mismatch notion of Tuma (1976) and the vacancy notion of Sorensen (1977), assumes that with time the worker reaches a job which matches his or her level of resources.

⁷ The very large size of this data base, which covers about two million workers, makes possible analysis of occupational mobility for narrowly defined categories. ⁸

The sample analyzed here consists of persons employed in 1965 in seventeen low-paid occupations. ⁹ The jobs in this low-paid stratum are typical of those held by the working poor. Ten of the occupations refer to service work (cleaners, cooks, dishwashers, fountain workers, waiters and waitresses, food service workers, personal attendants, porters, crossing guards, and household servants). Five refer to laborer jobs (carpenters' helpers, gardeners, lumber workers, stock handlers, and vehicle washers). Two are categories of operatives (garage workers and produce graders).

The low-paid stratum is divided into eight segments on the basis of industrial sector (core/periphery), gender (white/black), and race (black/white). The operational definitions of core and periphery are from Beck et al. (1978). ¹⁰

⁷ Information on previous occupation was collected for three percent of the population (see U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972).

⁸ Unfortunately, the data base does not include information on the family of origin. Thus no attempt can be made here to determine the effects of socioeconomic origins on the probability of occupational advancement.

⁹ Included in the low-paid stratum are three-digit occupations with median earnings below \$4000 in 1969 dollars. To increase the homogeneity of the stratum, nonmanual occupations are excluded; and to permit estimation of occupational effects, occupations with fewer than fifty white male occupational changers are also excluded. For more information on the low-paid stratum and other categories and variables used in the analysis, see Pomer (1984).

¹⁰ The eight segments of the low-paid stratum are black females employed in the periphery sector, white females in the periphery, black males in the periphery, white males in the periphery, black females in the core, white females in the core, black males in the core, and white males in the core.

Table 1. Education and Age by Labor Segment of Low-Paid Stratum

Labor Segment	N	ED		AGE	
		Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.
White Males in Core	2807	9.6	3.1	43.5	7.0
Black Males in Core	1240	9.3	3.1	43.3	6.8
White Females in Core	5842	10.2	2.4	45.9	6.1
Black Females in Core	2033	9.7	2.6	43.6	6.6
White Males in Periphery	10279	9.8	3.2	42.0	7.0
Black Males in Periphery	2971	8.6	3.4	42.2	6.9
White Females in Periphery	18955	10.2	2.4	43.5	6.7
Black Females in Periphery	10289	8.8	2.8	43.5	6.6
Total	54416	9.7	2.8	43.4	6.8

Notes: ED is educational attainment measured in years, and AGE is years of age.

Table A of the Appendix displays the occupational distributions for the eight segments.

The analysis is concerned with two ratio-level independent variables, age (AGE) and educational attainment (ED), both measured in years. For each labor segment, Table 1 displays the mean and standard deviation for these two variables.

The mainstream stratum is defined by all (three-digit) occupations with median earnings above \$6000 in 1969. Workers in occupations which fall below the mainstream boundary are not likely to earn enough for their families to participate in the social mainstream (Coleman and Rainwater, 1978). Thus movement from the low-paid stratum to the mainstream stratum suggests rising from a disadvantaged position to a position in the mainstream of American society.

The upward mobility rate for each segment, which

Table 2. Upward Mobility Rates for Labor Segments

Labor Segment	Rate(%)
White Males in Core	22.4
Black Males in Core	14.4
White Females in Core	10.5
Black Females in Core	6.0
White Males in Periphery	29.3
Black Males in Periphery	17.0
White Females in Periphery	12.4
Black Females in Periphery	5.2
Total	14.6

Notes: Each upward mobility rate is the proportion of those in the specified labor segment of the low-paid stratum who moved to the mainstream stratum.

is the proportion of workers who moved into the mainstream stratum, is displayed in Table 2. Each rate is an estimate of the probability of upward mobility for individuals within a particular segment—without taking into account particular low-paid occupation, age, and education. Overall, less than 15% of workers in the low-paid stratum moved up to the mainstream stratum. The rate of upward mobility, however, varies markedly across the eight labor segments. Highest is the rate for white males in the periphery, just under 30%. Lowest is the rate for black females in the periphery, approximately 5%.

The mobility rates do not support the hypothesis that low-paid workers are more likely to move up if they are employed in the core than in the periphery. Except for black females, the upward mobility rate for the race-gender groups are higher in the periphery than the core. The differential favoring the periphery is largest for white men, about 7 percentage points; for black men and white women, the differential is about 2 percentage points. For black women, there is a 1 percentage point differential favoring the core sector.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

There are large mobility differentials favoring men over women, and whites over blacks. The male advantage among whites is about 17 percentage points in the periphery and 12 points in the core; among blacks, the male advantage is 12 percentage points in the periphery and 8 points in the core. The advantage of whites over blacks is about 12 percentage points for men in the periphery and 8 points in the core; among women, the advantage of whites is about 7 points in the periphery and 5 points in the core.

If the mainstream stratum were precisely defined so that it excluded all low-paid jobs, then the lack of upward mobility, and the inequality of such mobility by gender and race, would be even more pronounced.¹¹ Especially when it is considered that the data were drawn from an era of rapid economic growth and government intervention to oppose gender and racial job barriers, these results strongly suggest unequal access to mainstream jobs. However, the analysis has not taken age, education, and particular low-paid occupation into account. The next section fits a multivariate model to the data in order to provide estimates of the effects of race and gender that control for other variables. In addition, the model estimates the constraining effects of particular low-paid occupations.

MODEL OF UPWARD MOBILITY

Upward mobility is modeled in two steps. The first step for a low-paid worker is to leave his or her occupation. The second step is to enter the mainstream stratum.¹² The model for the second step is based on occupational changers

¹¹ Rates of upward mobility to the mainstream stratum may be higher for low-paid jobs excluded from the low-paid stratum defined here.

¹² Mathematical models of mobility traditionally divide the mobility process into two steps, where the first step is leaving a position and the second step is entering a new one (Tuma, 1976: 339).

only (Pomer, 1984). After presenting the model for the first step, this section examines the complete model obtained by combining the first and second steps.

Probability of Changing Occupation

Guided by the results for the second step, a linear model is applied to the probability of changing occupation. It is assumed that factors that effect the probability of upward mobility for occupational changers also affect the probability of changing occupation. The independent variables include binary variables for the low-paid occupations (relative to garage workers), the race-gender groups (relative to white males), and the periphery industrial sector (relative to the core sector). Years of educational attainment (ED) and age (AGE) are also included as independent variables. The estimated coefficients are reported in the Appendix, Table B.

Blacks and women are less likely to change occupation than are white men. The race and gender differentials are about 5 percentage points. The effect of industrial sector has about the same magnitude as the effects of race and gender: employment in the periphery increases the probability of occupational change by 6 percentage points.¹³ For each year of schooling, the probability of occupational change increases about 1 percentage point, while each year of age reduces the probability by about three-quarters of a percentage

¹³ The model for the probability of upward mobility for occupational changers also fails to demonstrate, except for older and/or better-educated black males, that the periphery sector is any less opportune than the core sector. It may be that the core-periphery distinction is ineffectual for capturing opportunity differences related to industry (Hodson, 1984). Thus detailed investigation of industrial effects on mobility is an important next step to confirm and extend the findings reported here. Indeed, it may be crucial to have data on workplaces (Stolzenberg, 1978; Baron and Bielby, 1980).

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

point. The age coefficient is especially consequential because age varies more than does years of schooling. The occupational coefficients range from -20.5 to 4.0. The occupations that most enhance the probability of occupational change are carpenters' helpers, fountain workers, and garage workers. The occupations that most restrict occupational change are household servants, waiters and waitresses, gardeners, and cooks.

Probability of Upward Mobility

The probability of upward mobility equals the product of two probabilities: the probability of changing occupation times the probability of upward mobility conditional on being an occupational changer. Thus the complete model is obtained by multiplying the equation for changing occupation by the equation for the upward mobility of occupational changers. The resulting model is:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{RATE} = & (60.6 - 23.6 \text{ FEMALE} - 11.8 \text{ BLACK} + 2.43 \text{ ED} - 0.47 \text{ AGE} + \theta) \\ & (69.8 - 3.99 \text{ BLACK MALE} - 4.27 \text{ WHITE FEMALE} - 5.32 \text{ BLACK FEMALE} \\ & + 1.08 \text{ ED} - 0.76 \text{ AGE} + 6.27 \text{ PERIPHERY} + \delta). \end{aligned}$$

RATE is the estimated probability of upward mobility. The values of θ are given in Pomer (1984), and the values of δ correspond to the occupational coefficients in Table B of the Appendix. ¹⁴

¹⁴ The estimated model for the conditional probability of upward mobility specifies additional interaction parameters for three groups of workers employed in the periphery—black males, black female household servants, and white female waitresses. Taking these interactions into account complicates the discussion without substantially altering the results, with one important exception: For black males in the periphery, age is especially disadvantageous and education exceptionally low in value (Pomer, 1984).

Table 3. Standardized Mobility Rates for Race-Gender Groups

Group	Rate(%)
White Males	22.7
Black Males	16.3
White Females	12.3
Black Females	8.2

Note: Each rate is a standardized rate of upward mobility for a particular race-gender group. The standardization is achieved by entering mean values for the independent variables into the equation presented in the text.

Standardized Rates of Upward Mobility

This model is now used to generate standardized rates of upward mobility. The standardized rates make possible comparisons that focus on one variable at a time, while controlling for the other variable.

The standardized rates of upward mobility for the race-gender groups control for group differences in the distributions of age, education, industrial sector, and occupation. These rates are obtained from the model by specifying the appropriate values for the race/gender binary variables and the mean values for all other independent variables.¹⁵ The effects of gender and race on upward mobility are clearly evident (Table 3). The standardized rates range from 8.2% for black women to 22.7% for white men. Being a woman cuts the probability of upward mobility in half, and being black reduces the probability by about a quarter.

Similarly, standardized rates are obtained for each low-paid occupation by setting one of the occupational binary variables to unity, the other occupational binary variables to zero, and the other independent variables to their

¹⁵ The means for occupational changers are entered into the sub-model referring to the upward mobility of occupational changers.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

means. These standardized rates, displayed in Table 4, control for differences among occupations in the distributions of gender, race, industrial sector, age, and education. The values indicate strong occupational effects, with the standardized rates ranging from under 10% to almost 30%. The operative and labor occupations tend to be more opportune than the service occupations. The mean rate of upward mobility for the service occupations is 14.1%, compared with a mean of 20.3% for the laborer and operative occupations. Employment as a garage worker, carpenters' helper, or stock handler strongly improves the probability of upward mobility. Employment as a household servant, waiter or waitress, cleaner, or dishwasher sharply lessens the probability of advancement.¹⁶

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STATUS-ATTAINMENT MODEL

Due largely to Otis Dudley Duncan and his students, the status attainment model has dominated the quantitative study of social stratification since the late sixties.¹⁷ The

¹⁶ To assess differences in opportunity it may be more valid to look only at occupational changers (see Jacobs, 1983). For example, gardeners change occupation less often than do dishwashers, which may reflect that gardeners are more satisfied with their work than are dishwashers. Nevertheless, the findings obtained here are similar to those obtained by Pomer (1984) for occupational changers.

¹⁷ Influential works include Blau and Duncan (1967), Duncan et al. (1972), Hauser and Featherman (1977), and Jencks et al. (1979). See Featherman (1981) for a review of the accomplishments of this research tradition. The "human capital" tradition that is dominant in labor economics is consistent with the status attainment model, though narrower in focus. Idealizing the labor market as a mechanism that develops and utilizes individual productivity, human capital theory is based on assumptions that imply that the labor market works optimally. See, for example, Leigh's (1976: 132) claim that it has been "demonstrated" that "workers pass through an optimal sequence of jobs."

status attainment model is a model of the process of individual attainment ("achievement" or "success"). It purports to show how persons progress from their social origins to positions on the socioeconomic continuum. Depending on the version of the model, two or more sequential steps are distinguished. Most emphasized is the "educational attainment" step, though some attention has also been given to the acquisition of values and the initial occupational position on entry into the labor market. The predominant theme is the importance of education: not only is it found that educational attainment is the major causal determinant of individual attainment, but also it is shown that educational attainment is largely independent of social origins. The attainment model does not directly relate the mobility or immobility of low-paid workers to the characteristics of the labor market and the society at large. Indeed, the mobility of low-paid workers is a subject that is not likely to arise within this paradigm.¹⁸

A key feature of the attainment model is the Duncan index of socioeconomic status (SEI), a mathematical contrivance that contributes to the individualistic focus. The SEI index specifies the socioeconomic position of the individual on a vertical continuum (Duncan, 1961). When career mobility is included in the analysis, SEI is also used to specify whatever it is about a person's job at one point in time that is material for predicting the person's socioeconomic position subsequently (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sewell et al., 1980; see also

¹⁸ For further critique of the status attainment model, see Spilerman (1977), Horan (1978), Kalleberg and Sorensen (1979), Pomer (1981), and Berg (1981). Attempts have been made to overcome the individualistic focus of the attainment model by simply fitting the model separately to population subgroups. The limitations of this approach are particularly evident in the study of gender inequality, as illustrated by Hauser and Featherman (1977), which "found no evidence of inequality of opportunity by sex for educational and occupational status" (xxv).

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Table 4. Standardized Mobility Rates and SEI Values for Low-Paid Occupations

Occupation	Rate(%)	SEI
Garage Workers	28.8	17.9
Carpenters' Helpers	24.9	7.2
Stock Handlers	20.0	16.7
Lumber Workers	19.2	4.1
Produce Graders	18.7	12.2
Fountain Workers	17.9	17.0
Personal Attendants	17.9	26.3
Food Service Workers	16.9	11.0
Vehicle Washers	16.8	8.6
Crossing Guards	15.7	17.9
Porters	14.4	7.8
Cook	14.1	15.0
Gardeners	13.7	10.9
Dishwashers	13.1	11.0
Cleaners	12.5	7.8
Waiters and Waitresses	10.5	16.0
Household Servants	7.7	7.0

Note: Each rate is a standardized rate of upward mobility for a particular low-paid occupation. The standardization is achieved by entering mean values for the independent variables into the equation presented in the text. The SEI values are scores for the Duncan socio-economic index for the 1970 Census occupational categories (Hauser and Featherman, 1977, Appendix B).

Leigh, 1978, and Rosenfeld, 1980, who employ the SEI index to relate change in SEI to prior SEI).

The attainment model characterizes upward mobility as a process of climbing a ladder calibrated by the SEI index. To determine whether such a view is applicable to the mobility of low-paid workers, the SEI values for the low-paid occupations are compared to the standardized rates of upward mobility.¹⁹ Are low-paid workers with higher SEI values more

¹⁹ Note that the boundary of the mainstream stratum is defined on

likely to reach the mainstream stratum?

In Table 4, the low-paid occupations are ranked by the standardized rate of upward mobility. Column 2 gives the values of the Duncan SEI index for each occupation.²⁰ Comparison of column 1 with column 2 reveals little correspondence between SEI and mobility advantage. For example, even though service occupations tend to be less opportune than operative and laborer occupations, the mean SEI value for the service occupations (13.7) exceeds the mean SEI value for the operative and laborer occupations (11.1). The linear correlation is only 0.20, which may be interpreted as stating that 4% of the variation in the standardized rate can be explained by SEI. Thus, for the occupations analyzed, the SEI index does not indicate which low-paid occupations are most likely to lead to the mainstream.

CONCLUSION

The scope of disadvantage in the labor market is not revealed by individualistic models of social stratification. As has been demonstrated here, for example, reliance on the socioeconomic status continuum obscures the constraining effects of labor market structure. In contrast, this study applied a segmentation approach to analyze the immobility of low-paid workers. The analysis was based on the occupational mobility between 1965 and 1970 of prime-age, low-paid workers.

The findings bring disadvantage into clear view. First, the poor tend to remain poor. For the sample studied, only one of seven workers in the low-paid stratum moved into the mainstream stratum. Second, women and blacks are much less

the basis of median earnings, not SEI. Thus a less demanding test of the attainment model would define the mainstream boundary on the basis of SEI.

²⁰ The SEI values are from Hauser and Featherman (1977, Appendix B).

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

likely than white men to move up "the occupational ladder." For example, 95% of black women failed to move into the mainstream stratum.

According to the multivariate model of the probability of upward mobility, the mobility disadvantages of women and blacks cannot be attributed to age, education, and the tendency to be employed in less opportune jobs. The model also shows that, even for white men, some low-paid occupations sharply restrict access to mainstream jobs.

The severely restricted advancement of women and blacks may be due to the legacy of prejudice toward women and minorities. It may also be the consequence of informal social networks which socialize persons for work roles, determine exposure to job opportunities, and influence hiring and promotion decisions.

In the face of the restricted access to mainstream jobs, there is a need for vigorous policy efforts. Welfare programs to correct individual "deficiencies" may be of only limited benefit. Especially needed are economic policies that improve the level of rewards of jobs typically held by low-paid workers. Even more vital are policies to make mainstream jobs more available by increasing their quantity in the economy. Another strategy is to call for the restructuring of organizations so that more low-paid jobs lead to upward mobility. Finally, the lack of advancement of women and blacks suggests the necessity to monitor institutional practices of recruitment and promotion.

REFERENCES

- Averitt, Robert T. 1978.
The Dual Economy. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Baron, James N. and William T. Bielby. 1980.
"Bringing the firms back in: Stratification, segmentation, and the organization of work." *American Sociological Review* 45: 737-65.
- . 1984.

- "The organization of work in a segmented economy." *American Sociological Review* 49: 454-73.
- Beck, E. M., Patrick M. Horan, and Charles M. Tolbert II. 1978.
"Stratification in a dual economy: A sectoral model of earnings determination." *American Sociological Review* 43: 704-20.
- . 1980.
"Social stratification in an industrial society: Further evidence for a structural alternative." *American Sociological Review* 45: 712-18.
- Berg, Ivar (ed.). 1981.
Sociological Perspectives on Labor Markets. New York: Academic Press.
- Bergmann, Barbara R. and William Darity, Jr. 1980.
"Social relations in the workplace and employer discrimination." *Industrial Relations Research Association Series: Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Meeting*: 155-62.
- Bibb, Robert and William H. Form. 1977.
"The effects of industrial, occupational, and sex stratification on wages in the blue-collar markets." *Social Forces* 55: 974-96.
- Bielby, William T. 1981.
"Models of status attainment." Pp. 3-26 in Donald J. Treiman and Robert V. Robinson (eds.), *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, Volume I. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Blau, Peter M., and Otis Dudley Duncan. 1967.
The American Occupational Structure. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Buchele, Robert. 1983.
"Economic dualism and employment stability." *Industrial Relations* 22: 410-8.
- Cain, Glen G. 1976.
"The challenge of segmented labor market theories to orthodox theory: a survey." *Journal of Economic Literature* 14: 1215-57.
- Coleman, Richard P. and Lee Rainwater with K. A. McClelland. 1978.
Social Standing in America: New Dimensions of Class. New York: Basic Books.
- Doeringer, Peter B. and Michael J. Piore. 1971.
Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.
- Duncan, Otis Dudley. 1961.
"A socioeconomic index for all occupations." Pp. 109-38 in Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (ed.), *Occupations and Social Status*. New York: Free Press.
- Duncan, Otis Dudley, David L. Featherman, and Beverly Duncan 1972.
Socioeconomic Background and Achievement. New York: Seminar Press.
- Edwards, Richard. 1979.
Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century. New York: Basic Books.
- Featherman, David L. 1981.
"Stratification and social mobility: two decades of cumulative social science." Pp. 79-100 in James S. Short, Jr. (ed.), *The State of Sociology: Problems and Prospects*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

- Felmlee, Diane H. 1982.
"Women's job mobility processes within and between employers."
American Sociological Review 47: 142-50.
- Freedman, Marcia. 1976.
Labor Markets: Segments and Shelters. Montclair, New Jersey: Allanheld, Osmun & Co.
- Gordon, David M. 1972.
Theories of Poverty and Underemployment. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.
- Gordon, David M., Richard Edwards and Michael Reich. 1982.
Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Granovetter, Mark S. 1974.
Getting a Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- . 1981.
"Toward a sociological theory of income differences." Pp. 11-47 in Ivar Berg (ed.), *Sociological Perspectives on Labor Markets*. New York: Academic Press.
- Hartmann, Heidi. 1976.
"Capitalism, patriarchy, and job segregation by sex." *Signs* 1 (3), part 2: 137-69.
- Hauser, Robert M. 1980.
"On 'Stratification in a dual economy.'" *American Sociological Review* 45: 702-11.
- Hauser, Robert M. and David L. Featherman. 1977.
The Process of Stratification: Trends and Analyses. New York: Academic Press.
- Hodson, Randy D. 1978.
"Labor in the monopoly, competitive and state sectors of production." *Politics and Society* 8: 429-80.
- . 1984.
"Companies, industries, and the measurement of economic segmentation," *American Sociological Review* 49: 335-48.
- Horan, Patrick M. 1978.
"Is status attainment research atheoretical?" *American Sociological Review* 43: 534-41.
- Jacobs, Jerry. 1983.
"Industrial sector and career mobility reconsidered." *American Sociological Review* 48: 415-20.
- Jencks, Christopher, S. Bartlett, M. Corcoran, J. Crouse, D. Eaglesfield, G. Jackson, K. McClelland, P. Mueser, M. Olneck, J. Schwartz, S. Ward, and J. Williams. 1979.
Who Gets Ahead?: The Determinants of Economic Success in America. New York: Basic Books.
- Kalleberg, A. L. and A. B. Sorensen. 1979.
"The sociology of labor markets." *Annual Review of Sociology* 5: 351-79.
- Leigh, Duane E. 1976.
"Job experience and earnings among middle-aged men." *Industrial Relations* 15: 130-146.

- . 1978.
An Analysis of the Determinants of Occupational Upgrading. New York: Academic Press.
- O'Connor, James. 1973.
The Fiscal Crisis of the State. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Osterman, Paul. 1975.
"An empirical study of labor market segmentation." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 28: 508-21.
- Pomer, Marshall I. 1981.
Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in the United States: A Segmentation Perspective. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida.
- . 1983.
"Segmentation approaches to inequality in the labor market." *Humanity and Society* 7: 262-71.
- . 1984.
"Upward mobility of low-paid workers: a multivariate model for occupational changers." *Sociological Perspectives* 27: 427-42.
- Reich, Michael. 1984.
"Segmented labor: time series hypothesis and evidence." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 8: 63-81.
- Rosenberg, Samuel. 1980.
"Male occupational standing and the dual labor market," *Industrial Relations* 19: 34-49.
- Rosenfeld, Rachel A. 1980.
"Race and sex differences in career dynamics." *American Sociological Review* 45: 583-609.
- Sandefur, Gary D. 1981.
"Organizational boundaries and upward job shifts," *Social Science Research* 10: 67-82.
- Sewell, William H., Robert M. Hauser and Wendy C. Wolf. 1980.
"Sex, schooling, and occupational status." *American Journal of Sociology* 86: 551-83.
- Slomczynski, Kazimierz M., Joanne Miller and Melvin L. Kohn. 1981.
"Stratification, work, and values: A Polish-United States comparison." *American Sociological Review* 46: 720-44.
- Sorensen, Aage B. 1977.
"The structure of inequality and the process of attainment." *American Sociological Review* 42: 965-78.
- Sorensen, Aage B. and Nancy Brandon Tuma. 1981.
"Labor market structures and job mobility." Pp. 67-94 in Donald J. Treiman and Robert V. Robinson (eds.), *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, Volume 1. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Spilerman, Seymour. 1977.
"Careers, labor market structure, and socioeconomic achievement." *American Journal of Sociology* 83: 551-93.
- Stolzenberg, Ross M. 1975.
"Occupations, labor markets and the process of wage attainment." *American Sociological Review* 40: 645-65.
- . 1978.
"Bringing the boss back in: employer size, employee schooling, and

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

- socioeconomic achievement." *American Sociological Review* 43: 813-28.
- Tolbert, Charles M., II. 1982.
"Industrial segmentation and men's career mobility." *American Sociological Review* 47: 457-77.
- Tuma, Nancy Brandon. 1976.
"Rewards, resources, and the rate of mobility: a nonstationary multivariate stochastic model," *American Sociological Review* 41: 338-60.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1972.
Public Use Samples of Basic Records From the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Wachter, Michael. 1974.
"Primary and secondary labor markets: a critique of the dual approach." *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*. 3: 637-93.
- Wolf, Wendy C. and Neil D. Fligstein. 1979.
"Sex and authority in the workplace: the causes of sexual inequality." *American Sociological Review* 44: 235-52.

APPENDIX

Table A. Workers in Low-Paid Stratum by Occupation, Industrial Sector, Race, and Gender

	Periphery Sector				Core Sector			
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
	Men	Men	Wom.	Wom.	Men	Men	Wom.	Wom.
Garage Workers (623)	2358	378	75	7	86	35	4	0
Produce Graders (625)	8	0	27	3	65	9	286	24
Carpenter's Helpers (750)	24	5	2	0	189	77	3	0
Gardeners (755)	1251	332	40	11	726	148	32	5
Lumber Workers (761)	1083	347	19	5	26	5	2	0
Stock Handlers (762)	1240	182	939	127	486	89	173	23
Vehicle Washers (764)	210	223	44	23	184	96	12	10
Cleaners (902)	450	352	405	336	362	363	805	733
Cooks (912)	2076	548	2603	1108	309	225	2123	684
Dishwashers (913)	213	73	190	103	39	14	82	21
Fountain Workers (914)	136	16	469	88	6	4	361	58
Waiters and Waitresses (915)	710	193	11626	668	43	44	314	64
Food Serv. Workers,nec(916)	254	81	640	273	115	61	1186	317
Personal Attendants (933)	97	25	155	34	59	23	124	47
Porters (934)	90	35	5	0	23	43	2	2
Crossing Guards (960)	5	1	4	3	89	4	333	45
Household Servants (984)	74	180	1712	7500	0	0	0	0
Total	10279	2971	18955	10289	2807	1240	5842	2033

Notes: The sample consists of white and black persons aged 26-49 in 1965 who were in the experienced civilian labor force in 1965 and 1970, and employed in 1965 in one of the 17 low-paid occupations listed in the table (N= 54,416). The numbers in parentheses are census three-digit occupational codes. The core/ periphery distinction refers to the dual industrial structure as operationalized by Beck et al. (1978). Data source: the three one-in-a-hundred Public Use Samples of the 1970 Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972).

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Table B. Regression Model of Probability of Changing Occupation

Independent Variable	Estimate	Std. Error
CONSTANT	69.8	1.97
BLACK MALE	-3.99	0.84
WHITE FEMALE	-4.27	0.65
BLACK FEMALE	-5.32	0.80
PERIPHERY	6.27	0.58
ED	1.08	0.08
AGE	-0.76	0.03
Garage Workers	—	—
Produce Graders	-9.0	2.5
Carpenters' Helpers	4.0	2.8
Gardeners	-19.7	1.3
Lumber Workers	-8.0	1.5
Stock Handlers	-6.4	1.2
Vehicle Washers	-13.1	1.9
Cleaners	-14.4	1.2
Cooks	-18.8	1.1
Dishwashers	-0.9	1.9
Fountain Workers	0.2	1.7
Waiters and Waitresses	-19.8	1.1
Food Service Workers,nec	-2.5	1.3
Personal Attendants	-10.7	2.2
Porters	-9.2	3.4
Crossing Guards	-15.4	2.4
Household Servants	-20.5	1.2

Notes: Results are from a linear probability model fitted to the entire sample. See Pomer (1984) for description of the estimation method.

PUBLIC PREFERENCES CONCERNING
FUTURE DIRECTIONS IN SOCIAL SECURITY¹

David L. Klemmack
The University of Alabama

Lucinda L. Roff
The University of Alabama

ABSTRACT

Using data collected from a probability sample of 1030 adult Alabamians, this study segmented respondents among those favoring limited expansion, maintenance, and limited contraction of the social security retirement program. Those favoring some expansion in the system tended to be less well educated and affluent, and more likely to be retired, nonwhite, and to identify themselves as Democrats than did those favoring maintenance or some limited contraction of the system. The findings suggest the potential for cleavages among the population, based primarily on socioeconomic status, in ongoing discussions about the system's future.

While major legislation passed in 1977 and 1983 has attempted to preserve the major features of the current social security retirement system into the future, many of the basic interrelated questions underlying current and future old age retirement policy have only recently begun to be articulated among the public at large. With a rapidly aging population, these questions will become increasingly salient. Among them are:

1. How much of a tax burden should current and future generations of workers be expected to undertake to support retired persons?

¹This study was conducted with the support of the AARP Andrus Foundation.

2. What level of support should be assured retired persons under social security?

3. At what age should persons be entitled to retirement with full social security benefits?

Policy analysts have devoted considerable attention in recent years to these and related issues. Some conclude that the government's commitment to retirees through social security is too high and should be curtailed (Friedman, 1962; Consultant Panel on Social Security, 1976; Van Gorkom, 1979). Arguments used to support this position suggest that assumptions underlying the current structure of the program are not consistent with the circumstances of many contemporary and future retired persons. Analysts claim that savings mechanisms now available directly to individuals and through employers should make it possible for larger proportions of workers to plan adequately for their own retirement with less government assistance (Friedman, 1962). Some also point out that large proportions of the older population are vigorous, healthy, and well educated and could, if ageist retirement practices were discarded, support themselves through earnings well past the "traditional" retirement age (Nelson, 1982). Finally, some suggest that attempting to provide a high level of support through social security for a growing older population may result in a "taxpayers' revolt" among the working population who are taxed to support leisure among a retired class (Ragan, 1977). Proposals advanced to limit the government's role in social security include those to limit the rate of benefit increases and raise the age of retirement with full benefits.

Others contend that government has an obligation to continue to play a major role in ensuring that retirees have an adequate retirement income. Claiming that future generations of older persons would have difficulties in providing an adequate retirement income for themselves without substantial government assistance, some analysts conclude that government should maintain its longstanding commitment to the program and, in some cases, expand the adequacy of coverage (Beattie, 1983; Cohen, 1981). Proposals consistent with this position call for maintaining

or lowering the ages of eligibility and maintaining or increasing benefit levels and cost of living increases.

A number of studies have been conducted in recent years to ascertain public opinion about the social security program (see Harris, 1975; 1981 and U.S. Senate, 1980). Included in these have been items concerning proposed changes in the system. Few of these studies, however, have considered how different segments of the population view potential policy options when the complexities involved in manipulating costs to working taxpayers, benefits available to retirees, and age of eligibility for full benefits are taken into account.

This study, conducted in the fall of 1981 when concerns about the future of the system were receiving extensive attention in the media, had two purposes. The first was to determine whether there were differences among the population concerning the extent of commitment which government should make to the social security retirement program. In the event that such differences were found, identification of lines of division would be of major consequence to policymakers, politicians, and others attempting to respond to and to influence public opinion. Thus, the second purpose of the study was to determine whether those favoring different general approaches to the program could be identified on the basis of other characteristics.

METHODS OF STUDY

Sampling Procedure and Profile

The target population for this study was the adult (18 or older), noninstitutionalized population of residents of Alabama in October, 1981. A two-stage, probability sampling plan was used to identify a sample. First, a stratified, random sample of telephone directories serving the state was selected. Second, a sample of names from each directory selected was obtained using interval sampling with a random starting point. The final sample included 2,246 residents of 221 communities within the state.

Data were gathered using a mailed questionnaire. Five different contacts were used so as to ensure as large a response rate as possible. Of the 2,246 questionnaires mailed, 462 were undeliverable as addressed and, of the 1,784 delivered, 1,030 (57.7%) were completed and returned.

The sample was predominantly male (66.2% of the respondents were male) and underrepresented those under age 25 (5.0% of the respondents were under 25). These biases were probably a function of the data collection technique employed. Although the cover letter indicated that the questionnaire could be completed by any adult member of the household, the questionnaire was addressed to the name listed in the telephone directory. Thus, the mailing was directed to a somewhat older, predominantly male population. Whites accounted for 83.1% of the respondents, and 71.9% of the respondents were currently married. Over 80% of the respondents had one or more children.

In terms of socioeconomic status, the sample, like those in virtually all mail surveys, was somewhat upwardly biased. The median level of educational attainment was 12.3 years, with 75.2% having completed the equivalent of high school or beyond. The median yearly household income of respondents was \$18,715, with 24.9% reporting a family income of \$10,000 or less and 24.2% reporting an income over \$30,000. The median family income in Alabama in 1979 was \$16,353 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982). All occupational levels were represented, with the number of white collar workers being somewhat larger than the number of blue collar workers.

Instrumentation and Analysis

The first purpose of this study was to determine whether respondents could be differentiated in terms of their orientations toward the future of the social security system. Assuming no major changes in the structure or financing of the social security retirement system, there are three interrelated questions which must be considered in any discussion of the system's future: who should be eligible for retirement benefits, how high should benefit levels be,

and how high should worker taxes to support the system be. In the first phase of this study, respondents were presented with a series of nine policy alternatives which involved combinations of potential eligibility criteria, benefit levels, and tax levels (see Table 1 for the specific alternatives used). For simplicity, the eligibility question was addressed solely in terms of age of eligibility for full retirement benefits. Respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they favored each alternative using a five point Likert type scale ranging from strongly favor to strongly disfavor. In order to determine whether the sample could be divided into homogenous categories based on similarities in their response profiles to these questions, respondents were segmented using the K-Means Iterative Clustering Program (McRae, 1971). In this study, this procedure was used to identify sets (segments) of the population who had basically different orientations concerning what the future of the social security system should be.

Since costs to taxpayers are of major concern in the system's future, respondents were also asked the degree to which they favored three different proposals for decreasing costs and two different proposals for increasing revenues for the social security system (see Table 2 for the proposals presented). The proposals for decreasing costs each involved eliminating benefits for persons other than retirees. Those for increasing revenues included using general tax funds to supplement social security taxes and taxing social security retirement benefits. Under the assumption that the clusters identified in the first phase of the analysis represented significant divisions among the population in terms of their general orientation toward the system, it was anticipated that it would also be possible to separate the clusters on the basis of their preferences for measures to decrease costs and increase revenues.

The second purpose of this study was to determine whether the clusters identified in the first phase differed from one another in terms of other characteristics. A total of nine socioeconomic, demographic, and political variables were included as potential discriminators among the

segments. Current family income was measured using a nine point scale ranging from 1 (less than \$5,000) to 9 (\$40,000 or more), and perceived income adequacy was scored from 1 (very adequate) to 6 (very inadequate). Education was measured in number of years of school completed, and age was measured as age at last birthday. Respondents were classified as retired, nonwhite, having voted in the 1980 presidential election, and as Democrats on the basis of self-definition. In addition, those respondents who stated they and/or a close family member were currently unemployed were identified.

A series of four attitudinal and behavioral measures related to social security and retirement was also included. The behavioral measures were the level of political activity concerning social security that the individual reported having engaged in (0 = no activities; 5 = 5 activities) and the respondent's self-definition as an opinion leader concerning social security. The latter was measured using a four item Likert type index (coefficient alpha = .63) ranging from 4 (low leadership) to 20 (high leadership). In addition, respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they adopted a fatalistic orientation toward planning for their own retirement using a four item Likert type index (coefficient alpha = .60). A high score on this index indicated high fatalism. Finally, anxiety about personal aging was measured using a four item index developed by Klemmack, et al. (1980). On this measure 4 = low anxiety, and 20 = high anxiety, coefficient alpha = .77.

To determine whether the clusters differed on preferences for changes to decrease costs and increase revenues, a two step procedure suggested by Hummel and Sligo (1971) was used. First, multivariate analysis of variance was used to determine whether there were overall differences among the clusters. Second, univariate F-ratios were obtained for each of the discriminator variables to identify specifically the differences in descriptors among clusters. These same procedures were employed with respect to the background, behavioral, and attitudinal measures.

RESULTS

Preferences for System Change

A three-cluster solution was selected as optimum in maximizing within-cluster homogeneity and between-cluster heterogeneity. The three clusters, the percent favoring and disfavoring each alternative in each cluster, and cluster size are presented in Table 1. The first cluster (labelled expanders) included individuals who favored some limited expansion in the current social security system. Among those in this cluster, the most popular alternative was to increase benefit levels while maintaining the age of eligibility for full benefits at 65. Other alternatives favored by those in this cluster were increasing benefit levels while reducing the age for full benefits to 62, maintaining current benefit levels and age of eligibility, and maintaining current benefit levels while reducing the age for full benefits to 62.

The second cluster (labelled maintainers) included respondents who favored little change in the current system. The only alternative which received majority support among these individuals was maintaining current benefit levels and age of eligibility. With one exception (increasing benefit levels and maintaining the age of eligibility at 65), all of the other alternatives were overwhelmingly rejected.

The third cluster (labelled contractors) included respondents who favored limited contraction in the current system. The only alternative which received majority support among these individuals was maintaining current benefit levels and increasing the age for full benefits to 68. A substantial minority of those in this cluster also favored increasing benefit levels while increasing the age for full benefits to 68.

Overall, these findings reflect very little consensus about what the future of the social security retirement system should be. The only alternative which enjoyed majority (50.8%) support among the total sample was retention of current benefit levels and age of eligibility. At the same

Table 1. Percent favoring different alternatives by cluster.

Alternatives	Expand			Maintain			Contract		
	Percent Favoring	Percent Disfavoring	Percent Favoring	Percent Disfavoring	Percent Favoring	Percent Disfavoring	Percent Favoring	Percent Disfavoring	Total Favoring
Increase benefit levels, and increase the age for full benefits to 68. The amount workers pay to social security would go up somewhat.	13.0	69.1	3.6	92.2	41.9	45.7	20.6		
Increase benefit levels, and keep the age for full benefits at 65. The amount workers pay to social security would go up quite a bit.	61.9	20.2	35.7	56.5	4.6	84.1	29.8		
Increase benefit levels, and reduce the age for full benefits to 62. The amount workers pay to social security would go up a lot.	58.7	11.2	2.8	93.9	1.1	95.1	15.2		
Maintain benefit levels, and increase the age for full benefits to 68. The amount workers pay to social security would remain about the same as now.	9.9	61.9	1.1	93.1	73.5	15.4	31.2		
Maintain benefit levels, and keep the age for full benefits at 65. The amount workers pay to social security would go up somewhat.	57.8	18.4	68.7	21.9	29.2	53.5	50.8		
Maintain benefit levels, and reduce the age for full benefits to 62. The amount workers pay to social security would go up quite a bit.	54.7	11.7	2.8	92.5	0.5	96.2	14.0		
Reduce benefit levels, and increase the age for full benefits to 68. The amount workers pay to social security would go down somewhat.	5.8	75.3	1.7	95.8	23.8	63.8	11.2		
Reduce benefit levels, and keep the age for full benefits at 65. The amount workers pay to social security would remain about the same as now.	27.4	52.0	14.1	81.2	27.3	58.9	22.3		
Reduce benefit levels, and reduce the age for full benefits to 62. The amount workers pay to social security would go up somewhat.	32.7	41.7	1.9	94.5	3.8	87.6	9.9		
Cluster Size	223			361			370		

benefit levels and age of eligibility. At the same time, this alternative was rejected by a majority of those favoring a limited contraction of the current system. In fact, any other alternative favored by a majority of those in one of the clusters was rejected by a majority of those in the two remaining clusters. These data thus suggest the potential for cleavages among the population concerning level of taxation, level of benefit, and age of eligibility desired in the future social security system.

Not surprisingly, those in the clusters differed in their responses to the items designed to measure attitudes toward other methods of assuring system solvency. As might be expected, contractors were more likely than either expanders or maintainers to agree that spouses and children of a deceased worker should not be eligible to receive benefits and that social security benefits should be taxed as income. Also, they were more likely than those in the other two clusters to disagree that non-working spouses of retired workers should be able to receive benefits and that government should use general tax funds to supplement social security taxes. Expanders did not differ from maintainers in their level of support for retaining benefits for spouses of deceased workers and for taxing social security retirement benefits. Expanders were, however, more likely than maintainers to disagree with the elimination of benefits to the children of deceased workers and to agree both with retaining the current spousal benefit and with the use of general tax funds to supplement social security taxes.

Finally, it is important to note that only two of the five proposals for decreasing costs or increasing revenues presented had majority support in any cluster. These were the elimination of benefits to the non-working spouse of a retired worker and the use of general tax funds to supplement social security taxes. Thus, it would appear as if each of these proposals would also meet with substantial resistance from at least some, if not all, segments of the population.

Table 2. Mean scores on attitudes toward decreasing costs and increasing revenues for social security by cluster.^a

Attitude toward social security ^b	Expand	Maintain	Contract	Alpha ^c
<u>Decreasing costs</u>				
Social security benefits to widows and widowers should be eliminated to reduce how much workers have to pay into social security.	4.17	4.21	4.03	.016
Social security payments to children who have lost a parent should be eliminated to reduce how much workers have to pay into social security.	4.10	3.82	3.46	.001
Workers who have spouses who have never worked should get additional social security benefits when they retire, even if this means all workers have to pay more into social security.	3.35	3.78	3.91	.001
<u>Increasing revenues</u>				
Government should use general tax funds as well as worker contributions to pay social security retirement benefits.	2.42	2.93	3.25	.001
Social security retirement benefits should be taxed like any other source of income.	4.38	4.44	4.20	.001

^aMultivariate $F = 12.12$, $df = 10, 1844$, $\alpha < .001$, $\eta^2 = .120$

^bResponses were measured on a 5 point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).

^cProbability associated with a one-way ANOVA that the 3 categories do not differ on the attitude.

Background Characteristics

Those favoring a limited expansion of the current social security retirement system appeared to have somewhat of a greater personal investment in current policies than did those favoring maintenance or a limited contraction of the current system (see Table 3). Expanders, when compared with maintainers and contractors, were less affluent, less well educated, older, more likely to be retired, and less likely to be white. Further, they were more likely than those in the other two clusters to indicate that it was impossible for the individual to plan adequately for retirement and that they were likely to experience difficulties when they, themselves, were old. In fact, the only measure suggesting a high degree of potential dependence on social security for retirement income on which there were no differences among the clusters was percent unemployed. Thus, those who were most likely to favor limited expansion of the current social security retirement system were the types of individuals who, historically, have been most dependent on social security as a source of retirement income.

Expanders also differed from maintainers and contractors in their level of political involvement. Expanders were less likely to have reported voting in the 1980 presidential election, but were more likely to have reported engaging in some form of political activity (e.g., discussing the issues with others, contacting a legislator) concerning social security. At the same time, expanders were no more likely than those in the other two clusters to define themselves as opinion leaders concerning social security. Finally, expanders were somewhat more likely than maintainers and more than twice as likely as contractors to identify themselves as Democrats.

DISCUSSION

The primary issue raised in this study was whether it was possible to segment the population into homeogenous categories, each of which had a different view of what the future of the social security system should be. The results of this

Table 3. Sociodemographic characteristics and level of involvement with social security by cluster.^a

Characteristic ^b	Expand	Maintain	Contract	Alpha ^c
Income	3.69	4.90	5.30	.001
Income inadequate	3.52	2.98	2.64	.001
Education	11.19	12.93	14.23	.001
Percent retired	26.5	19.6	20.8	.001
Percent unemployed	15.6	17.4	16.3	.887
Percent nonwhite	30.0	10.7	6.2	.001
Age	50.3	48.6	45.3	.005
Fatalistic toward retirement	10.71	9.68	9.10	.001
Fear of aging	12.02	11.40	10.74	.001
Percent voted in 1980	75.6	87.6	83.4	.006
Percent Democratic	59.2	43.4	25.7	.001
Number of social security activities	1.8	1.5	1.5	.006
Self definition as opinion leader	13.00	12.65	12.98	.252

^aMultivariate $F = 6.70$, $df = 28, 1402$, $\alpha < .001$, $\eta^2 = .222$.

^bA high number represents a high amount of the characteristic in question.

^cProbability associated with a one-way ANOVA that the 3 categories do not differ on the characteristic.

study strongly suggest that there are three distinct and mutually exclusive orientations toward the future of the system. First, those who are currently dependent on social security or who, from an historical perspective, can anticipate that social security will be their primary source of retirement income favor some limited expansion of benefit levels even if this should mean substantial increases in worker taxes. Second, the types of individuals for whom social security has historically played a smaller, less important role in ensuring retirement income tend to favor some limited contraction of the current system, particularly a change in the age of eligibility for full benefits from 65 to 68. Finally, intermediate to these two segments are those who favor retention of the current age of eligibility for full benefits and benefit levels, again even if this should mean some increase in worker taxes.

Although it is not surprising that it is possible to identify these different views toward what the future of the social security retirement system should be, it is noteworthy that endorsement of one perspective tends to be associated with rejection of the other two. These findings suggest the existence of schisms in the population concerning what the future of the social security retirement system should be, schisms based primarily on socioeconomic status. Further, since the method of data collection employed resulted in underrepresentation of lower socioeconomic status persons, these findings probably underestimate the depth of the division, at least as this is reflected in cluster size. This problem is further exacerbated in that the data were gathered in what has traditionally been a conservative state. Thus, as Austin & Loeb (1982) suggest, it appears likely that ongoing debate concerning the future of the national retirement income system has the potential for dividing the public along social class lines.

REFERENCES

- Austin, C.D. & Loeb, M.B. "Why age is relevant in 1982 social policy and practice." In Neugarten,

- B.L. (ed.), Public Policies for Older People. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Beattie, W.M. "Economic security for the elderly: 1983 national and international perspectives." *Gerontologist* 23:406-410.
- Cohen, W.J. "Social security: Current myths and 1981 reality: the need for its preservation and reform." In Tropman, J.E., Dluby, M.J. & Lind, R. (eds.), *New Strategic Perspectives on Social Policy*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Consultant Panel on Social Security. Report on 1976 Social Security to the Congressional Research Service. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Friedman, M. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: 1962 University of Chicago Press.
- Harris, L. and Associates. *The Myth and Reality of 1975 Aging in America*. Washington, D.C.: National Council on the Aging.
- Harris, L. and Associates. *Aging in the Eighties: 1981 America in Transition*. Washington, D.C.: National Council on the Aging.
- Hummel, T. J., & Sligo, J. R. "Empirical comparison 1971 of univariate and multivariate analysis of variance procedures." *Psychological Bulletin* 76:49-57.
- Klemmack, D. L., Durand, R. M., & Roff, L. L. 1980 "Re-examination of the relationship between age and fear of aging." *Psychological Reports* 46:1320.
- McRae, D. J. "MIKA: A fortran IV iterative K-means 1971 cluster analysis program." *Behavioral Science*, 16:423-424.
- National Commission on Social Security. *Social 1981 Security in America's Future*. Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Social Security.
- Nelson, D.W. "Alternative images of old age as the 1982 bases for policy." In Neugarten, B. L. (ed.), *Age or Need? Public Policies for Older People*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Ragan, P.K. "Another look at the politicizing of old 1977 age: can we expect a backlash effect?" *Urban and Social Change Review* 10:6-18.

- U.S. Bureau of the Census. Advance Estimates of
1982 Social, Economic and Housing Character-
istics: Alabama. Washington, D.C.: U.S.
Department of Commerce.
- U.S. Senate, Special Committee on Aging. Summary of
1980 Recommendations and Surveys on Social
Security and Pension Policies. Washington,
D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Van Gorkom, J. W. Social Security Revisited.
1979 Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise
Institute for Public Policy.

**TRACING THE CONCEPTION AND MEANING OF
THE AGE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT ACT:
WHERE ARE WE WITH MANDATORY RETIREMENT?**

**MONICA FERRELLI
NORFOLK STATE UNIVERSITY**

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the political development of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. The historical origin, amendments, and arguments for or against the act are also presented. The implications of social work practice with our vastly increasing retired and aging population is finally discussed.

Introduction

To secure against hiring discrimination, based on chronological age, a public law was enacted by Congress in 1967 known as the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA) P.L. 90-202. ADEA provided protection to older Americans, defined as those individuals who were 45 and older, from unjust and unfair hiring biases of employers. Statistics during this time indicated that many individuals of the 45 and older age range were receiving unemployment benefits unnecessarily. Many were able and willing to work, but were often denied employment because of their age. Thus, a concern for the employment of these "older Americans" became a legislative issue. As a result of ADEA, new hiring and employment policies were created to accommodate this older population, even though ADEA stipulated to which age an individual could remain in the work force. This "upper age limit" was determined to be age 65 for most employees, although retirement was possible at age 62, with accepted reduced pension benefits.

Since the enactment of ADEA, two amendments have been added, one in 1974, P.L. 93-259, and the other in 1978, P.L. 95-256. Through these amendments, several changes were made, the most significant of which raised the mandatory retirement age from 65 to 70. Critics of this age increase argued that too many older workers would be taking jobs away from younger workers.

In actuality, our population is progressively becoming older. The individuals born during the "baby boom" era, 1946-1964, have now matured and the number of births since this time has declined. Because of this shift, we need to rethink present aging policies, particularly regarding the effectiveness of mandatory retirement. The following is an outline beginning with the conception of ADEA, its development, including contributing factors and amendments to the law. Arguments for and against mandatory retirement are explored and finally implications for social work practice are discussed.

Historical Overview

The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, P.L. 90-202 (Final Report to Congress) resulted from the expressed need for older Americans to gain the opportunities for equal employment along with their younger competitors. Prior to this time, during the first part of the century, most individual occupations evolved around agriculture. Employment and retirement within this field were purely individual decisions. Once industrial work, "an activity performed for others in which an individual is rewarded monetarily" (Sheppard, 1976), began growing throughout the country, retirement existed as a shift in jobs. Once a person became incapable of performing the same type of work, a less strenuous position was assigned or the number of working hours was decreased.

As industry formalized during the 1940's, retirement and pension plans also expanded. The philosophy which spread among private industries was to discard older employees and promote the younger worker. As an incentive for older workers to choose an early retirement, these private pension plans were created by management. Through this strategy more positions would be accessible to younger individuals, at lower wages. In relation with this growing trend toward early retirement, employment discrimination became a concern in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, P.L. 88-352 (U.S. Statutes, 88th Congress).

In 1965, the Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz, was commissioned by Section 715 of the Civil Rights Act to "make a full and complete study of the factors which might tend to result in discrimination on the economy and individuals affected" (Final Report to Congress, 1982). This study ascertained that the major reason older persons were

not being hired was due to the assumption that age affected work performance. The conclusions of this study by Secretary Wirtz, led to the creation of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, which was approved in December, 1967 and became effective June 12, 1968 (Monthly Labor Review, 1968).

ADEA was primarily enacted to promote the employment of those between the ages of 45 to 65 and to legally protect this population against discrimination based on age. The idea of ADEA was to consider "individual ability" not "individual age." The act affected employers with 25 or more members and forbade them to:

"Fail or refuse to hire, or to discharge or otherwise discriminate against any individual as to compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment because of age; Limit, segregate, or classify his employees so as to deprive any individual of employment opportunities, or adversely affect his status as an employee, because of age; Reduce the wage rate of any employee in order to comply with the act; Discriminate against a person for opposing practice made unlawful by the act, or for making a charge, assisting or participating in any investigation, proceeding, or litigation under it; Use printed or published notices or advertisements relating to employment indicating any preference, limitation, specification or discrimination based on age" (Banking, 1968).

As with most legislative decisions, ADEA did provide three "exceptions to the rule," which included:

"An employer may discharge or discipline an individual for good cause; The law's prohibitions does not apply where age is a bona fide occupational qualification (HFOQ) reasonably necessary to the normal operation of a particular business, or where differentiation is based on reasonable factors other than age; To facilitate the employment of older workers, employers are allowed to make some age distinctions in providing fringe benefits according to the terms of a bona fide employee benefit plan such as a retirement, pension or insurance plan" (final Report to Congress, 1982).

Employment termination for a "good cause" is the sole decision of the employer. Rationale for this decision is

most often based on the individual's overall work performance.

The responsibility for enforcement of the act, in private industry plus in state and local governments, was given to the Department of Labor. Federal workers were not yet covered under the new law.

The "upper age limit" of 65 was, for the most part, arbitrarily chosen, although it can be traced back to 1889 and Otto Von Bismark, who was the first Chancellor of the German Empire. Bismark enforced an Old Age Survivors Pension Act within his empire. This legislation was the first of its type in the Western world to assume any responsibility for the financial assistance of older citizens. This act defined "older citizens" as those individuals 65 and beyond (Select Committee on Aging, 1977). Continuing Bismark's lead, other countries, such as Great Britain, soon emphasized this type of policy. Consequently, the age of 65 remained as the unwritten law for defining older citizens in legislation.

Act Amendments

The Age Discrimination in Employment Act remained intact until 1974. This first amendment, P.L. 93-259, changed two areas (U.S. Statutes: 93rd Congress). The act now included federal workers, plus the number of employees in private and public employment was changed from 25 to 20 in order for an employer to be covered (Congressional Digest, 1982).

Four years later, in 1978, a strong degree of public persuasion influenced the second amendment to ADEA, P.L. 95-256 (Final Report to Congress, 1982). The upper age limit was raised from 65 to an arbitrarily chosen age of 70. Also, federal workers were no longer bound to a mandatory retirement age. Previously, when a federal worker reached age 70, with at least 15 years of service, retirement was required. Consequently, individuals age 70 or older were no longer banned from federal employment. The Civil Service Commission became responsible for enforcement of ADEA within the federal sector.

The 1978 amendment was not consistent for all federal workers because mandatory retirement for specific federal jobs, at age 65, was not repealed. Affected workers were air traffic controllers, law enforcement officers, fire fighters, plus employees of the Alaskan Railroad, the Panama Canal Company, the Canal Zone Government, the

Foreign Service and the Central Intelligence Agency (Congressional Digest, 1982). Military retirement was not affected by this amendment or the act since this system is based on years of service rather than age.

These new changes for federal workers became effective September 30, 1978. For those employed through private or public employers, covered by retirement, pension or insurance plans, the amendment became effective on April 6, 1978 for those under 65. January 1, 1979 was the effective date for those 65 to 70 (Monthly Labor Review, 1980). This time span, for both cases, was utilized as an adjustment period, specifically to prevent involuntary retirement enforced through a benefit plan (Final Report to Congress, 1982).

Two additional exemptions of the 1978 amendment involved tenured faculty members of higher education, "high-level" executives and policy-makers. "Heads of local, regional or national operations of a corporation, heads of major corporate divisions or immediate subordinates are considered to be "bona fide executives." "High policymakers" are persons having no line authority but who provide policy recommendations to top executives" (Final Report to Congress, 1982).

Until July 1, 1982, mandatory retirement was permitted for individuals between the ages of 65-69, who held unlimited tenure in higher educational institutions. After this date, the mandatory retirement age was raised to 70. This short term exemption was enacted to protect financial budgets from the added strain of retirement pensions. Also, to enhance the hiring of younger faculty members including women and minorities (Final Report to Congress, 1982). The provision involving high-level executives and high-level policy-makers in private industry maintained that forced retirement was allowed, and still remains viable for those in these positions between the ages of 65-70, provided the position was held two years prior to the company stated retirement age (defined through company retirement policies). Also, a retirement benefit of at least \$27,000 per year must be provided solely by the employer, thus excluding Social Security payments, retirement benefits from previous or other employers and contributions made by the employee (Final Report to Congress, 1982). This provision was extracted from corporate concerns regarding future management problems

because of irregular retirement patterns among company employees.

Three provisions were outlined in the 1978 amendment regarding the filing of charges, extending the statute of limitations and the right to a jury trial, stemming from a private lawsuit involving alleged age discrimination.

An individual must file a written statement, with the enforcing agency, determining the potential defendant and alleged discriminatory action. The statement must be in the form of "a charge alleging unlawful discrimination" which replaces "notification of intent to sue" (Monthly Labor Review, 1980). The statement must be filed within 180 days of the alleged violation or 300 days if a local fair employment agency had previously been notified (U.S. Government Manual, 1983).

Once the charge is filed, the enforcing agency must attempt to determine the alleged discrimination and then work toward eliminating the problem. An informal attempt must be made by the enforcing agency to reconcile the parties involved.

The extension of the statute of limitations provides a reasonable period of time for the parties to form an agreement before a court appearance is necessary, to protect against an overly extended negotiation period. The amendment provides an extension of up to one year provided reconciliation is attempted. The normal time period in the statute is two years for nonwillful violations and three years for willful violations (Monthly Labor Review, 1980).

Finally, the amendment provides the option for a jury trial if "there are factual issues regarding alleged discrimination involving potential monetary liabilities, such as back pay" (Monthly Labor Review, 1980).

Another provision of the 1978 amendment, asked for a study to determine the effects from raising the mandatory retirement age. This study was to be conducted through the Secretary of Labor, which was begun by Secretary Ray Marshall and completed by Secretary Ray Donovan. Part I, The Interim Report to Congress on Age Discrimination in Employment Act Studies, was submitted to Congress in 1981. Part II, The Final Report to Congress on Age Discrimination in Employment Act Studies was submitted to Congress one year later. One of the findings of this study ascertained that the majority of adults did not have the basic knowledge that such a law existed.

Continuing with the provisions, the 1978 amendment also involved transferring enforcement responsibilities. Again, prior to this time, the Department of Labor and the Civil Service Commission held responsibility. On July 1, 1979, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which was solely created by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, became the enforcing agency for private, state and local government employment while the EEOC also assumed federal enforcement responsibility on January 1, 1979 (Final Report to Congress, 1982).

Finally, although appearing contradictory to ADEA, the 1978 amendment upheld the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), P.L. 93-259 (U.S. Statutes, 1974), which was enacted September 2, 1974. According to ERISA, an employee may receive full retirement benefits under a private pension plan provided the employee has at least ten years of services. The employer is permitted to stop credit services and readjust pension benefits if the employee works past the "normal retirement age," which is defined through private retirement plans (Final Report to Congress, 1982).

Mandatory Retirement: Pros and Cons

Mandatory retirement has been viewed as unconstitutional because it violates the 5th and 14th amendments to the Constitution which involve "due process" and "equal protection."

In 1974, the case of Cleveland Board of Education v. La Fleur, 414 U.S. 632, reached the Supreme Court (Select Committee on Aging, 1977). The court voted against the school board policy requiring a pregnant teacher to take a leave from her job in the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy without pay. This case was voted in favor of La Fleur, thus withholding her right to the 5th amendment of due process. "The rules (of the school board) contain an irrebuttable presumption of physical incompetency and that presumption applies even when the medical evidence as to an individual woman's physical status might be wholly to the contrary" (Committee on Aging, 1977).

The La Fleur case implies that an individual's physical condition may hinder both their work effectiveness and efficiency. In relation to older individuals, this idea also exists. Many supporters of mandatory retirement argue that an individual's physical ability to perform a job is hindered because of advanced age. Other arguments in favor of

forced retirement include: "Employment opportunities for younger individuals, women, minorities and promotional opportunities for mid-level employees are increased. The burden to management of evaluating older employees' work performance is decreased. Mandatory retirement provides a predictable situation for both management and employees to plan in advance. And mandatory retirement saves the older worker, who no longer performs his job adequately, from forced retirement by management" (Committee Hearings, 1977).

The case of Massachusetts Board of Retirement v. Robert D. Murgia, 1976, was decided by the Supreme Court in favor of Murgia. Murgia was a police officer, who was retired at age 50 in accordance with state law, although he remained capable of performing his job responsibilities and passed the required physical. He sued for declaratory and injunctive relief, arguing that his forced retirement violated the 14th amendment, that of equal protection under the law.

A U.S. District Court for the State of Massachusetts declared the law unconstitutional, although, through an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the decision was reversed. The court backed its decision by stating "There is no fundamental right to government employment per se" (Committee on Aging, 1977).

In retrospect, those opposed to forced retirement believe that: "Mandatory retirement based on age alone is discriminatory and contrary to equal employment opportunities. Chronological age alone is a poor indicator of ability to perform a job, individual ability is not considered. Forced retirement causes an increased expense to government income maintenance programs such as Social Security. The economy will suffer from the withdrawal of highly skilled workers" (Committee Hearings, 1977).

Accordingly, several constructive debates have been presented for each opinion, although consequently, if mandatory retirement should be lifted, shall all age-limiting policies such as legal drinking age, voting and driving ages also be lifted to be consistent? This change could be too drastic to our political system, therefore changes would not be welcomed. On the other hand, with our current diminishing younger population, should each individual be responsible to provide financially for themselves, their families and an unproportional older population? If those 65 and over remained in the work force, this responsibility would be decreased.

Implication for Social Work Practice

Withholding or enforcing ADEA in the future will determine courses for the Social Security system, elderly health care costs, and aging policies in general. By the year 2000, the number of individuals 65 and older is predicted to be 32 million, 13% of the population. Fifty-five million or 22% of the population will be in this age category by 2030 and in 2050, 39% of the population will be 65 and over, according to the Department of Labor.

What role will/can social workers share with this population? First of all, social workers, through their profession, can become an advocate with pre-existing special interest groups of the aged, such as the Gray Panthers, The National Council of Senior Citizens (NCSC), or the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP). Through this advocacy, the profession may commit itself to generating an awareness of the needs and concerns which effect our elderly population. This awareness does not necessarily need to begin post-retirement, but may possess more benefits during the pre-retirement phase while the individual is still working. The first step could be educating employees about the mandatory retirement legislation. The findings of The Final Report to Congress on Age Discrimination in Employment Act Studies, which was previously mentioned, showed that the majority of adults did not have the basic knowledge regarding the existence of such a law. Increased awareness of this law furnishes social workers with the opportunity to provide pre-retirement planning and counseling services in both private and industrial settings.

Retirement planning involves not only insight into social adjustments, but also with regard to financial maintenance. At this point, the potential retiree needs to be reassured that financially, he or she will not fall into deprivation. Once an individual is retired, it is too late to begin building capital on which to live. This is something which should be a concern during one's working years. But who should be responsible for this planning? Should this be entirely an individual choice? Or should this be a corporate responsibility?

In 1974, the Employee Retirement Income Security Act determined standards for corporate administrators to follow regarding pension plans. Long term incentives, capital accumulation through stock options or deferred compensation are just a few types of plans presently offered

to employees. This act placed more responsibility on a corporation to maintain and improve available pension plans.

To what degree a corporation becomes involved in the "social" aspect of its employees is a decision of the management based on the company's philosophy. The traditional profit-growth ideology may be softened by such items as pre-retirement counseling, but the concept of pension planning was an incentive motivator used by management. The goal foreseen by management was increased employee performance, thus increasing corporate growth and profits. The goal for the employee was capital accumulation and financial stability upon retirement.

Presently, many corporations have expanded their interests and are experimenting with flexible retirement policies. Others have already implemented phasing adjustments to retirement by allowing extended vacations with pay, extended lunch breaks, shortened work week, or time off without pay to adjust to living on a lower income.

A corporation determines for itself how responsible it will act for its employees. The profession must not overlook, to any degree, the need for services to those retiring; thus, the need for industrial social workers is increasing.

Through direct practice, programs can be established to support family members, and friends of an individual in the retirement dilemma, so they can possibly be supportive and help make plans for a post-retirement lifestyle. Understanding the aged life-cycle will strengthen professional skills utilized during therapy with aged clients. Realizing to what extent a retirement decision and its effects, such as role changes, changes in financial status, revisions in social activities and contacts, and alterations in personal habits has for the elderly individual are imperative to follow through with the clinical skill of beginning where the client is.

Through service delivery, individual skills can be acknowledged to direct a retiree's experience and knowledge to be used in community services such as hospital volunteers or neighborhood support groups for less physically independent peers. Pre-existing services can be expanded and made more available to meet geographical needs.

Finally, research is needed to ascertain just what the needs of this growing population are. Through research, deficits in direct practice and service deliveries can be

improved. Most importantly, research is a means of expressing our concerns about the needs of this group.

Conclusion

The Age Discrimination in Employment Act, which became effective in 1967, was primarily adopted to prohibit hiring and employment discrimination based on age, from its conception in the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Specifically, this law was passed to provide an equal opportunity for employment to individuals who were age 45 to 65. A concern existed throughout government that industries were emphasizing the hiring of younger workers. Incentive strategies were created by industries so that the older worker would choose to retire before the normal retirement age. This age, for most employment, was 65. At this time, retirement became mandatory although an individual could choose to retire at 62.

In 1974, an amendment to ADEA provided coverage to federal workers. In 1978, another amendment was added. The major change of this amendment raised the mandatory retirement age from 65 to age 70.

Mandatory retirement has been a dispute between both employers and employees. Advocates of this idea feel that age affects work performance. Forcing an employee to retire at a certain age creates available positions to be filled by the younger, more capable worker.

Arguments against mandatory retirement include that job performance should be based on individual ability and not individual age. A shift to an older population will leave an awesome financial burden for their care on younger individuals.

To facilitate a growing older population, social workers need to understand the changes, both financially and personally, caused through retirement. The skills of the retirees who are willing to redirect them should not go unnoticed, but be utilized through community services.

The ramifications of mandatory retirement are quite involved, but this issue cannot go untouched since so many will be effected in so little time.

REFERENCES

- Banking. Age discrimination in employment prohibited, July, 1968.
- Browne, W., & Olson, L. K. Aging and public policy: The politics of growing old in America. Conn.: Greenwood, 1983.

- Campbell, A. K. Statement on provisions for mandatory retirement of federal employees at age 70. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June, 1977.
- Congressional Digest. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, November, 1982.
- Curtiss, E. T., & Untersee, P. Corporate responsibilities and opportunities to 1990. Mass.: Little, 1979.
- Ehrenberg, R. G. Retirement policies, employment and unemployment. American Economic Review. May, 1979.
- Hudson, R. B. The aging in politics: Process and policy. Illinois: Bannerstone, 1981.
- Journal of International Labour Review "ADEA", September, 1968.
- Keyfitz, N. Population change and social policy. Mass.: Abt. Associates, 1982.
- Lammers, W. W. Public policy and the aging. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1983.
- Medlin, J. Gradual retirement plan eases plus transitions. Monthly Labor Review, September, 1967.
- Monthly Labor Review. President Johnson's older American message to Congress. May, 1967.
- _____. Research summaries. March, 1980.
- Office of the Federal Register. United States Government Manual. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978-79.
- Schultz, J. H. The economics of aging. California: Wadsworth, 1976.
- Sheppard, H. L. The graying of working America: The coming crisis in retirement-age policy. New York: Free House, 1977.
- _____. In The handbook of aging and the social sciences. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1976.
- Tinsley, T. Proposal to eliminate the mandatory age 70 retirement provision of the Civil Service Retirement Law. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. May, 1977.
- United States Code. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June, 1938.
- U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service Employees, Subcommittee on Compensation and Employee Benefits, Elimination of mandatory retirement at age 70. Hearing, 95th Congress, 1st Session, August, 1977 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977).

- _____. Select Committee, Retirement Age Policies (Part I), Hearing, 95th Congress, 1st Session, March, 1977 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977).
- U.S. Department of Labor. Final report to Congress on age discrimination in employment act studies. Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor, 1982.
- _____. Interim report to Congress of age discrimination in employment act studies. Washington, D.C.: Department of Labor, 1981.
- U.S. Government Manual. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983-84.
- U.S. House of Representatives. Committee on the Budget, Hearing, 98th Congress, July 20, 1983 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984).
- U.S. Statutes at Large. 75th Congress, 1st Session, 1938. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939.
- _____. 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 1964. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965.
- _____. 93rd Congress, 2nd Session, 1974. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.
- U.S. Supreme Court Reports, Lawyers Edition. 1974, 39 L ed. 2d. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975.
- _____. 1977, 49 L ed. 2d. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

STUDENTS' VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL WORK

Donald E. Maypole, Ph.D., ACSW
and
James G. McCullagh, Ed.D., ACSW
Associate Professors
Department of Social Work
University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50614

ABSTRACT

The need for the social work profession to understand the meaning of socio-economic and political trends has never been more important than at present. However, the application of future projection technology has lagged behind this need. The authors studied the views of students from eighteen universities and colleges on present socio-economic trends, as represented by future specific scenarios. The implications of the future scenarios are discussed in relation to social justice, social work practice and education.

Social workers are becoming increasingly aware of the interrelatedness of socio-economic-demographic-political forces as they impact our profession and the services delivered to our clients. The deteriorating economy and physical environment, rapid technological change, loosening of family ties, political polarization, exploding social problems and increasingly hostile geopolitical international environment are accelerating structural changes in the profession, practice and edu-

The project was funded by a grant from the Graduate College of the University of Northern Iowa.

cation. This study examines the potential impact of these changes on future social work practice and education.

STUDY PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to apply contemporary technology to discussions on futures, by ascertaining the views of one group of social workers (social work undergraduate junior and seniors and graduate students), in regard to the likely scenario to occur in the period of 1985 to 1990, and the scenarios' implications for social justice, social work practice and education. The assumptions in selecting the students were that they are aware of social change forces and are concerned about social justice and socio-economic impacts on the profession's education and practice. Also, as the students of today, they'll be the practitioners of tomorrow and will participate in shaping social work's future. The research questions were designed to determine:

1. The most likely scenario for the period 1985-1990.
2. For the chosen scenarios-
 - a. The degree of social justice for each socio-economic class.
 - b. The implications for social work practice and education.
3. The relationships between the respondents' demographic characteristics and their chosen scenario.

A discussion of forecasting technology in social work is followed by the study's methodology, findings and implications for practice and education.

FORECASTING IN SOCIAL WORK

In response to social changes, a number of writers have attempted to assess their impacts on social work practice and education. Brief summaries of selected writings follow. In 1966, John W. Gardner (Secretary

of the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, at that time) predicted that social work would play a considerably expanded role in the future (Gardner, 1966). He asserted that in the 1990's the schools of social work would evolve into social work education centers. These centers would play pivotal roles in the development and implementation of social policies in the United States.

Kendall (1967) questioned the value of the generic approach to curriculum building and asserted that more focus must be applied to the teaching of fundamental knowledge of social and behavioral sciences at the undergraduate level. There were three challenges in social work education, those of increasing quality, quantity, and varieties of educational output, according to Pins. Social workers with various levels of education were needed, such as social service aid, bachelor's level, master's level and the doctorate level (Pins, 1967).

David (1967) described the trend toward specialization of knowledge, skills, functions and task in social work. He asserted that there was a need to enhance the quality of social work education, including the teaching of "future-mindedness." Lowy (1968) reviewed the need for social work education at four levels - MSW, BSW, technical, and inservice training for existing practitioners--and argued that social workers must understand research.

The rapid changes in social work education were reflections of the rapid changes in the American society, according to Reichert (1970). He observed that new disciplines were competing with social work in the human services field and that there was a movement from emphasizing individual adjustment to the environment to creating social opportunities and economic provisions for people to resolve their difficulties.

Briar (1974) noted the increasing pessimism and feelings of frustration in relation to solving social problems in the United States. The United States was beginning a period of economic decline. He believed that direct services would continue to be the mainstay

of the profession, that the incursions on social work "turf" will continue and that there was a continual need for administrative training. Boehm (1976) discussed the changes in American society and their impact on social work and social work education, such as the importance of experiential learning, continuing education and values.

Social workers could expect increased opportunities in four areas - social policy and planning, efficiency and accountability, local initiative, and social advocacy, according to Rothman (1979). Washington (1978) advocated that social work education play a leadership role in the profession. He suggested that students be taught skills in developing citizen participation, community leadership and social policy analysis and advocacy. He further asserted that social work education should become more interdisciplinary and that students should be trained to become administrators and advocates for social work values.

A 1979 conference - "Issues in Baccalaureate Social Work Education and Practice as We Look to the 1980s" - addressed a number of issues in undergraduate curriculum content. In its report, Cohen stated that the undergraduate curriculum should provide at least minimal preparation for management and working within organizations (Issues in Baccalaureate Social Work Education, 1979).

The 1982 Council on Social Work Education Annual Program Meeting theme was "The Future of Social Work Education: The Next Eight Years." The topics included ideas on administration, budgeting, the job market, maintaining educational quality, evaluating educational outcomes, utilizing expertise from other disciplines, and preserving individual freedom (Social Work Education Reporter, 1982). Further emphasis on the need to increase student education in community organization was shown in a recent CSWE House of Delegates Meeting, in which it was suggested that CSWE encourage greater commitment on the part of accredited programs to teaching social action skills (CSWE, 1982).

While the above writers and presenters were well-informed individuals, their speculations fall into the

futures prediction category of "genius forecasting." Jones (1980) has pointed out that this intuitive method is based on insight and luck and that more formalized methods are increasingly being used. Social work writers are just beginning to discuss the new techniques. For example, Meinert (1973) suggests a framework for forecasting methodologies: extrapolation, Delphi approach, simulations, and scenario speculation. Abels (1975) proposes the use of scenarios for future projections. He argues that more emphasis is needed on the implications of new technology on the profession. He used the Delphi method for determining dates for certain events, e.g., poverty reduction and control of deviant behavior.

Washington (1978) advocates a five part framework for futures predictions. The first is to make speculative judgements based on the past. An alternative technique is to base future projections on present social work roles. His third suggestion is to forecast the social-technical structure of society and to factor out the human needs to which social work can relate. The fourth technique is to base speculations on federal legislation and the fifth is to use behavioral science knowledge for projections on the relationships between people and their environment. Dolgoff and Feldstein (1984) propose a wellconceptualized taxonomy for futures forecasting: trend curves, correlation methods, causal models, scenarios, Delphi technique and computer simulation.

In 1978, NASW created a Professional Futures Commission to begin systematically studying the future. Recently, Beck (1981), Chair of the Commission, described four possible scenarios of the future: "The American Dream," "The Unfulfilled Dream," "Sweet" Transformationalism, and "Sour" Transformationalism. The Commission's work, as reflected in Beck's writings and other Commission documents, is likely to result in discussion among social work practitioners, educators, and students. However, except for the use of the Delphi technique, none of the existing social work literature concerning the future has reflected empirical attempts to secure the views of a broad-based group of social workers. This exploratory-descriptive study uses

"future scenarios" to partially fill in this gap.

METHODOLOGY

Design/Sample

A cross-sectional survey was conducted in the spring of 1982 of undergraduate social work juniors and seniors and MSW students in 18 universities and colleges throughout the United States.¹ Approximately one-third of the 539 students who participated in the study were enrolled in MSW programs and the remainder were enrolled in BSW programs. A nonprobability sample was used. Most of the participating schools are in the Midwest and South. The researchers requested colleagues to administer the questionnaires to eligible students in their classes. For the 13 BSW programs, the response rate for the juniors and seniors who received the questionnaire varied from 84 to 100 percent. The student response rate in the five MSW and BSW/MSW programs ranged from 92 to 98 percent. No attempt was made to control for class domain (policy or practice), since it was believed that concerns about the future transcended the particular classes.

Data Collection Instrument

The questionnaire, which included a summary description of the Commission's four proposed scenarios, was designed to gather subjects' views about the scenario likely to occur in 1985-1990; degree of social justice for lower, middle, and upper classes; implications of the chosen scenario for social work practice and education; and demographic and academic information. Classroom instructors read the instructions, distributed the questionnaires and collected them. Students read the following abstracts of the four scenarios², prior to answering the survey questions:

Scenario #1 (THE AMERICAN DREAM): The U.S. will have a thriving economy based on computer technology. Government monitors the use of energy and business activities. Social services/income support are mostly directed to the middle-aged and elderly who can't adjust to the new affluent social system. There is a negative income tax. Government is run like a corporation. Education is enormously important and the key to job success. Social and health systems are efficient and effective. Social work emphasizes specialization, certification and legal regulation.

Scenario #2 (THE UNFULFILLED DREAM): Environmental problems are rife and technology does not solve them. Health and social problems abound. Terrorism is rampant. Government control foremost. Unemployment is high. Racism persists. Unions are strong. Government offers a host of social provisions and services to seek political stability. Rightist politics is ascendant. Corporations become more important in political affairs. Social workers must choose between helping the poor or the mainstream of Americans.

Scenario #3 (SWEET TRANSFORMATIONALISM): A Peoples's Party, with a liberal philosophy, comes to power. The economy is rebuilt, unemployment is decreased, tax breaks for business are reduced and tax incentives are offered to labor-intensive industries. Community development corporations pool resources to organize food production, employment and other essential local activities. They enter health and social services and emphasize self-help. The bureaucracy is abolished and these decentralized groups assume their functions. There are few jobs for trained social workers; the profession disappears. Social workers must find jobs in the business sector and become unpaid volunteers in the development groups.

Scenario #4 (SOUR TRANSFORMATIONALISM): Terrorists take command of the worldwide energy resources. There may be large-scale war. Centralized power and the bureaucracy deteriorates. People turn to alternative lifestyles. The standard of living deteriorates. Social workers pitch in to distribute food and shelter for the increasingly needy population. They work for low or no salaries to organize people into emerging, local communal groups. Within the power vacuum, a reactionary force emerges which represses dissent, pays no heed to the human needs of the population and operates for its own benefit. There are no jobs for social workers and the profession dies (Beck, 1981).

FINDINGS

Study Sample

The majority of the 359 BSW student respondents were white (86%), female (85%), and single (80%), with a median age of 21.8. Their mean university grade point average (GPA) was 3.07. Political orientations included liberals (39%), moderates (30%), conservatives (8%), and radicals (5%). No one indicated "ultraconservative" and 18 percent responded "no preference." The 180 MSW students were mostly female (74%), white (92%) and single (55%), with a median age of 28.8. Their mean university GPA was 3.64. The largest part of this group described itself as liberal (42%). Thirty-five percent identified themselves as moderates, 12 percent conservative and 5 percent radical. Only 5 percent indicated no preference.

National demographic data on baccalaureate and master's programs in social work suggest that the sample ratio of males to females is comparable, but the percent of minority students is less than that found in some current BSW and MSW programs (Rubin, 1982).

Scenario Chosen

After reading summary descriptions of the scenarios, subjects were asked, "Which one scenario do you

believe is the most likely to occur in the period 1985-1990?" The vast majority (80%) of the sample chose "The Unfulfilled Dream" as being the most representative of the short-term socio-economic political future for the United States (Table 1). Only twelve percent chose the "American Dream" and only a few chose the "Transformationalist" scenarios. A comparison with the results of a similar survey performed by the Iowa NASW Chapter on its membership in 1982, revealed marked similarity in choice of scenario to the finding presented herein, thereby providing an indication of generalizability.

The percentage difference between choice of "The Unfulfilled Dream" and the other three scenarios is sufficient to indicate that the majority of respondents anticipate no major breaks in current national policy and societal attitudes. Further analysis revealed that scenario choice was not related to marital status, ethnicity, or gender, but was related to self-reported political orientation. Moderates and liberals tended to choose the pessimistic "Unfulfilled Dream" scenario significantly more than conservatives and respondents who indicated no preference. These groups tended to choose the more optimistic "American Dream." A 2x4 chi-square analysis failed to ascertain any statistically significant difference in choice of scenario between BSW and MSW students.

Social Justice

To determine perceptions of social justice, subjects were asked, "For your chosen scenario, what will be the degree of social justice for lower, middle and upper class Americans?" An inspection of the degree of social justice for the three American socio-economic classes reveals a perception of discrimination, as shown in Table 2. Regardless of the scenario chosen, the ordinal relationship between the classes holds - the upper class will receive the most social justice and the lower class will receive the least. Clearly, the existing inequities in social stratification are expected to continue. In addition, the study of the mean justice scores for the lower class shows a great variation between scenarios. "The American Dream" and "Sweet Transformationalism" (as optimistic views) indicate the

Table 1
Scenario Chosen and Political Orientation

Political Orienta- tion	Scenario Chosen							
	(N=63)		(N=432)		(N=31)		(N=13)	
	American		Unful- filled		Sweet		Sour	
	Dream		Dream		Transforma- tionalism		Transforma- tionalism	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Conser- vative	8	(16%)	36	(74%)	3	(6%)	2	(4%)
Moderate	29	(17%)	123	(71%)	14	(8%)	6	(4%)
Liberal	13	(6%)	187	(88%)	10	(5%)	2	(1%)
Radical	1	(4%)	22	(88%)	0	(0%)	2	(8%)
No Pref- erence	11	(15%)	56	(78%)	4	(6%)	1	(1%)
($\chi^2=26.5$, $p<0.009$, $df=12$)								

Table 2
Mean Degree of Social Justice By Scenario and Class

Scenario	Class		
	Upper	Middle	Lower
The American Dream	5.07	4.08	3.18
The Unfulfilled Dream	4.10	3.12	1.93
Sweet Transforma- tionalism	4.23	3.68	3.17
Sour Transforma- tionalism	5.15	3.15	1.46

Note: Six point scale with 1 being none and 6 being greatest degree of social justice.

most social justice for the lower class and "The Unfulfilled Dream" and "Sour Transformationalism" show the least.

According to the students, in terms of social justice, the future of the lower socio-economic class appears to be quite bleak.

Implications for Social Work Practice and Education

To ascertain implications for social work practice and education, students were asked the following: "Taking into account limited resources, what are the implications of your chosen scenario for social work practitioners and social work education in the period 1985-1990?" Respondents then rated the 14 factors in terms of their importance for social work practitioners and 13 for social work education. Each factor was rated on a scale which indicated that one had little importance and six had great importance. T-tests for independent samples were conducted to determine if choice of scenario and educational status (BSW or MSW students) produced differences in the chosen factors.

Because of the small numbers of "Sweet Transformationalist" and "Sour Transformationalist" respondents, the following statistical analyses do not include them. Generally, the students who believe that our society will undergo substantial changes (i.e., transformations), as a result of present trends, placed most of the factors into the low importance for social work classification. The "Sweet Transformationalism" respondents assigned intermediate importance to the management/planning technology cluster of factors. The "Sour Transformationalists" assigned no importance to this cluster, but rather saw intermediate importance in the need for social action skills. In contrast to the two dream scenarios, the "transformationalists" rejected such factors as social work values and university education as having much importance.

Social Work Practice: Table 3 presents the rank order of the 14 practice factors for the "American Dream" and "Unfulfilled Dream" scenarios (which were the most

frequently chosen). While similarities exist in the means between scenarios, significant differences were found for seven factors. Involvement in social action at the state and local levels, but not the national level, and improving social work's role as the "conscience of society" were significantly higher for respondents choosing the "Unfulfilled Dream;" whereas obtaining social work licensing, improving clinical skills, improving management skills and becoming more competent in using management information systems were significantly higher for respondents choosing the "American Dream." Both groups believed that social workers should develop more understanding of politics.

T-tests were conducted to determine if differences existed within scenarios by educational status. For the "American Dream," BSW and MSW students did not differ on any factor. However, BSW and MSW students who chose the "Unfulfilled Dream" differed on eight factors. The MSW students consistently assigned higher ratings to these factors: the need to become more politically involved at the state ($t=2.66$), local ($t=2.66$), and national ($t=3.21$) levels; developing social planning skills ($t=2.80$); improving management skills ($t=2.33$); creating new service delivery systems ($t=2.54$); improving program evaluation ($t=4.98$); and improving clinical skills ($t=2.39$).³

Further analysis of each of the 13 factors was conducted for respondents choosing the "American Dream" and Unfulfilled Dream" scenarios. T-tests for independent samples were conducted to determine if BSW and MSW student ratings were significantly different. For those choosing the "American Dream" only one difference was found. MSW students rated the importance of developing a more specialized curriculum significantly higher than BSW students ($t=2.19$). The mean score for this factor was 5.22 for MSW students, thereby making it the highest ranked factor. For those choosing the "Unfulfilled Dream," three variables were found which differentiated MSW and BSW students views: emphasis on management/planning skills, ($t=2.61$); research/evaluation skills, ($t=2.46$); and services to clients ($t=3.93$).⁴ MSW students rated these factors as being more important than BSW students.

Table 3
Implications for Social Work Practitioners

Item Description	Scenario		
	Unfulfilled Dream (N=432) X	American Dream (N=63) X	t
Develop Understanding of Politics	5.1	4.9	.97
Become More Involved in Social Action Directly at the Local Level	4.7	4.3	2.44*
Develop Social Planning Skills	4.6	4.8	1.11
Develop More Jobs in Non- Traditional Settings (such as Business & Unions)	4.6	4.5	.40
Become More Involved in Social Action Directly at the State Level	4.6	4.1	3.47*
Become More Involved in Social Action Directly at the National Level	4.5	4.2	1.56
Become More Competent in Using Management Infor- mation Systems in Meeting Client Needs	4.4	4.8	2.58*

(continued next page)

Table 3 continued
Implications for Social Work Practitioners

Item Description	Scenario		t
	Unfulfilled Dream (N=432) \bar{X}	American Dream (N=63) \bar{X}	
Improve Management Skills	4.4	4.8	2.73*
Create New Service Delivery Systems	4.4	4.5	.77
Improve Social Work Role of "Conscience of Society"	4.4	4.0	2.52*
Improve Program Evaluation	4.3	4.6	1.71
Provide More Direct Services to Clients	4.3	4.3	.07
Obtain Social Work Licensing	4.1	4.8	3.62*
Improve Clinical Skills	4.0	4.4	2.48*

*p<.05

Social Work Education: Statistically significant differences were found that differentiated the "American Dream" and "Unfulfilled Dream" respondents' choice on seven factors (see Table 4). Consistent with findings for practice implications, respondents choosing the "Unfulfilled Dream" believed that more emphasis should be placed on social action, whereas respondents choosing the "American Dream" placed greater emphasis on management/planning skills, computer technology, and research/evaluation skills. Additionally, the latter respondents emphasized the need for a university education, the development of a more specialized curriculum, and focus on the middle class. Both groups believed that education must place more emphasis on the development of leadership skills.

DISCUSSION

The finding that over 80 percent of respondents believe that the "Unfulfilled Dream" scenario is likely to occur supports a widely held belief that the "American Dream" has gone sour. Unemployment is the highest since the Depression. Minorities and women are especially vulnerable. Social work students have been confronted with the facts that positions in public and voluntary agencies are scarce, and in many instances, social workers have been reduced in-force. Many industries (e.g., steel, auto, construction) have laid off countless blue-collar employees and have shut down, leaving communities and states with public welfare burdens they are virtually unable to assume. National priorities have changed significantly, reversing a trend begun in the middle 1930's. Tax policies favoring the wealthy and declining public social welfare supports are just two items of the new agenda of the 1980's. The belief that the upper classes will benefit most and the lower classes will receive little social justice, regardless of scenario chosen, reflects a pessimistic view on its dispensation.

The students who chose the two "dream" scenarios believe that social workers need to gain the skills to work within bureaucracies. Furthermore, those students who chose "The Unfulfilled Dream" believe that social

Table 4
Implications for Social Work Education

Item Description	Scenario		t
	Unfulfilled Dream (N=432) X	American Dream (N=63) X	
Emphasis on Leadership Skills	4.69	4.9	1.25
Emphasis on Social Action	4.56	4.1	2.72*
Emphasis on Manage- ment/Planning Skills	4.55	4.8	2.02*
Need for Interdisci- plinary Curriculum (such as Political Science & Economics)	4.49	4.4	.55
Need for University Education	4.33	5.2	5.29*
Emphasis on Social Work Values	4.21	4.4	.78
Emphasis on Computer Technology	4.21	4.9	3.87*

(continued next page)

Table 4 continued
Implications for Social Work Education

Item Description	Scenario		t
	Unfulfilled Dream (N=432) \bar{X}	American Dream (N=63) \bar{X}	
Develop More Special- ized Curriculum	4.18	4.9	3.76*
Emphasis on Research/ Evaluation Skills	4.11	4.7	3.66*
Emphasis on Services to Clients	4.06	4.3	1.12
Focus on the Poor	3.90	3.7	1.09
Focus on the Middle Class	3.77	4.1	1.96*
Maintain Generalist Curriculum	3.66	3.5	1.15

*p<.05

workers will need to develop greater social action skills to seek professional and client goals. "The American Dream" respondents relegated direct services to clients to the medium importance category, but "The Unfulfilled Dream" respondents placed it into the lowest category. This surprising finding may conflict with the reality of agency-based direct service practice of most social workers.

The "American Dream" and "Unfulfilled Dream" respondents in this study saw a need for expanded education on leadership, social action, technology and management. Presumably, knowledge in these areas will make them more marketable in the fierce competition with other "human services" and business-trained personnel. This observation applies at both the MSW and BSW levels. Certainly enhancing the students' leadership skills (which mostly concern human relationships) and technology/management skills will provide a stronger profession than at present.

Faculty in BSW and MSW programs should consider further development of their curricula to enhance their students' leadership skills. Although a separate course could be developed, because of lack of resources, many programs will have to enhance such skills within their present professional foundation courses. Making presentations before classes, group simulations and writing papers on leadership, developed in a sequential fashion, could meet this goal.

Further, students could be encouraged to take leadership positions on the campus and in the community. In a similar fashion computer technology could be learned through separate courses or integrated courses. Management training will require separate courses. Social action courses should receive enhanced visibility. This education in social action is applicable at the BSW, as well as the MSW, level. This is not to say, however, that the focus on social work values should be decreased.

In advocating that social workers become active participants, rather than bystanders in shaping the future, Minahan developed a list of potential

activities (Minahan, 1981). These included teaching clients survival and self-help skills, making bureaucracies responsive to people, incorporating new technology (such as computers) into the profession, and becoming active in new services development and social advocacy. The activities on the list match well with this study's list of implications for leadership, social action and management/planning in social work practice and education, thereby providing support for their importance. Furthermore, the findings support the predictions of David, Briar and Rothman, which were previously discussed.

Social work is sufficiently mature as a profession to move away from strictly "genius forecasting" to more sophisticated prediction techniques. The work of NASW's Professional Futures Commission is to be commended. The use of more contemporary future prediction techniques should yield results which will help to further strengthen our profession and services for our clients.

NOTES

1. The social work programs in the following universities/ colleges participated in the study:

Florida State University	Utah State University
Florida International Uni.	Uni. of Northern Iowa
Uni. of Tenn.-Knoxville	Clark College, Iowa
Uni. of Kentucky	University of Iowa
Eastern Kentucky Uni.	Uni. of Wis.-Eau Claire
Western Kentucky Uni.	Uni. of Wisc.-Superior
Murray State Uni., KY	Wright State Uni., Ohio
University of Houston	Mankato State Uni., MN
Kentucky State University	Simpson College, Iowa

2. Copyright 1981, National Association of Social Workers, Inc. Reprinted with permission, from Social Work, Vol. 26, No. 5. (September 1981), pp. 367-372, excerpts.
3. $p < .05$; df varied from 422-430.

4. $p < .05$; df varied from 426-429.

REFERENCES

Abels, Paul

1975 "Terra Incognita: The future of the profession." Social Work, 20 (January): 25-28.

Beck, Bertram

1981 "Social work's future: triumph or disaster." Social Work, 26 (September): 367-372.

Boehm, Werner

1976 "Social work education: issues and problems in the light of recent developments." Journal of Education for Social Work, 12 (Winter): 20-27.

Briar, Scott

1974 "The future of social work: an introduction." Social Work, 19 (September): 514-518.

Council on Social Work Education

1982 "Successful 1982 annual program meeting concluded." Social Work Education Reporter, 30 (May): 3, 6.

David, Henry

1967 "Education for the professions: common issues, problems, and prospects." Journal of Education for Social Work, 3 (Spring): 5-12.

Dolgoff, Ralph and Donald Feldstein

1984 "Social trends affecting social welfare." Understanding Social Welfare (2nd ed.). New York: Longman, Inc.

Gardner, John

1966 "Remarks." Journal of Education for Social Work, 2 (Spring): 5-9.

Issues in Baccalaureate Social Work Education and Practice as We Look to the 1980s.

- 1979 Conference convened by the Lois and Samuel Silberman Fund, April 22-23 in New York City.

Jones, Thomas

- 1980 Options for the Future: A Comparative Analysis of Policy-Oriented Forecasts. New York: Praeger Publishers.

Kendall, Katherine

- 1967 "To fathom the future." Journal of Education for Social Work, 3 (Spring): 21-28.

Lowy, Louis

- 1968 "Whither social work education amid social change?" Journal of Education for Social Work, 4 (Spring): 31-36.

Meinert, Roland

- 1973 "Futures forecasting." Social Work, 18 (November): 48-51.

Minahan, Anne

- 1981 "Social workers and the future." (editorial). Social Work, 26 (September): 363-364.

Council on Social Work Education

- 1982 "Minutes." House of Delegates Meeting, March 10-11, in New York City.

Pins, Arnulf

- 1967 "Current realities and future opportunities for social work education." Journal of Education for Social Work, 3 (Spring): 51-59.

Reichert, Kurt

- 1970 "Current developments and trends in social work education in the United States." Journal of Education for Social Work, 6 (Fall): 39-50.

Rothman, Jack

- 1979 "Macro social work in a tightening economy."
Social Work, 24 (July): 274-281.

Rubin, Allen

- 1982 Statistics on Social Work Education in the
United States: 1981. New York: Council on
Social Work Education.

Washington, R. O.

- 1978 "Social work in the future and implications
for social work education." California
Sociologist, 1 (Summer): 193-204.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE BSW STUDENT

Joan M. Merdinger, DSW, ACSW
Associate Professor, School of Social Work
Rhode Island College
Providence, Rhode Island

ABSTRACT

In order to test the hypothesis that undergraduate social work students, over the course of two years, will move in the desired direction on scales measuring humanistic values and on scales measuring orientations to profession, client, agency or community, students in one BSW program were studied longitudinally. Forty-one students were tested in 1978 and in 1980. Students obtained significantly higher scores on a scale of humanistic values over the course of two years. Students scored higher on profession and client orientations and lower on agency orientation over the same period. Students manifested a strong career interest in social work education at the MSW level.*

As the country moves towards the right, following the movement established at the national level, researchers have found a similar trend among college students that appears to mirror the larger

scene. Levine (1981) has discussed the "death of altruism" as only one value change among the college students of the 1970s, in contrast to the students of the 1960s. Of more relevance to social work educators is a study by Koeske and Crouse (1981) which found increasing conservatism in beginning MSW students studied in 1979-1980 when compared with beginning MSW students studied in the same school in 1975.

This retreat to a more conservative stance, followed by a retreat in action towards people, mainly the poor, at the highest policy making levels may have caused Meinert (1980) to suggest that the profession of social work should "...eliminate values completely from public statements and emphasize only its knowledge and skill components...social work should be characterized as valueless" (p. 15). Although this point of view seems somewhat extreme, authors and researchers appear to be documenting a trend which must be taken seriously by any human service profession.

In order to understand conservatism, a definition of the concept itself is essential. Wilson (1973) discusses the conservative syndrome as including

...religious dogmatism, right-wing political orientation (in Western countries), militarism, ethnocentrism, intolerance of minority groups, authoritarianism, punitiveness, anti-hedonism, conformity, conventionality, superstition and opposition to scientific progress (p. 257).

Liberalism is usually viewed as the opposite of conservatism.

Depending on the era and the perspective of the writer, the profession of social work has been labeled

conservative or liberal. Cloward and Piven (1975), Galper (1975) and Pearson (1975), view the profession as conservative because it often supports the status quo. Alternatively, the value base of the profession of social work, as articulated by Boehm (1959), can be considered liberal because it upholds the belief in self-actualization, equal opportunity and social responsibility, the antithesis of conservatism. The disagreement about liberalism or conservatism of the profession does not appear at the abstract level of the definition of the values themselves, but when and how the values are put into practice.

If, however, values influence the ways in which social workers practice, it seems essential to educate beginning social workers into the humanistic values espoused by the profession. Pumphrey (1959) states:

It seems axiomatic that if social work is a heavily value-laden profession, its values also must be communicated to new recruits, and understood and accepted by them in their efforts to develop into bona fide professional representatives. If there are typical or required ways of behaving, a new social worker must be familiar with them and exemplify them. Social work educators have followed general professional precedent in declaring this to be one of the desired results of professional education (p. 12).

Despite the fact that Koeske and Crouse (1981) found entering MSW students to have become more conservative than their predecessors, a critical issue is that of outcome. Do social work students, despite the conservative beliefs they may hold when they begin a program, move in the desired direction due to the socializing process of their social work education? With the

growth in numbers of BSW programs and the limited research on such students, it is important to know if BSW programs are socializing their students into humane beliefs about clients, and the way they, as social workers, operate as professionals.

Socialization theory indicates that several issues may be important in imparting values to new recruits. According to Merton (1968), manifest, or overt values, which are stressed in a socializing experience may be more quickly and obviously accepted than latent, or covert, values. Wheeler (1966) suggests that the intensity and the group nature of the experience result in more intensive socializing experiences.

Although there is some conflict in the values literature in social work about what changes and what does not, Cryns (1977) has found differences between male and female students, and undergraduate and graduate students. Orten (1981) has found differences in attitude position and intensity. In addition to the important issue of socializing BSW students into a humanistic belief system characteristic of social work, Bloom (1969) stresses the need for students to develop a professional identity. Other authors, notably Cloward and Piven (1975) and Galper (1975) identify the conservatizing influences of professional social work education, the most important being the creation of professionalism. Most authors would probably agree, however, that a commitment to the servicing of clients needs to be held paramount.

Some important questions still need answering, however, about students at different levels, particularly at the BSW level. With over three times the number of accredited undergraduate to graduate programs, considerably more information is

needed about these first level professionals. Is their undergraduate education moving them towards a more humane belief system about clients, or is their education having no effect? Or, are they becoming more conservative in their views toward their clients, mirroring the movement of MSW students? Are these students committed to the profession or to a particular bureaucracy? What are the plans they are making for the future? Are they planning on leaving the profession or do they intend to remain committed to further professionalization through obtaining an MSW degree?

THE SAMPLE

The sample for this research was made up of the class of 1980 in one accredited BSW program in an Eastern state college. Data collection took place in October 1978, at the beginning of the junior year and again in May 1980, at the conclusion of the senior year. Forty-one students, 65% of the class, participated in both data collections, from a class numbering 63. When a follow-up was conducted in 1980, 59 of 63 students participated. There were no significant differences between students tested on one or both occasions.

The class was made up of 51 women and 12 men. Thirty-two women and nine men participated in the research on both occasions. The average age of the graduating class was 25, with the youngest and oldest students being 20 and 47, respectively. Over half the class reported that their parents' income was under \$15,000 yearly. Most students had had no social work experience prior to the field placements.

Although students in this sample resemble students in other BSW programs in 1980, the findings of this study cannot be

generalized because the program studied is not representative of all other undergraduate social work programs.

MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

The first instrument used in this study, the Philosophies of Human Nature Scale, designed by Wrightsman (1964) to quantify an individual's belief in human nature and human motivation, consists of six subscales: (1) trustworthiness, (2) will, (3) altruism, (4) independence, (5) complexity, and (6) variability. Scores on the 14 item subscales range from +3 (strongly agree) to -3 (strongly disagree) with no midpoint score. The scores were changed to range from 1 to 6, producing a subscale score ranging from 14 to 84, the lower scores reflecting a negative view of human nature, the higher scores, a more positive view. Test-retest reliability coefficients for the six subscales ranged from .52 to .84 for the college sample tested by Wrightsman. The scale has construct validity and has been highly correlated with other scales measuring similar concepts related to human nature.

The second instrument, Anderson's (1965) Public Dependency Scale with 16 items scored from 0 to 5, and total scoring ranging from 0 to 80, measures attitudes towards recipients of public assistance. A split-half test of reliability produced a correlation coefficient of .94 with a college sample used by Anderson. The scale appears to have concurrent validity because of its differentiation between positive and negative views held by selected populations towards welfare recipients.

The third instrument, Billingsley's (1964) conflict scale, asks respondents to select between sets of competing norms: (1) client needs vs. agency policy, (2) client needs vs. professional standards,

(3) client needs vs. community expectations, (4) agency policy vs. professional standards, (5) agency policy vs. community expectations, and (6) professional standards vs. community expectations. No tests for reliability or validity have been conducted on this test, although it has been shown to differentiate between BSW graduates and non-BSW college graduates.

The fourth instrument, developed by Corwin (1960) and modified by Dyer (1977) for social workers, consists of three subscales, rated from 1 to 5, measuring attitudes towards professionalism, bureaucracy and service to clients. This scale and the Angrist Scale (1971-1972) were employed only during the second data collection.

The last instrument, Angrist's (1971-1972) Life Style Index, consists of selected questions related to future educational and occupational plans. The questionnaire concludes with plans for further social work education and expected positions students wished to obtain in the future, such as caseworker, supervisor or administrator.

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Table 1 indicated that students scored significantly higher as seniors on three of the values on the Wrightsman Philosophies of Human Nature Scale; trust ($t = -3.06$, $p < .004$), altruism ($t = -3.78$, $p < .001$) and independence ($t = -4.23$, $p < .001$). On one other value, will, change was also in a positive direction although it did not reach significance ($t = -1.92$, $p < .06$). No significant difference was found on the Anderson Scale of Public Dependency between junior and senior years.

Table 1

Comparison of Junior (Jr.) and Senior (Sr.) scores
on the Wrightsman Philosophies of Human Nature
Scale and the Anderson Public Dependency Scale
using t-tests (N=41)

Wrightsman Items	Pairs	Mean	S.D.	t
TRUST	Jr.	53.46	9.07	-3.06 ^b
	Sr.	57.49	9.79	
WILL	Jr.	52.93	6.77	-1.92*
	Sr.	54.90	7.65	
ALTRUISM	Jr.	51.49	8.27	-3.78 ^a
	Sr.	56.95	9.52	
INDEPENDENCE	Jr.	50.61	9.07	-4.23 ^a
	Sr.	56.27	8.56	
COMPLEXITY	Jr.	49.68	10.22	-0.66
	Sr.	50.56	9.18	
VARIABILITY	Jr.	61.97	6.87	-1.25
	Sr.	63.24	7.77	
Anderson Scale				
PUBLIC DEPENDENCY	Jr.	58.95	11.07	1.28
	Sr.	57.34	12.68	

^a significant at $p < .001$

^b significant at $p < .01$

* near significance at $p < .06$

Over the course of two years, students were most likely to move in the desired direction when asked to choose between clients, profession, agency and community, as defined by Billingsley. Students were more likely to move in the direction of profession and clients and away from agency. This indicated a growing commitment to clients and to the profession of social work and a decreased commitment to bureaucracies.

Subscale scores indicated student commitment in the following order: (1) profession, (2) client, (3) community, and (4) agency. Over the course of two years students scored higher on profession and client commitment, showed no change on community commitment, and moved to a lower commitment to agency (see Table 2).

Table 2

Scores in 1978 and 1980 on Billingsley Subscales (N=41)

	1978		1980	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Profession	2.29	.87	2.92	1.27
Client	1.51	1.34	1.87	1.17
Community	1.36	1.37	1.31	1.31
Agency	1.29	.93	.83	.95

Findings on the Corwin Scale, which also measured commitment to profession, bureaucracy, and client-service, indicated the strength of commitment to clients and profession with a lower commitment to bureaucracy. (see Table 3)

Table 3

Scores Received by Seniors on the Corwin Scale, 1980
(N=59)

	Mean	S.D.
Agency	2.47	.52
Profession	3.43	.38
Client-Service	3.68	.52

A strong interest in careers was demonstrated by nearly all graduates on the modified Angrist scale. With a school age child, and a working spouse, 90% of students expected to work. When presented with a hypothetical situation of being able to work for interest rather than necessity, over 90% preferred to work. Although more wanted to work part-time (50.9%) than full-time (40.7%), this indicated the importance of careers to these students. In fifteen years, 75.4% of the group expected to be married with a career and children.

Ninety percent reported an interest in a social work career, 90% planned to obtain an MSW degree with 52% expecting to attend an MSW program within two years after graduation (see Table 4).

Table 4
Responses to Social Work Career and MSW Degree

	SOCIAL WORK CAREER		MSW DEGREE	
	N	%	N	%
DEFINITELY	37	62.7%	27	45.8%
PROBABLY	17	28.8%	15	25.4%
UNCERTAIN	3	5.1%	0	
PROBABLY WILL NOT	1	1.7%	10	16.9%
DEFINITELY WILL NOT	1	1.7%	2	3.4%
NO RESPONSE	0		5	8.5%
	59	100.0%	59	100.0%

Seventy-one percent reported an interest in a casework position, 50% reported an interest in supervision, and only 45.8% indicated an interest in administration (see Table 5).

Table 5

	Career Interests					
	CASEWORK		SUPERVISION		ADMINISTRATION	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
VERY STRONGLY	19	32.2%	11	19.0%	8	13.6%
STRONGLY	23	39.0%	18	31.0%	19	32.2%
PROBABLY NOT	15	25.4%	27	46.6%	30	50.8%
DEFINITELY NOT	2	3.4%	2	3.4%	2	3.4%
	59	100.0%	58	100.0%	59	100.0%

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Significant differences appeared when the 1978 and 1980 scores on the Wrightsman Philosophies of Human Nature Scale were compared. Seniors scored significantly higher than they had as juniors on (1) trust, "...the extent to which people are seen as moral, honest and reliable," (2) altruism, "...the extent of unselfishness, sincere sympathy and concern for others present in people," and (3) independence, "...the extent to which a person can maintain his convictions in the face of society's pressures toward conformity." Students also scored more favorably on (4) will, "...the extent to which people understand the motives behind their behavior and the extent to which they have control over their own outcomes," (p. 744) although this was not significant.

Despite the fact that these values did not appear to be particularly manifest in the undergraduate social work curriculum to which these students were exposed, it appeared that the combination of class work and field experience influenced and reinforced these beliefs about human nature, in this particular cohort of students, in the desired direction. Thus, the seniors viewed human nature more positively than they had as juniors. This

finding appeared to underscore Wheeler's (1966) comments on socialization in organizational settings:

Collective patterns may make a more positive contribution under certain circumstances. If initial commitment to the organization and its recruits is high, the peer group may be harnessed as an aid in socialization, thus intensifying the effects of the formal socialization program (p. 64).

Consequently, when students are committed to getting a degree in social work, as this cohort was, the students themselves can reinforce both manifest and latent values of the profession, although the more latent values may take longer to be demonstrated.

A study by Hepworth and Shumway (1976) which found changes in open-mindedness of MSW students during the second year of study further reinforces this theory. They report:

The manifest growth in open-mindedness during the second year may be attributed in part to changes in the climate of learning, reflected by a more flexible second year curriculum, an increasing practice focus, and greater student receptivity to learning. With respect to the latter, it is common knowledge that first year students in all professions manifest a higher level of anxiety and insecurity than do students in later phases of training (p.60).

The concept of a two year process, focused on the individual learner, as outlined by Bloom (1969), appears to explain changes not only in MSW students, but BSW students as well, as seen in these findings.

Not to be overlooked is the contribution that the undergraduate derives from being a college student. Morrill (1980) points out that

There is, then, a core of values that higher education in a pluralistic society must recognize and foster... Therefore, in addition to truth, strengthened commitments to tolerance, equality, respect for self and others, integrity, freedom, justice and compassion assuredly are worthy goals of any education. These are among the primary conditions for cooperative life among persons in a democracy. They are the demands of civilized life in our time and place, and their development and practice are of enduring importance (p. 130).

Additionally, Perry (1970) notes the movement of students, during their college years to a position of "commitment" where identity is affirmed. Thus it appears that a BSW experience, combining a professional education with a college education, moved this selected group of students in the direction of a more positive view of human nature.

Merdinger (1982) has indicated that initial courses in a BSW major may have the greatest impact on values stressed in the curriculum, while later courses seem to reinforce choice of a major and the earlier value changes. In light of this, it was not surprising that significant differences failed to appear on the Anderson Scale of Public Dependency. Students, as juniors in 1978, received high scores on this scale and as seniors in 1980, their scores were nearly identical. Although Sharwell (1974) found differences between a group of beginning and graduating MSW students followed longitudinally, BSW programs socialize students over the course of three

or four years. Additionally, the scores reported by Sharwell for the graduating MSWs in his study were similar to the scores reported in this research for students in both junior and senior years. It appeared from the data reported that attitudes towards people who are poor were influenced prior to the junior year in the BSW program and remained quite positive. This explains the lack of change in this particular value dimension. What is important, however, is the continued commitment to a positive attitude towards the poor over a two year period.

Students in this study appeared to be moving to a stronger commitment to the profession of social work and to clients, as evidenced by the higher scores they received, on these items, as seniors. At the same time, their commitment to a bureaucratic stance was diminishing. Given the concern in the social work literature about the bureaucratic or professional orientation of BSWs, particularly as noted by Dyer (1977), these reported findings indicate that a selected group of BSW students had been socialized into a growing belief in the importance of both client and profession. In addition, these students indicated a very strong interest in making social work a career and going on for further professional education at the MSW level, another indicator of increasing identification with the profession.

Although commitment to the profession can be seen as positive, it could also be argued that the professionalism of students has negative consequences for their clients. Thus, as Galper (1975) argues, professionalism increases the power and prestige of the social worker, to the disadvantage of the client. Although Levin (1982) argues against this, by way of a historical critique, it is important to note that there are both advantages and

disadvantages to professionalism. Epstein (1970) points out that a professional orientation coupled with an agency orientation is conservatizing, but when coupled with a client orientation it is radicalizing. Epstein (1970) concludes, "Thus the critical question for social work is not whether to become more professional or not, but rather in whose interest we are going to use our professional commitment and expertise" (p.92). Because the students in this sample moved towards both a professional and a client orientation, at the same time, it is possible to conclude that the socializing process was moving the students in the desired direction.

Results of the life style index indicated that these graduating seniors were strongly committed to careers, indicating that they expected to marry, work and have children. Even when presented with a hypothetical situation of an income in the home sufficient to preclude working, almost all of the respondents planned to work. Apparently, the majority of these students, most of them women, expect that they will spend much of their adult lives working, an increasingly common phenomenon, according to Bird (1979). And, their expectations is that they will remain in social work and pursue another degree. Over 90% of the respondents planned not only a career in social work, but in continued education as well. This percentage is somewhat higher than Dyer's (1977) findings in his study of agency employees with BSW degrees. It is possible that student status reinforces the idea of continued education more than a work environment. Further research following graduation needs to be done to determine if the students do, indeed, remain in social work and obtain MSW degrees.

In conclusion, although generalizations should not be made from these findings about all undergraduates in BSW programs, for the class of 1980, in the one accredited BSW program studied, students moved in the desired direction on humanistic values, commitment to the profession and commitment to clients. Only further study with this class will indicate if the current pattern, attributable to professional socialization and the general college experience will continue after graduation. This research also suggests that BSWs are not moving towards conservative positions but that they are maintaining a commitment to articulated value positions of the profession and are becoming stronger in those value commitments and to the profession itself.

References

*The author wishes to thank the Rhode Island College Faculty Research Committee for Faculty Research funds used to employ Carol Martin as a research assistant for preparation and coding of the data.

This is a revision of a paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Program Meeting of the Council on Social Work Education, New York, New York, March 9, 1982.

Anderson, C.L.

1965 "Development of an Objective Measure of Orientation Toward Public Dependency." Social Forces 44: 107-113.

Angrist, S.

1971-72 "Measuring Women's Career Commitment." Sociological Focus 5: 29-39.

- Bem, S.
1977 "Psychological Androgyny,"
pp. 319-324 in A. Sargent
(ed.), Beyond Sex Roles. St.
Paul: West Publishing Co.
- Billingsley, A.
1964 "Bureaucratic and
Professional Orientation
Patterns in Social Casework."
Social Service Review 38:
400-407.
- Bird, C.
1979 The Two Paycheck Marriage:
How Women at Work Are
Changing Life in America.
New York: Rawson, Wade
Publishers.
- Bloom, T.
1969 "Achieving Professional
Identity: A Conception of
Social Work Education."
Journal of Social Work
Process 17: 37-54.
- Boehm, W.
1959 Objectives of the Social Work
Curriculum of the Future.
Vol. 1 of the Curriculum
Study of the Council on
Social Work Education. New
York: CSWE.
- Cloward, R.A. and F.F. Piven
1975 "Notes Towards a Radical
Social Work," pp. vii-xlvi
in R. Bailey and M. Brake
(eds.) Radical Social Work.
New York: Pantheon.

- Corwin, R.
1960 "Role Conceptions and Mobility Aspirations: A Study in the Formation and Transformation of Nursing Identities." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.
- Cryns, A.
1977 "Social Work Education and Student Ideology: A Multivariate Study of Professional Socialization." Journal of Education for Social Work 13: 44-51.
- Dyer, P.
1977 "How Professional is the BSW Worker?" Social Work 22: 487-492.
- Epstein, I.
1970 "Professional Role Orientations and Conflict Strategies." Social Work 15: 87-92.
- Galper, J.
1975 The Politics of Social Services. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Hepworth, D. and E.G. Shumway
1976 "Changes in Open-Mindedness as a Result of Social Work Education." Journal of Education for Social Work 12: 56-62.

- Koeske, G. and M.A. Crouse
1981 "Liberalism -
Conservatism in Samples
of Social Work Students
and Professionals."
Social Service Review 55:
193-205.
- Levin, H.
1982 "Conservatism of Social
Work." Social Service
Review 56: 605-615.
- Levine, A.
1981 When Dreams and Heroes
Died: A Portrait of
Today's College Student.
San Francisco: Jossey-
Bass.
- Meinert, R.
1980 "Values in Social Work
Called Dysfunctional
Myth." Journal of Social
Welfare 6: 5-16.
- Merdinger, J.
1982 "Socialization into a
Profession: The Case of
Undergraduate Social Work
Students." Journal of
Education for Social Work
18: 12-19.
- Merton, R.
1968 Social Theory and Social
Structure. New York:
Free Press
- Morrill, R.L.
1980 Teaching Values in
College. San Francisco:
Jossey-Bass.

- Orten, J.
1981 "Influencing Attitudes: A Study of Social Work Students." Social Work Research and Abstracts 17: 11-17.
- Pearson, G.
1975 "The Politics of Uncertainty: A Study of the Socialization of the Social Worker," pp. 45-68 in H. Jones (ed.) Towards a New Social Work. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Perry, W. G.
1970 Forms of Intellectual and Ethical Development in the College Years. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Pumphrey, M.
1959 The Teaching of Values and Ethics in Social Work Education. Vol. 13 of the Curriculum Study of the Council on Social Work Education. New York: CSWE.
- Sharwell, G.R.
1974 "Can Values be Taught? A Study of Two Variables Related to Orientation of Social Work Graduate Students Toward Public Dependency." Journal of Education for Social Work 10: 99-105.

- Wheeler, S.
1966 "The Structure of
Formally Organized
Socialization Settings,"
pp. 53-116 in O. Brim and
S. Wheeler (eds.)
Socialization After
Childhood: Two Essays.
New York: Wiley.
- Wilson, G.O.
1973 The Psychology of
Conservatism. New
York: Academic Press.
- Wrightsman, L.
1964 "Measurement of
Philosophies of Human
Nature." Psychological
Reports 14: 741-751.

VERBAL STRATEGIES THAT SUCCEEDED
WHEN JOB PERFORMANCE FAILS¹
or
HOW TO ESCHEW SOCIAL WORK
THROUGH CONVINCING CONVERSATION
(A Pocket Guide for the Weary)²

Michelle Waters
Paula Dressel

Georgia State University

The seemingly endless parade of literature on burnout among social service workers is the source of inspiration for this pocket guide. With the creative tailoring of some of the following vignettes to local situations, it will be almost impossible for you, the service worker, to achieve burn-out.³ Daily interactions with your clients and your co-workers can be accomplished with the greatest of ease, and services delivered with no muss or fuss. If the situation demands it, perhaps you can avoid clients altogether. With current retrenchment in social services, you have been asked repeatedly to do more for your clients and your agency with less and less resources. Here, instead, is a way you can do more for yourself without even having to secure outside funding.

The first part of the pocket guide outlines six handy ways that you can maneuver work situations to your advantage and relief, simply by opening your mouth. Part II describes some difficult situations encountered by social workers and shows you how to prevail simply by employing the verbal strategies outlined in Part I.

Part I. SIX USEFUL VERBAL STRATEGIES

Talk is a useful, free, and abundant resource for mediating complex agency and client situations. The purpose of the talk outlined here is to align the social situation to your advantage without having you look irresponsible or selfish (Stokes and Hewitt, 1976); indeed, the most effective application of the following strategies can bolster others' perceptions of you through no additional effort of your own.

1. Account. Accounts help bridge the gap between what is expected and what actually happens (Scott and Lyman, 1963). There are two types of accounts that can be employed: excuses and justifications. These differ with respect to the issue of responsibility. An excuse denies responsibility, projecting it onto someone or something else (e.g., "I'm only following the rules"). On the other hand, a justification accepts responsibility for actions but denies a sense of wrongdoing; a justification may even assert the positive aspects of the act (e.g., "I'm sending you to another agency for your own benefit").

2. Last resort. Used alone or with accounts, last resorts justify the implementation of extreme actions (e.g., "I'm hospitalizing you as a last resort; there's nothing more we can do for you here under the circumstances"). They should be grounded in the apparent failure or exhaustion of prior remedies and/or accompanied by the anticipation that no other alternatives are available or that they are too costly (Emerson, 1981). This strategy is best used within an atmosphere of crisis. (Note: If a crisis atmosphere is not already present, then you will have to create it yourself.) Invoking last resorts is a risky matter, so only use them as a last resort.

3. Quasi-theory. Some seemingly overwhelming problems can be simplified through the use of quasi-theories, or your own interpretations of what's wrong (e.g., "If you'd just tell me the truth, this situation could be worked out"). You should employ this strategy with some restraint: banal constructions that generalize the situation are most successful (Hewitt and Hall, 1973). Also, because your quasi-theory sets terms within which problems might be solved, you may be held responsible if progress is not made in eliminating the problem. So the fanciest mouthwork of this sort is that which locates the problem in other people, not in yourself. (See Singer, 1978, on shifting the burden of responsibility to the victim.)

So far we have shown you how to clean up social debris by reconstructing problem situations once they've happened. The aforementioned strategies require no precocity, no anticipation, no proactive posture. The two strategies that follow enable you to repair a situation even before it has happened, defying clients and co-workers to locate blame on one so protected as you.

4. Disclaimer. Being ready with a disclaimer is like carrying a good luck charm. Under the spell of the disclaimer, others will hold their challenges in abeyance. The trick of the disclaimer is that it allows you to say something outrageous, absurd, uncharitable, or offensive without appearing outrageous, absurd, uncharitable, or offensive (e.g., "I know this will disappoint you, but we will have to put you on the waiting list.") (Hewitt and Stokes, 1975). Proper use of the disclaimer allows you to deal sharp blows through sleight of mouth.

5. Self-mockery. By calling attention to their own shortcomings, users of this strategy disarm others while simultaneously affirming the rules they have broken. The introduction of such humor into the activity under consideration moves it from a serious to a non-serious framework. If done correctly, self-mockery is likely to evoke positive sentiments among participants (e.g., "I'm so stupid--I keep making the same mistake") (Ungar, 1984). Because self-mockery involves the alteration of your status, be sure before you employ this strategy that your status is high enough to endure depreciation.

All of the above strategies require some modicum of analytical effort to be employed appropriately. The final verbal weapon does not require much concentration and is almost reflexive in nature. It is especially recommended for use toward the end of the work day when needed relief from mental fatigue precludes the task of choosing from among the preceding social lubricants.

6. Refocusing of attention. You may have noticed that the flow of most conversations, like ping pong balls, shifts from one court to the other as participants refocus talk upon themselves (e.g., "If you think you've got problems, wait 'til I tell you about mine") (Derber, 1979). This strategy enables you to diminish the significance of others' concerns either by (a) talking about your own difficulties or (b) shifting the entire topic of discussion to something you'd rather talk about. The success of this strategy is dependent upon the user's proclivity for constant attention.

Now that you have these strategies in your arsenal of social skills, let's see what they can do when the verbal trigger is pulled.

Part II: Verbal Strategies at Work

Scenario #1

The Problem:

Your client is a widow with three small children. She does not speak or read English. You learn through her gestures that she needs housing and food for her family. The exchange with this client is consuming an inordinate amount of time, and two other clients are waiting to see you. Your supervisor interrupts your meeting with this client to complain that the waiting clients are being noisy and disrupting other workers. The supervisor is burning up; you are burning out.

The Solution: Refer the present client to another agency that has an interpreter (account; species--justification; sub-species--claim of benefit). See the noisiest client next and exclaim that if she'd just calm down, the wait at the welfare office wouldn't be nearly so unpleasant (quasi-theory). Upon dispensing with this client, invite the remaining one into your office with the following statement: "You must think I'm terrible for making you wait so long" (disclaimer), "but there's only so much time in one day to do everything that needs to be done" (account; species--excuse; sub-species-- appeal to natural laws).

Scenario #2

The Problem: You are the primary caseworker for almost 200 homebound clients whose physical needs are varied, immediate, and ongoing. Many of the clients are lonely, so you try to devote some time to their social-emotional needs as well during your home visits. Last week you were asked by your supervisor to compile data for a

funding proposal the agency is developing. The data still are not ready, and the proposal is due tomorrow. The supervisor is now asking for your work.

The Solution: This situation requires a salvo of verbal artillery aimed directly toward any compassion the supervisor might have: "You're never going to believe this (disclaimer), but I still haven't had time (account; species--excuse; sub-species--appeal to natural laws) to pull that material together for you. I've been under a lot of stress with my heavy caseload (refocusing of attention coupled with an account; species--excuse; sub-species--appeal to biology), and I just can't ignore those folks' needs (account; species--justification; sub-species--appeal to loyalty). If only we had more caseworkers around here, there would be time for paperwork (quasi-theory). I hate to do this (disclaimer), and I wouldn't under other circumstances (last resort), but I wonder if you'd help me get that information together." Of course, this solution doesn't absolve you of all of the work but it cuts in half the nasty job of making numbers look meaningful whether they are or not.

Scenario #3

The Problem: You have not had a raise in three years because of funding cutbacks for programs and personnel. It is time for your annual evaluation with the agency's executive director. You want her to know that you feel you deserve to make more than \$14,000 annually after having obtained your MSW and having been with the agency for five years.

The Solution: Maneuver the conversation as follows:
She: "You've been doing a fine job the past

year, so I'd rather use this time to tell you my plans for the year ahead."

You: "I would like to hear your plans, but first I need to say something that's been of concern to me for some time now." (refocusing of attention)

She: "I'm aware that you show more concern than most other caseworkers. In fact, here's what I have in mind to encourage them to be as concerned as you. . . ." (refocusing of attention)

You: "But I'm particularly concerned about whether I can remain in this job and send my daughter to college, too. I've inquired about loans, scholarships, and work-study programs, and I still won't have enough money to pay her tuition for a full year. Unless I can get a raise, I'll have to look for another job." (refocusing of attention; last resort)

She: "Well, we certainly don't want to lose you. I've been so busy that I didn't realize you were having so much trouble financially." (refocusing of attention; account; species--excuse; sub-species--appeal to ignorance)

You: "I know I'm only an inconsequential caseworker in the whole organization, a small fish in a big polluted ocean, but even little fish need to eat and send their babies to school." (refocusing of attention; self-mockery)

She: "To tell you the truth, I've been disturbed that I'm unable to pay you more than I do. Things like that keep my stress level high. Maybe if we can elect a new governor the agency will get more money." (disclaimer; refocusing of attention; quasi-theory)

You: (to yourself): "She's read this pocket guide, too."

These three scenarios offer merely a glimpse of what is possible in the short-term through creative verbalization. Just as you rely on your autonomic nervous system to respond to danger, so, too, can a well-honed, seemingly autonomic verbal system keep you out of trouble. If you are successful with these strategies over time, clients will begin to lower their expectations of you, organizational standards will recede, and your job will become far less demanding than it currently is (see Singer, 1978).

The utility of any of the strategies can be optimized with practice. Therefore we recommend talking to yourself--soliloquy (Gass, 1984)--before talking to others. If you can't convince yourself, it is unlikely that anyone else will be so moved, either. Next time you see co-workers talking to themselves, realize that they, too, are learning to address for success. If you can imagine interactions with your clients, co-workers, and supervisors proceeding smooth as Chinese porcelain, then you can envision what can be achieved through convincing conversation. So give yourself a split second to be both actor and audience; explore the itinerary of verbal action before taking it. Hamlet did, and he made Shakespeare famous.

NOTES

1 Idea from Edelman (1977).

2 The authors do not in fact condone the strategies offered herein. One way of managing exasperating situations, however, is through the use of humor. We empathize with the difficulties inherent in doing social work in a reluctant welfare state.

3 See Dressel (1984) for direct quotations from social service workers who employ verbal strategies to counteract job stress.

REFERENCES

- Derber, Charles The Pursuit of Attention. New York: Oxford, 1979.
- Dressel, Paula The Service Trap. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas, 1984.
- Edelman, Murray Political Language: Words That Succeed and Policies That Fail. New York: Academic, 1977.
- Emerson, Robert "On last resorts." American Journal of Sociology 87(July, 1981):1-22.
- Gass, William "The unspeakable state of soliloquy." Harpers (May, 1984):71-74.
- Hewitt, John P., and Peter M. Hall "Social problems, problematic situations, and quasi-theories." American Sociological Review 38(June, 1973):357-374.
- Hewitt, John, and Randall Stokes "Disclaimers." American Sociological Review 40(February, 1975):1-11.
- Scott, Marvin, and Stanford M. Lyman "Accounts." American Sociological Review 33(1968):46-62.
- Singer, Benjamin D. "Assessing social errors." Social Policy 9(September/ October, 1978):27-34.
- Stokes, Randall, and John Hewitt "Aligning actions." American Sociological Review 41(October, 1976):838-849.
- Ungar, Sheldon "Self-mockery: an alternative form of self-presentation." Symbolic Interaction 7(Spring, 1984):121-133.

EVOLUTION OF ADULT FOSTER CARE

John M. McCoin, Ph.D., ACSW
Supervisory Social Worker
VA Medical Center
Leavenworth, Ks. 66048

ABSTRACT

Adult Foster Care evolved under the influence of the Catholic Church and dates to about 600 A.D. Gradually, it has been brought under the influence of the State. In 1979-80, the author surveyed 49 states and determined that 34 states had formal regulation. currently, Adult Foster Care is cost effective and reasonably humane. The future appears to have considerable promise and the need for AFC is proliferating.

The purpose of this article is to trace the development of Adult Foster Care from its inception to the present, the numerous relevant variables which have impacted upon its evolution, discuss relevant theoretical concepts, and to make some recommendations for future research. It is hoped that this article will assist in the development of an enhanced appreciation and comprehension of an ancient stepchild of the Social Work profession and larger society.

Although a considerable amount has been written about what can be considered Adult Foster Care (hereafter referred to as AFC), readers must infer this from the plethora of terms extant in the literature. As denoted by McCoin (1983), some of these terms are: 1) Boarding Homes, 2) Board and Care Homes, 3) Community Care Homes, 4) Residential Care Homes, 5) Personal Care Homes, 6) Adult Family Care Homes, 7) Adult Boarding Facilities, and 8) Shelter Care Facilities. McCoin (1983) presented an argument for unifying the termin-

ology by simply terming these homes (if licensed or certified by the respective state) Adult foster Homes. The people operating these homes were categorized as Managers and the people living in them were categorized as Residents. Managers operate and often own the homes and the residents are usually formerly institutionalized people with histories of mental illness, mental retardation, and the dependent elderly.

Origin and Development

The beginning of AFC has been placed at 600-700 A.D., in Gheel, Belgium (Kilgour, 1936; Dumont & Aldrich, 1962). The legend goes that at the time the beautiful Irish Princess Dymphna was slain by her mentally deranged father, the pagan King of Ireland, over her refusal to marry him. Heartbroken over the death of Dymphna's beautiful Catholic mother and as his subjects could find no other woman in Ireland resembling Dymphna's mother, the King wanted only Dymphna as a replacement. Horrified by her father's proposal, Dymphna sought solace from her priest, Father Gerebernus, who advised that they flee for their lives (Aring, 1974). Angered, the King led his entourage, overtaking them at Gheel, Belgium where the King ordered both slain. His subjects slew the priest but refused to harm the beautiful Dymphna whereupon the King decapitated her (Goldenson, 1970; Aring, 1974).

Continuing, the legend indicates that the Gheel citizens were so horrified by this insane act that they constructed an annex to a local church on the actual site of Dymphna's remains; these were gradually believed to possess a spiritual quality for curing the mentally ill. Aring (1974) reports that so many people believed that they were cured by

Dymphna's spirit that she was Canonized a Saint in 1247 A.D. The exact time that the pilgrimage of mentally ill pilgrims Began to overload the local hotels is undetermined. At any rate, townspeople began taking them into their own homes while the pilgrims underwent treatment by church officials to help exorcise the evil spirits of insanity. To assist in this process, the pilgrims worshipped the spirit of St. Dymphna. Aring (1974) reported having been positively impressed by the spontaneity of the Gheel townspeople, even children, toward the mentally disabled.

Control over colony Gheel continued to be exercised by the Catholic Church until about the turn of the 19th century when Napoleon's antichurch policy resulted in municipal control. In approximately 1852, the State assumed control but delegated operational control to the medical profession (Kilgour, 1936). This control has continued into modern times (Dumont & Aldrich, 1962; Srole, 1977).

Colony Gheel thus became the prototype for AFC programs, which were to develop in several countries in the 19th Century. Scotland had a program in operation by 1967 (Pollock, 1945) with Massachusetts beginning its program in 1882 (McCain, 1983) and France in 1892 (Aptekar, 1965). Aptekar also indicates that Switzerland had a program by 1909, Germany by 1911, and the Province of Ontario, Canada by 1933.

Probably due largely to the courageous and dynamic leadership of Dorothea Dix, more humane forms of treatment for the mentally disabled were evolving by the middle of the 19th Century. Moreover, it was also at about this time that the medical profession began assuming more responsibility or treating the mentally disabled

For these and possible other reasons,

various leaders from the U.S. inspected the AFC programs in Scotland and Gheel. As a consequence, Massachusetts became the patients were placed in homes in 1882 (McCoin, 1983). In the early 20th Century Rhode Island and Maryland's Springfield State Hospital experimented with AFC (de Alvarado, 1955). However these programs were short-lived.

In the throes of the Great Depression, New York became the second state to officially adopt a policy of AFC in 1935, followed in quick succession by several other states (Morrissey, 1967). This period marked the beginning of AFC in its present form, including the widespread entrance of the Social Work profession as the primary discipline responsible for its implementation (McCoin, 1983).

By late 1979, thirty-four states were determined to have officially-sanctioned AFC programs principally serving the mentally ill, mentally retarded, and dependent elderly (McCoin, 1983). From the 1940's to 1960's. most of the literature on AFC was by psychiatrists in the American Journal of Psychiatry (McCoin, 1983). The Veterans Administration (hereafter referred to as the V.A.) officially adopted a policy for AFC in 1951 (U.S. Veterans Administration, 1971).

In slightly over a decade from the 1960's to 1970's, the V.A.'s contribution to AFC tripled so that by 1979, the V.A. had between 12,000-15,000 individuals placed in Foster Care (McCoin, 1983; Engquist, 1979). During that period there was a similar growth among non-veteran AFC populations. Also, the 1960's-70's, witnessed a proliferation of journal articles and doctoral dissertations by social workers (e.g., Smitson, 1967, Evans, 1976, Kaufman, 1976).

Conceptual Consideration

Essentially, the basic concept for AFC appears to have been the family, more specifically, the extended family. However, as Coleman and Cressey (1980) indicate increasing industrialization has been a causal factor in the decline of the extended family. It is hypothesized moreover that vestiges of the extended family still survive in AFC, albeit they are less natural and more or less institutionalized through the Welfare State. Nevertheless, AFC still resembles the extended family in many respects, e.g., by providing nurturance, sustenance, and care to non-relatives, but for financial remuneration to managers of AFC homes (McCoin, 1983). With the decline of the extended family, which previously largely cared for its ill and dependent members, AFC partially fills a void which can presently be filled only via the instruments of the Welfare State. Perhaps as a compromise between the naturalism of the extended family and the pragmatism of the Welfare State, the principle of normalization, developed in the Scandinavian countries (Willer & Intagliata, 1982), has come to represent more rights and privileges for handicapped people in the least restrictive environment (Miller, 1977). Normalization and least restrictive environment are two fundamental guiding principles in deinstitutionalization.

In our materialistic society, young and healthy people are almost revered while the disabled and dependent elderly are often the victims of "human obsolescence" (Henry, 1963 p. 406), or they are socially marginal. Segal, Baumohl, and Johnson (1977) coined the term "social margin" (p. 406) which seems relevant for AFC residents. Socially marginal people are essentially in poor health, have limited financial and social resources, and they are considered obsolete in our fast-paced society. As a consequence, there is a break-

down between the socially marginal person and the social environment, termed the "Social Breakdown Syndrome" (McCreath, 1984, p. 438). This syndrome even applies to relatively young, often well educated adults, not to mention the elderly and mentally retarded. As a consequence, professional human service workers need to serve more as advocates for them (Cournow, Herman & Glick, 1984) and to ameliorate the tendency to blame the client for events leading up to his/her dilemma (Kagle & Cowger, 1984).

Morrissey (1967) coined the term "emotional allergy" (p. 42) to help explain the often acrimonious relationships existing between mentally ill people and their families. This essentially means that relations are so strained that continued living together is therapeutically contraindicated, thus leaving few options save for prolonged institutionalization, AFC home placement, or joining the ranks of the estimated 110,000 homeless people in the U.S. on any given night (Public Administration Times, 1984). Finally, it seems reasonable to extrapolate the emotional allergy concept to the mentally retarded and dependent elderly and their families (e.g., Hill, Rotegard, & Gruininks 1984; Giordano & Giordano, 1984).

Attempting to deal with the many theoretical concepts possibly relevant to AFC is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, the following are attempts to address what are considered to be particularly important concepts for residents. One concept would appear to be relevant for all categories of residents would be that of alienation. Through the Dean Alienation Scale, this concept was operationalized on a sample of male schizophrenic AFC residents and psychiatric inpatients. Through Chi Square Statistical analysis, McCoin (1977) found that residents who had been in AFC homes for long periods (up to 15 years) scored lower

on alienation, ($P = .045$) than residents who had been in AFC homes only 6 months. Findings from the same study indicated that residents who had been in AFC homes up to 15 years scored lower on social isolation than a contrast group of psychiatric inpatients ($P = .015$). These findings present some interesting challenges for future researchers, especially with the mentally retarded and dependent elderly.

Other empirical research has demonstrated significant symptom reduction in mental patients who were in AFC homes in Canada for up to 18 months (Murphy, Englesman, & Tchong-Laroche, 1976). Moreover, they reported almost no improvement in social functioning. A more carefully controlled study, however, did demonstrate a significant improvement in social functioning of former psychiatric patients who had been in AFC homes for 4 months (Linn, Klett, & Caffey, 1982). Another study (Srole, 1977) also demonstrated positive social functioning and attitudinal changes in the majority of residents studied. Willer & Intagliata (1982) report functioning and attitudinal changes in the majority of residents studied. Willer & Intagliata (1982) report that mentally retarded residents are more likely to improve behaviorally in AFC homes than in group homes. Linn and Caffey (1977) suggest AFC homes for some geriatric patients in lieu of premature nursing home placements. They also indicate that elderly psychiatric patients are more likely to be diagnosed as having organic brain disease, as opposed to schizophrenia.

Ellenberger (1960) indicated that wild animals in captivity sometimes become so attached to their cages that they will not leave even if afforded the opportunity. By extrapolation, it seems feasible that a similar dynamic may be operative within some patients before and after they become AFC residents.

That is, the person may want to nestle in the institution of AFC home, perhaps somewhat analogous to a young bird's reluctance to leave the nest. In clinical circles this would be more likely to be considered institutionalization, i.e., the tendency of clients to nestle in either the hospital or AFC homes and to be fearful of leaving. One rationale is therefore to transfer these nestling needs from the hospital to AFC home where the residents could possibly have Authoritarian-type managers to guide, direct and protect them, not drastically different from institutional living. By way of contrast, some authors contend that nursing homes and AFC homes with over 10 residents should be categorized as institutions (Linn, Klett, & Caffey, 1980) while McCain (1983) considered homes containing up to 20 residents as AFC homes, provided that they were formally regulated. Regardless of which concepts are utilized, AFC managers must strike a delicate balance in managing some residents, e.g., those schizophrenics who regress if ignored too much and become hyperactive if subjected to much stimulation. Some research has shown that manager-initiated activities for non-schizophrenic residents is therapeutic but is related to deterioration in schizophrenics (Linn, Klett, & Caffey, 1980).

Let us now focus our attention on some possible reasons why managers elect to take strangers into their homes. First, one must consider the financial aspect, or simply the profit motive. Yet, this does not adequately explain the phenomenon as the monumental responsibilities involved could tend to attenuate this motive, not to mention the less than adequate financial remuneration received by managers. As an interesting aside, AFC managers in Gheel, Belgium in 1936 received only about 15-25 cents per day for each resident (Aring, 1974).

Empirical research has demonstrated that

most managers are past the childbearing age (Steffy, 1976; Zweben, 1977; Intagliata, Crosby & Neider, 1981). Deykin, Jacobson, Klerman, & Solomon (1966) utilize the "empty nest syndrom" (p. 1422) to attribute causality for depression in some middle-aged women. Since many AFC managers are Female and middle-aged (or older), and past the childbearing state, they may be partially motivated to keep residents in order to replenish the empty nest, so to speak. Stated somewhat differently, perhaps they take strangers into their homes for a combination of reasons including the need to mitigate against depression and loneliness. Furthermore, middle-aged and older male managers may also be susceptible to the same syndrome. Finally, as delineated earlier in this section, AFC residents may tend to complement the managers' nesting needs by nestling in them, or becoming attached to them, not drastically different from institutionalization.

Besides the nesting syndrome another possible factor to help explain why managers take residents into their homes could be the "rescue fantasy" (McCoin 1983, p. 197-198), i.e., the need to rescue people in trouble. Vander Zanden (1984) utilized the term "prosocial behavior" (p. 273) which can help explain why some people are more rescue-focused than others. The same publication assesses empirical research on "Good Samaritans" in California (p. 279), indicating that many of the rescuers of people in trouble seemed indifferent or angry toward those they rescued. Apparently the rescuers thought the victims brought on the misfortune by their own deeds, thus possibly indicating a high degree of authoritarianism present in the rescuers' personalities. Moreover, the California rescuers sometimes would leave a dying victim to pursue the perpetrator and seemed jealous of others who tried to intervene on behalf of the victim. The question then arises as to whether the

rescuers did not obtain a psychological high from these experiences, possibly motivated by aggressive instincts related to power, control, competition, and possible sex.

The degree of authoritarianism in a sample of AFC managers from a large program was measured by the California F Scale (McCoin, 1977, 1979, 1983). Essentially, people with authoritarian personalities tend to be highly opinionated, moralistic, politically conservative, rigid, unable to tolerate ambiguous situations, readily accept orders from higher authority, and tend to be punitive toward subordinates. McCoin (1977) hypothesized that managers, scoring high on authoritarianism, would have residents scoring higher on alienation than residents living in less authoritarian homes. This hypotheses, however, was not confirmed. One possible inference from this conclusion is that a degree of authoritarianism in managers may be necessary to help them tolerate some awesome responsibilities. Also this authoritarianism may offer a measure of security to insecure residents. At least, they may feel the managers care, albeit perhaps not in the most therapeutically ideal manner. Ideally, it seems feasible to recruit and retain more egalitarian managers. At this stage in the evolution of AFC, the law of supply and demand does not smile on such a proposal.

For humane reasons, it would seem desirable to have more egalitarian managers. McCoin (1977) found a statistically significant association by Chi Square analysis ($P = .0074$) on education and authoritarianism in a sample of AFC managers, i.e., the less educated ones were more authoritarian. Furthermore, the same research demonstrated an association between manager-authoritarianism and ethnicity ($P = .0675$). Italian managers were more authoritarian than descendants of the British Isles or Blacks. One plausible explanation for this

finding is that many of the Italian managers were from the old country and less educated. A statistically significant association ($P=.0046$) was found in the same study between manager-authoritarianism and religion, i.e., managers in the "Other" category of religious preference scored lower on authoritarianism. More specifically, a large percentage of these were Jewish. Catholics scored slightly higher on authoritarianism than Protestants. Needless to say, more research is needed on managers and authoritarianism.

Current Programs

In 1979-80, the author conducted two nationwide surveys involving State Administrators of Mental Health, Mental Retardation and Aging, covering all states except Missouri, which did not respond. The purpose was to better describe AFC from an administrative perspective (McCain, 1983).

The responses from these surveys seemed to be more positive than negative, indicating that AFC is a reasonably viable and humane alternative to prolonged institutionalization. Some of the advantages mentioned in these surveys were helping residents to re-establish feelings of self worth and dignity, helping to re-establish family network ties, delaying premature nursing home placements, helping to re-integrate residents into society, and cost effectiveness.

The preceeding are some potent reasons favoring AFC. For legislators, policy makers, and administrators, cost effectiveness no doubt ranks high, especially in this era of budgetary constraints on social and human service programs. In most states a resident can remain in AFC for \$15-20 daily. In contrast, nursing home placements usually cost about three times as much and hospitalization can cost 8-12 times as much as AFC, or more.

Viewed within the purview of cost effectiveness, AFC can be viewed as one of the few bargains in the health care industry.

A serious problem besetting AFC today is that approximately 11 federal agencies impact upon it (McCrary & Keiden, 1978). This does not count numerous state, local, and private agencies. Local zoning ordinances often restrict developing programs (Gupaiuolo, 1979), with higher status neighborhoods being more resistive. Some state administrators were critical of the lack of uniform national policy on AFC. Others were critical of the dearth of structured activities in the homes and communities. A minority of the administrators referred to the potential for resident abuse by managers, albeit none actually cited any specific instances of such abuse. Nevertheless, some authors have criticized the sometimes widespread policy of dumping the mentally disabled into communities with minimal supervision and resources (Titmuss, 1968; Anderson, 1978). Furthermore, it appears that the states most responsible for this practice are those with the least amount of statutory control.

In most instances, the cost of the resident's care is borne by the resident through Social Security disability or retirement income, Supplemental Security Income (referred to hereafter as SSI), V.A. disability benefits, or a combination of these and sometimes other resources. In Michigan, General Assistance and Medicaid also help defray expenses in some instances. Additionally, Michigan has mandated amount which managers receive monthly for keeping residents. For example, in 1979, a manager there received \$210 if the resident were an SSI recipient. Presently, managers in Michigan receive about \$470 monthly per resident, but some there sometimes accept a resident at the General Assistance rate which is less than the prescribed amount. If the resi-

dent is a G.A. recipient in Michigan, he/she received \$28 monthly spending money as of 1983. In the same year a resident in Michigan on SSI received about \$30 monthly and \$50 if receiving Social Security benefits. In contrast, empirical observations indicate that Missouri does not mandate a specific amount of spending money for residents. This practice may be fairly prevalent in the U.S., thus posing serious ethical and policy questions. Since a considerable number of residents' income is means tested in the U.S., earning extra income for them is financially contraindicated, far different from the observations of Aring (1974) to the effect that AFC residents in Gheel, Belgium in 1936 were encouraged to obtain competitive employment and their earnings were not means tested.

By 1979, thirty-four states were determined to have some type of statutory control over AFC homes (McCoin, 1983). Kansas and Missouri currently have statutory control of AFC, thus making at least 36 states which have some form of state regulation.

In the United States, AFC is a mish mash of programs. The lack of uniformity from one region to another poses many problems of administrators and clinicians, not to mention residents and managers. One author depicts AFC as so unique in the mental health field that he terms it a "mongrel" (Zweben, 1977, p. 148). As Zweben further indicates, other mental health programs usually have a more uniform approach to patient care. McCoin (1983) refers to AFC as "adopted child" (p. 103), "bastard child" (p. 40), "unwanted step-child" (p. 168), with all of these terms referring primarily to the Social wards which have been merely moved into various communities (Lamb & Goertzel, 1971). In a more positive reference, Schrader & Elms (1972) depict AFC as the "Cinderella" of the mental health field as its potential has been so

neglected (p. 9).

The preceeding is a brief description of AFC in the U.S. today. Comparative analyses of these programs with those of other countries would be interesting especially with Canada and England. In England, the term "Adult Fostering" (Ware, 1983) is being utilized to describe what is analogous to AFC in the United States. In England and the U.S., Departments of Social Service (or their equivalents) are assuming more responsibility for licensing, although in the U.S. numerous states still license some AFC homes under the Department of Mental Health, Department of Health, or similar departments. Currently the practice of implementing AFC comes almost exclusively from the Social Work profession.

Conclusions

AFC is a 1300 year old unwanted stepchild of the Social Work profession. Despite its long history, AFC has generated relatively little interest among Social Work researchers and administrators from the National Association of Social Workers. Bogen (1984) appears to believe that this lack of concern about AFC will likely change relatively soon. Regardless of the lack of concern by academe and NASW, Adult Foster Care has become a noteworthy service to partially fill the vacuum created by the decline of the extended family, especially for the mentally ill, mentally retarded, and dependent elderly. The evolution of AFC has been affected by the Catholic Church, Napoleonic Wars, Great Depression, and countless other factors including the policies of the "New Frontier" and "Great Society". Futhermore, there appears to be some correspondence between the proliferation of AFC homes and Social Work's largely breaking the Freudian tradition in the 1960's. Since then, Social Work has concentrated less on the individual and more on the interaction

between people and the environment, a philosophy more conducive to the development of Adult Foster Care. Before the 1960's most journal articles on AFC were by psychiatrists whereas most of them since have been by social workers.

Theory development is still at a very low level and few attempts have been made to operationalize the numerous relevant theories extant in Sociology, Psychology, Psychiatry, Economics, and Business Administration.

Much remains to be accomplished at the level of clinical practice. For example what theoretical approaches can best be utilized with what types of residents and managers? Some Agencies still treat AFC as the unwanted stepchild, e.g., assigning higher status to other programs. A uniform national policy on community-based shelter care for the mentally ill, mentally retarded and dependent elderly is sorely needed. Sometimes residents and managers fall through the cracks between bureaucracies. Many times there is duplication and overlapping of effort. Politicians, policy makers, and administrators should be held more accountable, not just service providers and clinicians. Too frequently, states cannot or will not supplement Supplemental Security Income resulting in an uneven distribution of financial resources. Some residents are penalized by means tested incomes. Furthermore, some states are financially penalized over transferring residents from nursing homes to AFC homes. More dynamic leadership is needed for a 1300 year old unwanted stepchild to be allowed to grow to maturity.

References

- de Alvarado, C. R.
1955 "An Experiment in Community Living for Mental Patients: Family Care in Springfield State Hospital, Maryland." Unpublished doctoral disseration, University of Pennsylvania.
- Anderson, J.
1978 "Ex-Mental Patients Abandoned." Oshkosh Daily Northwestern, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, February 16.
- Aptekar, H. H.
1965 "Foster and Homes Care for Adults." Encyclopedia of Social Work, 15, 351-357.
- Aring, C. D.
1974 "The Gheel Experience: Eternal Spirit of the Chainless Mind." Journal of the American Medical Association, 230, 996-1001.
- Bogen, H.
1983 Book Review: Adult Foster Homes: Their Managers and Residents. By John M. McCain, Human Sciences Press. In Social Work, 1984, 29, 493.
- Coleman, J. & Cressey, D.
1980 Social Problems, New York, N.Y.: Harper and Row.
- Cournos, F., Herman, R., & Glicker, N.
1984 "Defending The Mentally disabled." Social Work, 29, 301-303.
- Capaiuolo, A. W.
1979 "Community Interaction with V.A. Family Care Homes for the Mentally Ill: A Comparative Study of Conflict and Nonconflict." Unpublished doc-

toral dissertation, Columbia University.

Dyekin, E., Jacobson, S., Klerman, G., & Soloman, M.

1966 "The Empty Nest: Psycho-social Aspects of Conflict Between Depressed Women and Their Own Children." American Journal of Psychiatry, 122, 1422-1426.

Dumont, M. P. & Aldrich, C. K.

1962 "Family Care After A Thousand Year - A Crisis in the Tradition of St. Dymphna." American Journal of Psychiatry, 119, 116-121.

Ellenberger, H. F.

1960 "Zoological Garden and Mental Hospital." Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal, 5, 136-149

Engguist, C. L.

1979 Personal Communication with Director, Social Work Service, Veterans Administration Central Office, Washington, D.C.,

Evans, E. B.

1976 "The Interpersonal Relationships Formed Between sponsors and Psychiatric Patients in Community-Family Care." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University.

Giordano, H. H., & Giofdano, J. A.

1984 "Elder Abuse: A Review of the Literature." Social Work, 29, 232-236

Goldenson, R. M.

1970 Encyclopedia of Human Behavior: Psychology, Psychiatry, and Mental Health, Vol. 2. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

- Henry, J.
1963 Culture Against Man, New York: Random House.
- Hill, B. K., Rotegard, L. L., & Bruininks, R. H.
1984 "The Quality of Life of Mentally Retarded People in Residential Care." Social Work, 29, 275-280.
- Intagliata, J., Crosby, N., & Neider, L.
1981 "Foster Family Care for Mentally Retarded People: A Qualitative Review." In R. Bruininks, C. E. Mayers, B. Sigfore, & K. D. Larkin, (Eds.), Deinstitutionalization and Community Adjustment of Retarded People. Washington, D.C. American Association on Mental Deficiency, 233-259.
- Kagle, J. D., & Cowger, C. D.
1984 "Blaming the Client: Implicit Agenda in Practice Research." Social Work, 29, 347-351.
- Kaufman, R. J.
1976 "A Social Ecological Study of Veterans Administration Community Placement Settings." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University.
- Kilgour, A. J.
1963 "Colony Ghel." American Journal of Psychiatry, 92, 959-965.
- Lamb, R. & Goertzel, V.
1971 "Discharged Mental Patients - Are they Really in the Community?" Archives of General Psychiatry, 21, 29-34.
- Linn, M. W. & Caffey, E. M.
1977 "Foster Placement for the Older Psychiatric Patient." Journal of Gerontology, 32, 230-345.

- Linn, M. W., Klett, C. J., & Caffey, E. M.
1980 "Foster Home Characteristics and Psychiatric Patient Outcome: The Wisdom of Gheel Confirmed." Archives of General Psychiatry, 37, 129-132.
- Linn, M. W., Klett, C. J., & Caffey, E. M.
1982 "Relapse of Psychiatric Patients in Foster Care." American Journal of Psychiatry, 139, 778-783.
- McCoin, J. M.
1977 "A Study of the Association Between Community Care Home Sponsors' Personalities and Alienation Patterns of Long-hospitalized Schizophrenic Male Veterans." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- McCoin, J. M.
1979 "Adult Foster Homes: An Empirical Study." Unpublished manuscript, Grand Rapids, Michigan.
- McCoin, J. M.
1983 Adult Foster Homes: Their Managers and Residents, New York, N.Y.: Human Sciences Press, Inc.
- McCrary, L. & Keiden, B.
1978 "Good Morning America." Nationwide Television Program, October 26.
- McCreath, J.
1984 "The New Generation of Chronic Psychiatric Patients." Social Work, 29, 436-441.
- Miller, M. C.
1977 "A Program for Adult Foster Care." Social Work, 22, 275-279.
- Morrissey.
1967 The Case of Family Care for the Mentally Ill. New York, N.Y.: Behavior

Publications.

Murphy, H. B. M., Englesman, N. F. & Tcheng-Laroche, F.

- 1976 "The Influence of Foster Home Care on Psychiatric Patients." Archives of General Psychiatry, 33, 179-183.

Pollock, H. M.

- 1945 "A Brief History of Family Care of Mental Patients in America." American Journal of Psychiatry, 102, 351-361.

Public Administration Times.

- 1984 "Government Programs Geared to Homeless." Washington, D.C.: American Society for Public Administration, December 1, p. 1.

Schrader, P. J., & Elms, R. R.

- 1972 Guidelines for Family Care Home Operators. New York: Springer.

Segal, S. P., Baumohl, J. & Johnson, E.

- 1977 "Falling Through the Cracks: Mental Disorder and Social Margin in a Young Vagrant Population." Social Problems, 22, 387-400.

Smitson, W. S.

- 1967 "The Foster Mother's Relationship with the Mental Patient." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Smith College.

Srole, L.

- 1977 "Gheel, Belgium: The Natural Therapeutic Community: 1475-1975." In Serban, G., & Astrachan, B. (Eds.), New Trends of Psychiatry in the Community, Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger.

Steffy, A. O.

- 1963 "A Study of the characteristics of Sponsors in a Psychiatric Family Care Program: Their Relationship to Pa-

tient Adjustment." Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Illinois.

Titmuss, R. M.

1968 "Forward," In R. Z. Apte, Halfway Houses, London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd.

U. S. Veterans Administration, Program Guide

1971 Social Work Service, Community Care.
Department of Medicine and Surgery,
Washington, D.C.

Vander Zanden, J. W.

1984 Social Psychology. 3rd ed., New York:
Random House.

Ware, P.

1983 Personal Communication with Master of
Philosophy Student, Bradford, England.

Willer, B., & Intagliata, J.

1982 "Comparison of Family-Care and Group
Homes as Alternatives to Institu-
tions." American Journal of mental
Deficiency, 86, 588-595

Zweben, A.

1977 "Family Care: An Exploratory Study."
Unpublished doctoral dissertation,
Columbia University.

UNDERSTANDING A PRESENTED PROBLEM FROM A PHENOMENOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Anant Jain, Ph.D.

University of Denver
Denver, Colorado

ABSTRACT

Social work and other helping professions utilize knowledge generated by social sciences to understand human behavior and human problems. Social sciences follow positivistic and humanistic philosophies. The former claims that methodologies applicable to natural sciences should be applicable to social sciences. The latter believes that positivistic methods are reductionist and social sciences should develop their own methodology because they deal with a unique subject matter--human beings. Phenomenology, a branch of humanistic thinking, has been offered as a perspective to understand the presented problem by the client. Several cases are utilized to highlight the role of a professional in understanding the presented problem following a phenomenological perspective.

The helping professions like social work, professional psychology, psychiatry, and many others utilize knowledge generated by the social sciences to understand human behavior and human problems. Such an understanding becomes helpful in finding solutions to these human problems. However, the social sciences follow philosophies which

affect their methodologies in generating the knowledge as well as its accuracy. Two such philosophies are positivism and humanism. The former claims that methodologies applicable to natural sciences such as physics should also be applicable to social sciences. Contrasted to the above, humanists believe that such methods distort the knowledge and are reductionist in nature. They contend that social sciences should develop their own methodology because of the uniqueness of its subject matter--human beings. Because of the uniqueness of human beings a knowledge perspective based on phenomenology, a branch of humanistic thinking, has been offered as a perspective to understand the problem presented by the client.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology focuses on the shared world of meanings through which social action is generated and interpreted.¹ It assumes that a phenomenon by itself has no inherent meaning. The phenomenon is constituted by the interpretive work of members of a society.² Phenomenologists seek to understand problems of meanings in everyday life, that is, common sense meaning of the interacting individuals in any situation. Schutz³ described these common sense meanings as "first order of typifications." All situations have meanings, and the purpose of the social scientist is to bring out these meanings clearly and relate them to other meanings and meaning systems. The phenomenological view as expressed by Schutz and Natanson makes a distinction between natural science and social science. Men are not only objects existing in the natural world to be observed by the scientist, but they are creators of the world, a cultural world of their own. In creating this world

they interpret their own activities.⁴ According to Natanson, the task of the "social scientist is the reconstruction of the way in which men in daily life interpret their own world."⁵

Two concepts derived from phenomenological perspectives, viz. 1) the context or the situation in which the problem emerged and 2) the meaning ascribed by the individual who experienced it, can be used to understand the presented problem. These two concepts are described in detail in the following pages.

Situation

W. I. Thomas pointed out that we depend largely upon our definition of the situation, which depends upon our organized perspective--that is, an ordered view of our world--what is taken for granted about the attributes or various objects, events, and human nature.⁶

"... the organization of experience depends in part upon what is anticipated and what is taken for granted. Judgments rest upon perspectives, and people with different outlooks define identical situations differently, responding selectively to the environment. Thus a prostitute and a social worker walking through a slum area notice different things."⁷

Most of the situations encountered by people in a given society are defined and structured by them in the same way. Through previous interaction they acquire common understandings or definitions of situations of how to act in this or that situation. This process enables them to act alike.⁸

Berger and Luckman⁹ contend that since all human knowledge is developed, transmitted and maintained in social situations, therefore sociology must seek to understand the process by which the taken for granted "reality" by man/woman in the street has been arrived at; that is, sociology should be concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality regardless of ultimate validity or invalidity by whatever criteria. It is incumbent upon the philosopher to examine the ontological and epistemological status of the concepts. Sociologists cannot supply the answer to the question of what is valid. The sociologist/social scientist should ask the question of how the reality is different from situation to situation and how such a reality is constructed.

Meaning

The concept of meaning refers to the distinctive character of human interaction in which human beings interpret or define each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions.

This human interaction and interpretation of each other's actions is explained in Mead's¹⁰ distinction between two features of human self: the socially and objectively defined and determined 'me' and the undetermined, active, transcendent 'I.' For Mead and also for Piaget,¹¹ the person is a social product, but unless this product achieves a degree of rational autonomy from all influences and determinations including social ones, it is not a person. It must be

able to represent to itself society's reaction to its actions. A person must be able to take the position of the other in order to successfully talk, play or interact with others at all. But this 'me,' this sense of generalized other, this awareness of society and of oneself in society's terms is one pole of the human equation. The other is the ability to generate an action which knowingly conforms to or which knowingly deviates from social expectations and rules.

Following the phenomenological perspective, the presented problem and the ongoing encounter between the client and the social worker has to be understood with reference to both context and meaning. The social worker may provide insights into the problem based on his/her knowledge, experience and thinking, but such suggestions have to be verified and agreed upon by the client without any pressure. That is, in the ongoing process of communication with the individual client the professional has to understand how the client defines his/her problem and how she/he arrived at that definition, that is, the presented problem has to be understood in relation to the context of the situation and what it means to the client.

The professional may raise questions and give information without making judgments, thus, the two are involved in negotiating to arrive at a common understanding of the problem. The professional may give additional information for clarification and understanding, but the final judgment rests with the client most of the time. It is possible that the client may lack comprehension because of a disability such as mental retardation, but then the professional has to make the extra effort to negotiate at a level the individual can comprehend.

Otherwise the professional treats the client as dependent or as an individual who cannot make decisions for himself, which violates the ethical values of the professional. The following cases illustrate how clients make judgments based on their view of reality of the situation. The judgments of the clients may look to be justified if viewed from their situation. The cases cited also highlight the role of the social worker.

Professional as a Negotiator: An Asian Indian female freshman at college is referred to the social worker. We will call her B. Parents complained that she has been converted to Christianity against her will by a zealous religious organization on campus. The first few interviews with her revealed that she was converted but there was no undue pressure. She had become attached to a young man who was instrumental in her conversion, along with his associates who demonstrated an enormous amount of caring and love for her, which could be called a social pressure. The young woman had been confused and was under tremendous pressure within the family. One of the older sisters had selected a young man for herself out of her religious faith, which created a great conflict. The sister in the middle had pursued a young man in their own religion but found him frustrating and unacceptable. This middle sister also was considered the most beautiful of all the daughters and generated a feeling of inadequacy and helplessness among both the other sisters. The feeling of inadequacy was generated as a result of remarks by relatives and friends of the family who openly compared the three sisters and passed judgments. The young men also were attracted to her. In addition, B considered herself to be an independent type who could say things as she saw them in the family, which could be regarded as provocative; but the parents

ignored these remarks on the pretext that she was a child, as she was the youngest in the family. However, suddenly the family was faced with a new reality. The girl had gone beyond her limit as perceived by the parents. To B conversion to Christianity was nothing but an extension of a behavior that she was accustomed to, even though the context was different and she had taken a drastic step on her own. In fact, she was not sure of her new identity as a Christian, which really did not change anything except that she did not do well in college. To the parents she had: 1) violated the expected code of behavior by her religious conversion as well as by the declaration that she loves the man (a white man who was from a different faith and race); 2) she had been less than responsible in her studies, (the parents, who were professionals, wanted her to become a professional too); 3) she had wasted their hard earned money; and 4) she had demonstrated that she could not handle freedom because she was so easily influenced by her peers.

She did not disagree that she was a disappointment to her parents, but maintained that her priorities were different than those of her parents. She wanted to achieve independence even if she had to quit college, which in fact she did, and moved back to live with her parents. In fact, she wanted to work and then go to college so that she was no longer a burden to her parents. She did have some confusion about life and its purpose in general but wanted some clarity without being a dependent.

Later on she broke off with the Christian group when she learned that her boyfriend was being influenced by the pastor. However, she then tried to see if her

boyfriend, who was also confused, would also break away from the church.

She completed a short term course to become a bank teller. She was willing to support the parents who had been laid off by the time her relationship became known to them. Later she moved out of the parent's home and, as the parents moved out of town, she again established the relationship with the young man, married him, enrolled in the college and completed the degree.

The brief description above reveals the dynamic nature of interaction that was going on, as well as the constant effort of the young woman to achieve her goal to keep up the friendship with her boyfriend and be acceptable to her parents. The parents' view could be understood from their expectation. Both views are rational from each others' thinking, and calling one view rational or more rational than the other would mean taking a side.

Following the phenomenological perspective, the professional played the role of a negotiator between the parents and the daughter. The professional did not impose his interpretations and make judgments about the situation. He educated all the persons involved in terms of each others' expectations and provided support and understanding.

The education was critical for the parents because of the cultural background (Asian Indian) of the family. Even though the parents would allow the daughter to select her own partner under pressure, they would have preferred a man of Asian Indian origin. The young woman thought that by attaining the age of 18 she could exercise

her right to being independent because she found herself in a situation which demanded (if she wanted to remain with the man she loved) a decision that was different from the expectation of her parents.

Professional as Educator: A male child was brought by his stepmother to the social workers. She complained that the boy had a serious behavior disorder requiring institutionalization. The workers' examination revealed that the stepmother, who had married the father, had previously tried to place the boy with other agencies and failed. These agencies did not find the boy's behavior to be so problematic as to require institutionalization. This case was presented to the staff meeting of social workers who diagnosed him from psychopath to neurotic. The problem might have been (as acknowledged by the social worker) that the stepmother did not like the boy and wanted to get rid of him. By making a case for his behavior disorder she could achieve her goal. Once the problem is understood in this manner it shows that the mother is very rational. In order to achieve her goal she resorted to a game plan in which she would be able to institutionalize the child without offending the father, her husband, and could make the state pay.

This case presents a dilemma. The woman believed that the child did have a behavior disorder and she could not manage him. We cannot say she is lying. She might be experiencing a false sense of reality which could be called deception. But such a judgment assumes that the agency's judgment about the boy was absolutely accurate, which may not be so. Let us assume she was lying and appear to accept the deception. The consequences are: 1) not accepting the deception will mean she is doing something

which is considered to be socially undesirable and also she will lose her husband because he would not abandon the boy; 2) even if she accepted the judgment of what might have gone through her mind, the social worker had a limited choice within the social and cultural values of our society, (that is, the social worker cannot allow her to place the child) therefore, she would not get anything out of this choice.

The social worker might have confronted the client after she had developed rapport with the mother. The mother may still disagree with the assumed motivation. Additionally the father could be brought into the picture to learn his understanding and his role in the situation. In any event the social worker finally will be asked to make judgment whether or not to commit society's resources, which might work to the detriment of the boy. Thus she can refuse the placement but she has to make sure that her judgment was made based on information collected from all parties, including the agency's role as an institution, of society and make sure that the parents understand it. Phenomenological perspective therefore does not always solve a dilemma that a professional is likely to face. What it can do however, is to sensitize the professional toward a) giving complete attention to the understanding of the problem by the client; b) providing facts and alternatives which might reeducate the client; and c) becoming aware of when she has assumed the role of protecting the society as she did in denying the placement. This assumed role should be shared with the client.

The individuals affect each others' actions and these actions are contextual and they are comprised of meaning; yet the knowledge about an individual's meanings and

judgment of his behavior is glossed over.¹² Such a glossing over takes place because the judgment of the professional dealing with the situation is considered to be more authentic than the individual who is experiencing the problem. This point has been adequately demonstrated in one of the several studies by Burkholdt and Gubrium.¹³

In one of their studies of emotionally disturbed children, they reported an interesting episode. In a classroom Mrs. M gives the assignment. N finished early and announced it. Mrs. M praised him. W sitting next to N did not like this and calls him a bastard but Mrs. M did not hear it. W kept on teasing N until he kicked W which was noticed by Mrs. M. Mrs. M scolded N. N tried to explain to her but she did not allow him, which made him more angry and abusive. Consequently, N was dragged into the hall by Mrs. M to put him in an isolated room. N, sobbing, complained and tried to free himself from Mrs. M's tight grip and bumped into her. Mrs. M put N into an isolated room for the reason "out of control and hitting staff."

The above case is illustrative of the exercise of Mrs. M's professional authority and judgement which did not help improve the situation. Rather it became detrimental to the boy. If the professional had allowed N to explain his reasons for kicking W the whole event might present a different situation. Allowing N to define the situation as perceived and experienced by him would have been guided by phenomenological perspective.

Professional as a service provider: In another study of the staffings, Gubrium, et al¹⁴ found that even though care plans are guided by the problems in need of care, the approaches to the care, and the care goals;

staffers were concerned mainly with the problems of management of clients. If there were no problems of management, then the guidelines referred to above were brought up. Staffers engaged in considerable discussion about their own interpretations of the problem. They, in fact, ended up producing their own deliberated and discussed account of the problem without any reference to the individual patient's subjective world. In addition, since service agencies had been funded by the government, the tasks of judgment about the presenting problem, and the approaches, the goals were derived from the standard forms developed by the funding agency. This happens very often when mental health agencies have to fit the client's problem within the categories of D.S.M. III for the funding agency.

The study of staffings reveals that professionals who serve clients within an organization are expected to deal with competing interests. On one hand the professionals are socialized by their respective professions to serve the client. On the other hand they are socialized by the organizations they work in to help maintain the organization as a priority which has been called bureaucratization by Blair, Hall, Youldrus, Angel, and others.¹⁵ Whenever the two interests are in competition, the professional has to make the decision to balance the two or give priority to one over the other. In the examples cited by Gubrium, the organization's interests have been given higher priority. Phenomenological perspective will require professionals to understand and analyze the content and meanings of the client who is experiencing the problem, which therefore might enhance the concern of service to client, however it will not guarantee that the added information insulates the professional from

bureaucratization. The phenomenological approach is also more client centered and is compatible with the claim of the principle of non-judgement by the profession of social work. Elucidating client centered thinking Barret-Lennard wrote:

"...that human beings act on and respond to reality as they individually experience and perceive it to be, that man is continually relating to his phenomenal field or environment, of which part of the core is his own self perceived identity."16

Professional as a symbol of authority. Another important issue is the use of authority by the professional. In many of the above examples the problems were defined by the professional, who had authority without reference to the context in which the problem arose, and to the meanings and judgments of the individuals who were experiencing them. The professionals were making judgments based on their background assumptions and theoretical preferences among disciplines or other concerns. It, in fact, looked like a judicial process by which various judges in power deliver verdicts based on their understanding. We as professionals may not want to place ourselves in this role; however, we end up playing into this role despite our best intentions.

What then can be done? The best solution is to bring the context of the situation and the meanings of the subject into the understanding of the problem. This will help us to understand the problem as perceived by the individual who experiences it. Such an understanding of the problem also opens the way to discuss the possible solutions with the individual client as

he/she sees it. These solutions have to be thought and worked out with the individual client. This approach will prevent the professional from imposing his background assumptions and judgments on the client. This will also result in keeping charge of the client's problem as well as solutions with himself/herself.

Some instances however might produce a dilemma, particularly in the areas of behaviors which are clearly defined as deviant in the society, or behaviors that are harmful to individuals themselves, but they refuse to acknowledge or change themselves. The former may be exemplified by an individual who makes his living by stealing and does not want to change. The latter will include problems such as smoking, alcoholism, and drug addiction. In such cases the professional can educate them about the consequences of their behavior and finally leave the choices with them. Imposition of the professional's judgment will amount to carrying the social control functions. It may be argued that if the educational advice is not followed then the problem will not be resolved. However, the exercise of social control by the professional does not guarantee the change in behavior anyway. It might, in fact, produce resentment.

Other areas of confusion and dilemma may be when the behavior is not clearly defined as deviant. It is exemplified by a premarital sexual relation and an out-of-wedlock pregnancy or an act of abortion. Here the professional again can understand and follow the problem within the context of the situation as understood by the individuals and its solutions thereof. He/she can make alternative suggestions and explore implications of each. The final decision should lie with the individual. The

individual then will be making a decision with full understanding of its consequences. If the decision happens to go against the mores accepted by the society, then society might impose controls, and the individual is aware of such controls in advance as a result of counseling. Thus the individual would have full responsibility as well as would have the right to make the decisions.

The discussion of cases highlighted the clients' view of their situation and the role of professionals (social workers in some instances) in those situations following the phenomenological perspective. The roles discussed are not exhaustive. The captions have been identified to capture and describe the on going process relevant to each situation. As is evident from the discussions, the phenomenological perspective emphasizes understanding of the presented problem as viewed by the client. The professional and the client negotiate to arrive at a common understanding of the situation and the meaning both can agree on.

The knowledge of theories and experience is used by the professional to provide insight to the client and it is done in a manner that the client has full freedom to accept or reject those insights as relevant to his/her situation. Theoretical knowledge is used as a heuristic device in understanding the problem. The professional presents his/her insights in a language which is commonly understood by the client, recognizing fully that language can be very intimidating for the client. Thus the process an individual utilizes to understand his/her problem, and make sense of it, is also utilized by the professional. The professional in fact becomes a party who wants to understand this process that only the client has access to. This process

allows the client to fully participate in understanding his/her problem and also be educated about it without losing control of the situation and be responsible and responsive to his/her situation. This also allows the professional to become knowledgeable about the process individual clients utilize to make sense to themselves about their situation and their response to it. The former fits into the professional value of the individual's right of self determination and the latter provides a theoretical frame of understanding individual problems.

It can thus be concluded that a phenomenological perspective provides to the professionals a philosophical and theoretical frame which allows recognition of the individual's rights and responsibility and is useful to understand his/her problems and its solutions in a manner which might prove to be more effective in the long run.

FOOTNOTES

1. Filmer, Paul; Philipson, Michael; Silverman, David; and Walsh, David. New Directions in Sociological Theory (London: Collier-MacMillan Publishers), p. 4.
2. Berger, P. Sociology Reinterpreted. Anchor Books, (New York: Garden City, Anchor Press/Doubleday) 1981.
3. Schutz, A. Collected Papers, Vol. 1. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962).

4. Natanson, M. in A. Schutz Collected Papers, Vol. 1. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1962), Editor's Introduction, p. IXVI.
5. Ibid. IXVII.
6. Thomas, W. I. "The Definition of the Situation," The Unadjusted Girl. (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1931), pp. 41-50.
7. Shibutani, Tamotsu. "Reference Camps as Perspectives," American Journal of Sociology, 60 (May 1955): 562-569.
8. Thomas, Op. cit.
9. Berger, P. and Luckmann, Thomas. The Social Construction of Reality, (New York: Garden City, Doubleday and Company Inc.) 1966, pp. 3-17.
10. Mead, G. H. Mind, Self, and Society. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1967). Sections 22, 25, 27, 35.
11. Mead. Ibid. J. Piaget and B. Inhelder. The Gaps in Empericism. A. Koestler and I. R. Smythies, eds., 1969.
12. Buckholdt, David R. and Gubrium, Jaber F. Toward Maturity (Washington: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1977), p. 40.

13. Buckholdt, David R. and Gubrium, Jaber F. Caretakers: Treating Emotionally Disturbed Children (Beverly Hills, California: Sage, 1979).
14. Buckholdt, David R. and Gubrium, Jaber F. "Doing Staffings," Human Organization, Vol. 38, No. 3, 1979; p. 255-64.
15. Blau, P. and Scott, Richard. Formal Organizations. San Francisco, California, 1962. Hall, Richard, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," American Sociological Review 3 (Feb. 1968): 92; 104. Gouldner, Alvin, Cosmopolitans and Locals: Towards an Analysis of Latent Social Roles; Administrative Science Quarterly 2, 1957: 281-306, 444-480. Engel, Gloria, "Professional Autonomy and Bureaucratic Organization," Administrative Science Quarterly, 1970, 15: 12-21.
16. Barrett-Lennard, G. T. "The Client-Centered System Unfolding" in Social Work Treatment, Francis J. Turner, ed. (New York).

Health and Social Welfare Needs of the Elderly:
A Preliminary Study*

Baxter Wright, Ph.D.**, Bruce A. Thyer, Ph.D.
and

Diana DiNitto, Ph.D.
Florida State University

*Portions of this paper were presented at the annual meeting of the National Council of Community Mental Health Centers, Washington, D.C. 1985.

**Correspondence may be addressed to Baxter Wright, Ph.D., School of Social Work, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306.

Abstract

In a period of shrinking fiscal resources it is especially important that budgetary decision-making processes be based upon empirical data relating to the actual health and social service needs of the elderly. The present study consisted of a comprehensive survey of the social service needs of a random sample of 75 normative elderly citizens drawn from a multi-ethnic population. The results provide a preliminary data-base for administrative and policy-making bodies to allocate scarce social service resources.

In an era of shrinking fiscal resources and drastic cuts in the provision of human services, funding decisions and budgetary allotments are often made on the basis of special interest group pressures, arbitrary preference or in response to the latest fad 'need' which has caught the public interest. Obviously it is vital that the available resources allocated to community mental health and other social service needs be distributed on a more equitable and rational basis.

The expanding empirical research literature examining the health and social service utilization patterns of the elderly usually follows an analytic model developed by Roland Andersen and his colleagues (Andersen, Kravits & Anderson, 1976; Andersen et al., 1976; Andersen & Newman, 1973) which identifies three distinct factors linked to the use of social services. Andersen's model consists of evaluating need factors, enabling factors and predisposing factors, and isolating their relative predictive power in accounting for actual service use. Need factors are estimates of current medical or psychosocial problems, including physical health status, psychological or social resources and unmet needs relating to housing, transportation, etc. Predisposing factors are variables which influence the probability that available health and social service resources will be utilized, factors such as housing location, gender, education etc. Enabling factors consist of variables which overtly help or hinder one's potential use of services, such as the availability of transportation, insurance coverage, financial resources, etc.

Attempts to employ this model have been only partly successful. Krout (1984) derived a regression equation which accounted for 41% of the variance of the service utilization patterns of 250 elderly residents of a small city. However, fully 39% of this explained variance was attributable to the simple awareness by the individual of the existence of the service in question. The combination of other need, predisposing or enabling factors contributed the residual 2% of the explained variance. In general, Krout (1984) found that actual service use was quite low, ranging from 4% to 16% of his sample, depending on the service in question. Similarly low patterns of service usage by the elderly have been reported by a number of researchers (Downing, 1957; Powers & Bultena, 1974; Roos & Shapiro, 1981), suggesting that it is crucial to target available social service funding to programs which actually provide necessary services for the elderly, as opposed to those intuitively deemed as needed.

The literature on the correlates of social service use is largely descriptive in nature and has not produced any consistent findings. Coulton and Frost (1982) reviewed this research and reported the results

of their study on the use of health and social services by the elderly, employing a sample of 1834 noninstitutionalized residents of Cleveland, Ohio, over 60 years of age. Their regression analyses found that Andersen's enabling and predisposing factors accounted for little of the variance on service usage, whereas need factors had relatively high predictive power, contributing to 11% of the total variance (12%) of medical service usage, 23% of the total variance (26%) relating to mental health care, and 42% of the total variance (43%) of personal care services, and 20% of the total variance (25%) relating to recreational service usage. This model, which is clearly not adequate to fully account for health and welfare service utilization, nevertheless points to the importance of perceived need factors as critical elements in determining such usage. Coulton and Frost (1982) note that little research on the correlates of service usage actually measures perceived needs of the elderly, focusing instead upon predisposing and enabling factors. This omission probably explains why efforts to account for utilization are not more successful. Lareau (1983) recently conducted a national survey and review of current research methodologies employed in conducting needs assessments of the elderly, and found that most needs assessment studies are methodologically quite weak. The five procedures most commonly employed for needs assessments with the elderly are, according to Lareau (1983): 1. surveys of elderly respondents; 2. the use of secondary data, i.e. census figures; 3. using key community informants; 4. public hearings; and 5. obtaining service use statistics. The individually conducted survey of elderly citizens, if randomly obtained, is the research methodology deemed most likely to provide accurate information on the service needs of the population of interest (Lareau, 1983).

Formal assessments of the health and social service needs of the elderly seem indicated for at least 2 reasons: 1. to provide increasingly accurate and predictive models of service utilization (Coulton & Frost, 1982) and 2. to enable social service funding decisions to be made on an empirical basis, instead of in response to the most influential special interest group. The present study is a preliminary investigation on the health and social service needs of elderly residents of the state of Florida, in an attempt to

determine those services for which there is the greatest perceived need.

METHOD

Sample

This study was carried out in a north Florida community with a population of about 103,000 (74.35 white and 25.7% black). Persons aged 60 and older comprise 12.3% of this population (Thompson, 1980).

A random probability approach was used to select the sample. Within the county, random addresses were selected from the telephone directory and given to each interviewer, who used that address as a starting point by canvassing the household immediately to the left of the starting address. Interviewers canvassed this household and every third residence along a predetermined route until three elderly respondents had been successfully interviewed. Congregate living quarters were handled in the same manner as city blocks. The interviewers were undergraduate social work students enrolled in a course on interviewing who had received extensive pretraining prior to beginning the study. Copies of the interview protocol and the questionnaire measures are available from the senior author. The entire interview required approximately 1½ hours to complete and respondents were not compensated for their time. The results pertaining to social service needs are presented below, and formed a small part of our overall study.

Results

Selected demographic characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

The sample was 53% female and 19% of the respondents were black. Sixty-eight per cent were between the ages of 60-69 years and 63% were married. Only 16% were currently employed and the modal educational level was a high school diploma. Thirty-one per cent of the sample reported a monthly household income of less than \$600.00 per month. Seventy-three per cent of the respondents relied on social security income as a major

source of financial support. All respondents reported that they were U.S. citizens and 87% were registered voters.

Respondents separately replied to a series of questions pertaining to their current and future perceived health and social welfare needs. Our list of 18 potential health and social service needs consisted of both services which were actually available to the respondents and those we felt may be of value to the elderly. Thirteen of the following items were drawn from a previous needs assessment study conducted by the state of Florida (CSR, Inc., 1980). Based upon our previous contacts with Florida's elderly we added an additional five items to this previous needs assessment instrument. The items we included are denoted by an asterisk. Each respondent was asked if they needed the following services, currently, or expected to need them in the future: home repair services, chore services*, transportation services, group recreational services for senior citizens, home health aide, periodic health screening, assistance in cooking and preparing meals, legal assistance, day care services*, counseling services, respite care*, emergency response services*, telephone reassurance, escort services, continuing education, friendly visits, home companionship* and shopping assistance.

The perceived need rankings of these services are listed in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

Respondents ranked periodic health screening and emergency response services as the greatest current needs (23% each), while the three highest perceived needs for the future were seen to be periodic health screening (59%), home health aid (54%) and emergency response services (52%). This suggests that the most salient current needs for the elderly are related to physical health, and that these needs are seen as likely to become more pressing in the future. Counseling services and continuing education programs ranked low on both lists of perceived needs, with more concrete or custodial services (i.e. transportation programs, chore

assistance, legal aid, etc. falling in the middle of the rankings.

A Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient performed between the current and future rankings was .87 ($p = .01$), indicating that the perceived needs of the elderly are likely to remain stable over time.

Discussion

There are a number of limitations in this preliminary study's methodology. Although a trained interviewer was present to clarify any questions, respondents may not have fully understood the meaning of some of the social service needs enumerated in the protocol. Our list of such needs, although largely based on a previously conducted statewide needs assessment of the elderly, represented a set of 'closed-ended' response categories. It is possible that by simply asking each respondent, in an 'open-ended' question format, to describe their social service and health care needs, we may have obtained radically different results. We suggest that future needs assessments combine a finite set of need categories with a series of more open-ended questions, permitting the interviewer to more adequately assess the respondent's needs and to help avoid, in part, the introduction of biases on the part of the researchers.

Given these limitations, the data from our preliminary sample indicate that the social services most needed by the elderly are related to physical health, followed by the provision of concrete or custodial services and assistance. Counseling and continuing education programs ranked low on both lists but it should be noted that approximately 20% of our sample indicated the need for such services in the future, even though they may not be necessary now. From our results it would appear that the greatest return for the expenditure of public and private welfare funds may be obtained through the provision of physical health care services.

REFERENCES

- Andersen, R., Kravits, J. and Anderson, O. (1976).
Equality in Health Services. Cambridge, MA:
Ballinger.

- Andersen, R. et al. (1976). Two Decades of Health Services: Social Survey Trends in Use and Expenditure, Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.
- Andersen, R. and Newman, J. (1973). Societal and individual determinants of medical care utilization in the United States. Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 51, 95-124.
- Coulton, C. and Frost, A. K. (1982). Use of social and health services by the elderly. Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 23, 330-339.
- CRS, Inc. (1980). Statewide needs assessment of Florida's over sixty population. (Technical Proposal No. 80-15). Available from CSR., Inc., Suite 500, 805-15th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20005.
- Downing, J. (1957). Factors affecting the selective use of a social club for the aged. Journal of Gerontology, 12, 81-84.
- Krout, J. A. (1984). Utilization of services by the elderly. Social Service Review, 58, 281-290.
- Lareau, L. S. (1983). Needs assessment of the elderly: Conclusions and methodological approaches. The Gerontologist, 23, 518-526.
- Powers, E. and Bultena, G. (1974). Correspondence between anticipated and actual uses of public service by the aged. Social Service Review, 48, 245-254.
- Roos, N. and Shapiro, E. (1981). The Manitoba longitudinal study on aging: Preliminary findings on health care utilization by the elderly. Medical Care, 19, 644-657.
- Thompson, R. B. (1980). Florida statistical abstract. Gainesville, FL: The University Presses of Florida.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of Sample

(Totals may not equal 100% due to rounding)

<u>Sex</u>	(%)	<u>Education</u>	(%)
Male	47	8 years or less	13
Female	53	9 - 11 years	11
		12 years	31
<u>Age</u>	(%)	13-15 years	16
60-64	36	4 year degree	16
65-69	32	graduate studies	8
70-74	14.7	trade school	5
75-79	9.3	<u>Total Monthly Income</u>	(%)
80-84	8	0 - \$300.00	20
<u>Race</u>	(%)	\$400 - \$599	11
white	81	\$600 - \$799	9
black	19	\$800 - \$999	2
		\$1000 - \$1199	4
		\$1200 - \$1399	13
		\$1400 plus	37
<u>Marital Status</u>	(%)	<u>Employment Status</u>	(%)
married	63	employed	16
separated	1	unemployed	84
divorced	5		
widowed	25		
single	5		

Table 2. Priority rankings of social service needs
of the elderly

<u>RANK</u>	<u>CURRENTLY NEED</u> (% in need)	<u>FUTURE NEEDS</u> (% in need)
1	Periodic Health Screening(23%) (greatest need)	Periodic Health Screening(59%)
2	Emergency Response Services(23%)	Home Health Aid(54%)
3	Friendly Visits(20%)	Emergency Response Services(52%)
4	Chore Services(20%)	Home Repair Services(52%)
5	Transportation Services(19%)	Chore Services(48%)
6	Home Repair Services(16%)	Transportation Services(44%)
7	Group Recreation(15%)	Friendly Visits(44%)
8	Companionship(11%)	Meal Assistance(41%)
9	Home Health Aid(10%)	Group Recreation(40%)
10	Legal Assistance(10%)	Legal Assistance(36%)
11	Telephone Reassurance(8%)	Escort Services(31%)
12	Meal Assistance(6%)	Telephone Reassurance(28%)
13	Shopping Assistance(6%)	Shopping Assistance(28%)
14	Counseling Services(5%)	Companionship(26%)
15	Escort Services(5%)	Counseling Services(23%)
16	Respite Care(2%)	Continuing Education(19%)
17	Continuing Education(2%)	Day Care(17%)
18	Day Care(2%) (least need)	Respite Care(16%)

Manuscripts should be sent to:

Robert D. Leighninger, Jr.
School of Social Work OR Department of Sociology
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Mi. 49008

Please submit three copies. Manuscripts are reviewed anonymously; please omit names and affiliations from the title page and make any internal self-reference in the third person. Manuscripts will not be returned. Reviewing normally takes 45-60 days but can take longer in the case of split recommendations. Authors should feel free to write or call the editor if they feel an undue amount of time has elapsed.

The Journal welcomes a broad range of articles which analyze social welfare institutions, policies, or problems from a sociological perspective or otherwise attempt to bridge the gap between social science theory and social work practice.

Books for review should be sent to:

Shimon Gottschalk
School of Social Work
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida.

Subscriptions to the Journal may be obtained by writing to:

Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare
University of Connecticut
School of Social Work
1800 Asylum Avenue
West Hartford, Ct. 06117

Volume XII (1985)	Individual in U. S.	\$15
	Individual outside U. S.	20
	Institution in U. S.	25
	Institution outside U. S.	30
	Student in U. S.	12

Individual issues and back issues are available.
Price on request.

Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare
UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

1800 ASYLUM AVENUE

WEST HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT 06117

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

NON PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
HARTFORD, CT
PERMIT #5050



ISSN:0191-5096