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# Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare



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Cover: Charlotte Goroff

## A FEW PARTING WORDS

by

Norman N. Goroff

The publication of this issue brings to an end thirteen years of my involvement with this Journal as Managing Editor, Publisher, and Editor. Ralph Segalman and I put the first issue together in the backyard of my house in West Hartford in 1972. The issue was printed in 1973 and marked the beginning of an adventure that has lasted all these years. We advanced the money to pay for the printing of that first issue. The subscriptions that came in enabled us to pay back the advances and to be self-supporting.

We established a policy of inclusivness rather than exclusivness. Members of the editorial board worked with authors in order to help them bring their manuscripts into publishable form. This Journal has the distinction of publishing more first time authors than any other comparable Journal. We are proud of this achievement.

Two of our special issues were published as books by commercial publishers.

It is possible to list scores of important contributions this Journal has made to the field of social welfare and sociology. However, suffice to say that a group of dedicated people have made possible the development of this Journal and to them I want to say "Thank You."

We are indeed fortunate that our colleagues Bob Leighinger, Dan Thompson and Ed Pawlak at Western Michigan University have agreed to continue to produce the Journal.



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I plan to continue my association with this Journal, but not as managing editor, publisher, subscription manager, mailing clerk and treasurer all at the same time. I can now devote my attention to helping authors publish their works.

I am pleased to be able to say that I helped create this Journal. It is an opportunity that comes along very rarely.

To all my colleagues and friends, I wish a long life of meaningful activities in trying to create a humane world

Peace, Love and Justice

THE DEFINITION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS:  
DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS OF ISRAELI SOCIAL  
WORKERS AND WOMEN

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ABSTRACT

Recent social changes have intensified and created special problems and needs among women. However, social work schools have not included women's studies as part of the overall curriculum. This Israeli study examined the congruence of women's needs as perceived by women clients and as perceived by social workers, to see whether a specialized training program is needed. Fifty low-socioeconomic status women, 141 women selected from the general population, and 16 social workers from the same community were presented with a list of 21 problem areas known to be pertinent to women. The group of 50 women equally represented homemakers, divorced, widowed, elderly and battered women. Half of this group received treatment by social workers. Results indicated an incongruence between the needs and problems as detailed by women and the ways social workers perceived their needs. It was found that social workers gave priority to family problems, whereas women gave priority to developing individual interests. The dif-



ferent groups form women were found to be similar in defining their needs and problems and ordering their priorities.

A comparison among the different sub-groups of women, revealed the battered wives to suffer from the most severe problems and the homemakers to have the least.

-----

Social work has been known as a "women's field", because most clients and the majority of social workers are women.[1] Recently, and perhaps belatedly social workers are awakening to women's issues and their impact on the profession. The November 1977 issue of Social Work was devoted to articles showing how sexism determines the structure of social work. For example, males have more status in the field and most social work executives, administrators, supervisors and educators are men. Women in the social work profession receive lower salaries than their male counterparts. [2]

An important direction has been to examine the effects of conditioning on social workers and their sex-role biases in treatment. Research has accumulated documenting the therapist biases concerning women. The now classic Broverman, et. al. study [3] has shown that therapists apply different standards of mental health to males and females, and that health for women may be perceived as including traits devalued in our society. Data has shown that sex-role discrepant behaviors are judged by therapists to be more maladjusted [4]. Wesley [5], noted the need to train therapists to be effective in helping women achieve their individual potential and the need for therapists to be aware of their own social conditioning and biases.

Kravetz noted that theories influence the way problems are perceived, the strategies by which they are addressed and treatment goals. She points out that the social work curriculum is based on theories which reinforce the traditional view of women and which tend to see women within the context of her social roles [6].

Women in our society have traditionally been defined, and have defined themselves, in terms of family roles. Women receiving services in the health care system are often pressured to assume more family responsibility than they may desire, [7] while women who receive help in situations of sex counseling [8] or who seek marriage counseling [9] are faced with institutions which view the maintenance of the family as a top priority. Social work curricula may encourage these trends by not stressing this basic conflict for women and by teaching family treatment theories which ignore these issues [10].

The social work profession has come under attack for its overall lack of concern with women's issues. To date there have been few need assessment surveys pertaining to various populations of women. Little research has been generated about whether social work practice meets these needs. Many of the innovative programs for women, such as the battered wife or rape victims, have not resulted from the mainstream of the social work establishment. Rather these women have found help within alternative services, often initiated and staffed by non-professionals and paraprofessionals. Gottlieb, in her book on alternative services for women, stresses that women are negatively effected by the institutional sexism found in traditional social service practice [11]. One way in which women may be harmed would be if their need for help in breaking out of traditional roles and their need for help in personal development are

unmet within traditional social work practice, or if these needs are viewed as less important than concerns related to family issues.

In sum, it would seem important to study the problem areas and needs of women who are normally seen by social workers. One question of interest would be whether the population of women seen by social workers and the general population express similar types of needs. Another issue of concern is whether social workers perceive the same priority of needs as their women clients. For example, women are often in conflict between their personal needs, such as for advancement in their work, and their family roles. It is of interest whether social workers perceive this area as a problem for women.

This study will assess needs of different populations of women known to social workers and in the general population. In addition, it will examine the priorities that social workers set in their perceptions of which problem areas are of concern to women, and will look at the degree of match between social workers' and women's perceptions.

## Method

### Subjects

Subjects were from three different population of women. fifty of low-socioeconomic status, 142 women from the general population, and 16 social workers constitute the sample of this study. All subjects live and/or work in a small town in Israel (population = 30,000).

The group of 50 low-SES women equally represented homemakers (n=10), divorced women (n=10), elderly women (n=10) and battered wives (n=10). Half of this group was in treatment during the study in the local social

welfare agency, while the other half were not in treatment but had been in social treatment at some point and all lived in a low-income community. The average of the total group was 38 (not including the elderly women). All of them were mothers (3.6 was the average number of children). Only three were university graduates and these three were divorced. For the total group, the educational level was: no education (n=10), elementary education (n=21), and high school (n=16). Only 15 of these women worked outside the home, although 31 subjects reported having some work experience.

In the general population sample the age ranged from 20 to 70 years, with an average of 37. The majority of women (n=19) were married, and with children. Their level of education was: university (n=35), high school (n=50), and elementary education (n=42). Fifty-nine were homemakers and the rest worked outside the home.

### Selection of Subjects

The low-SES group were located by the local social workers and by health professionals in the community (public health nurses and doctors). In the general population group, selection was made by randomly approaching women who were visiting local community agencies (not social welfare), supermarkets, social clubs, well-baby clinics, health clinics and social clubs. The 16 social workers represent the total number of social work professionals working in the government social welfare agency of this town. Data was collected in 1983.

### The Instrument

A review of the current research and theoretical literature on women revealed 13 problem areas of concern to women. These areas were chosen due to their frequency of appear-



ance in the literature, and do not constitute an exhaustive list of all problem areas. These areas of concern to women include:

1) Role conflict: Women have to face problems of different and often conflicting behavioral demands from different role positions in society, such as conflicts between wife-mother roles and worker roles [12].

2) Life Stress: Women face more life events viewed as stressful [13].

3) Mental health: Women have been found to face difficult mental health problems, such as depression and agoraphobia. In addition, they have to deal with noxious stereotypes from mental health professionals about what constitutes mental health for women [14].

4) Lack of time for oneself: Women have been expected primarily to nurture others and to put their own needs as secondary to those in their social environment. This creates lack of time to devote to themselves in pursuing their own interests [15].

5) Physical health: Women face many physical health problems related to childbearing and problems in negotiating the health delivery system related to stereotypes about women and paternalistic behavior from medical staff [16].

6) Loneliness: Women often face living and raising children alone, including the financial stress of maintaining a family and the emotional stress of facing life tasks without partners [17].

7) Family conflicts: Women have been viewed and often view themselves as responsible for the well being of their families. In addition, they have been blamed by the helping professions for children's symptoms and mar-

riage difficulties [18].

8) Unclear life goals: Women have not been encouraged to take charge of their lives and plan their future goals. This has resulted in minimal career plans and limited planning for financial crises after a spouse dies [19].

9) Dependency: Women have been trained from an early age to be financially and emotionally dependent on others, resulting in the lack of development of adequate self-esteem [20].

10) Sex: Women have suffered from stereotypic behaviors and expectations in the area of sex, including lack of correct information about sexuality (i.e., the myth of the vaginal orgasm), and inhibitory expectations (i.e., "nice" girls don't enjoy or initiate sex) [21].

11) Contraceptives: Women have been traditionally held responsible for the area of contraceptives and have had to cope not only with the selection and use of contraceptives, but with the results of not using contraceptives [22].

12) Non-traditional roles: Women have been confined to a limited selection of life roles and styles, which in the past has made it difficult for some, such as singles and lesbians, to pursue alternative life styles [23].

13) Guilt feelings: Women have faced societal and internalized guilt feelings due to their extreme sense of responsibility for areas relating to human relations [24].

This list represents a first attempt to generate a generic questionnaire that may be used in comparing different populations of women.

The 13 problem areas were given in two

different formats to the different populations. The first format involved a checklist of problem areas, with the instructions: Do you, as a woman, feel some difficulty in any of the listed areas? Please check any area that is a problem for you. This format was given to the general population. A similar checklist was given to the social workers, with the instructions: "Which of the following problem areas are problematic for your client? Please check any area that you consider to be a problem for your clients".

A second format of the questionnaire was used as an interview schedule. Problem areas, listed in the same order as the checklist, were used as stimuli for discussion with the low-SES group. This group was asked about each area: "Some women say that (problem area) is a problem for them. Is this true for you? If so, please give us some details about how this area is a problem to you".

### Procedure

The questionnaire for the general population was completed on the spot, wherever the women as approached. As the check list required only a few minutes of their time, women generally cooperated by filling out the questionnaire immediately. The social workers completed the checklist at their place of work. Interviews with the low-SES women usually lasted about two hours each and took place in the morning hours, or after work. During the interviews, a wealth of information about the lives of these women was gathered. This study presents only the quantitative information showing whether or not the problem areas were of concern to these women.

The interviewer waited for a "yes/no" answer from each subject before discussing further details in an attempt to make the

interview conditions more similar to the checklist questionnaire method. However, one possible bias cannot be overlooked. For the low-SES group there was an opportunity to request clarification about the meaning of an item, while this possibility did not exist for the other groups. Thus a problem would be the degree to which the interviewer "explained" an item and created additional input. However, the interviewer had no hypothesis as to which items would be frequently endorsed. As the same interviewer was used throughout the study, all clarification attempts to the low-SES group were similar.

## Results

Results were analyzed in terms of the number and percent of subjects endorsing each item for each of the three groups: low SES women, general population shows their major concern (92%; n=46) to be lack of time for themselves. Table 1 shows the results for this group, separately.

While homemakers, widowed, elderly, divorced and battered women are similar in their mutual concerns about lack of time for themselves, some differences between the subgroups are also evident. Life stress is of major concern to all the subgroups except the homemakers. In general, the subgroup of homemakers endorsed fewer problem areas than the other subjects.

Homemakers' five major concerns, in order, were: lack of time for self, physical health, family conflicts, mental health and non-traditional roles. For the widowed group, the major areas of concern were; lack of time for self, life stress, loneliness, unclear life goals, physical health, role conflict and dependency. for the elderly women, the major problem areas were: lack of time for self,



life stress, physical health, loneliness, mental health and role conflict. This group is characterized by its relatively high percentage ratings of problem areas, as opposed to the group of homemakers. Divorced women ranked as problematic: life stress, loneliness, lack of time for self, mental health, role conflict, family conflict, dependency and lack of time for self. This group also demonstrated higher rankings in general than the other groups, with four of the items ranked as problematic for 100% of the women, two as problematic for 90% and two as problematic for 80%, This was also the only group that ranked sex as a major concern.

Comparison between the three samples shows a moderate correlation of ranking between the low SES women and the general population (Spearman rank order correlation = .34, p). However, there was a low correlation between the social workers' perception of the low SES women rank ordering of problems and the true rank ordering by the low SES women group (Spearman rank order correlation = .17). Table 2 summarizes the results for the three groups.

In reviewing the results of this analysis, it can be seen that social workers assessed the following variables as less problematic for the low SES women than these women assessed the same variables: lack of time for one's self, life stress, mental health, physical health, role conflict, unclear life goals and guilt feelings. For all these items, except guilt feelings, the social workers underestimated the seriousness of the problem area for the women. With regard to guilt feelings, the social workers overestimated this item's seriousness.

The top five items seen as problems for these women by social workers were: Family conflict, guilt feelings, dependency, loneliness and physical health, whereas the top five

items the women themselves ranked were: lack of time for self, life stress, mental health, physical health and role conflict. Thus, social workers correctly perceived as problematic only one item (physical health) in the top five items ranked by both samples. Of special note is the finding that guilt feelings were seen as second in importance by the social workers and yet was last in the list of 13 items ranked by the women themselves.

While the general population was similar in ranking to the low SES women, it may be noted that the degree to which problems were rated is considerably lower in the general population. The items rated as less problematic were: life stress, mental health, physical health, role conflict, loneliness, family conflict, dependence and contraceptives. Interestingly, the general population group rated guilt as more problematic than the low SES group.

## Discussion

This study has looked at the problem areas perceived by different populations of Israeli women and perceived by social workers as characterizing their clients. It has been a first step in determining needs of women and their assessment by social work professionals. Social Work has recently been concerned with effectiveness and improving delivery to clients, many of whom are women. Social work practice can only be improved by more clarity as to goals and by better matching between client expectations and social workers' expectations for therapy and therapy goals. Such matching can occur when social workers correctly perceive the needs of their women clients.

This study has shown that social workers in this sample did not correctly perceive

their clients' needs. The primary finding of interest is that low socio-economic women, the bulk of social workers' clients, desire more time for themselves and their own interests. Women in the general population also view time for themselves as top priority. This similarity is especially important in light of the different data collection (questionnaire versus interview) methods used. Social workers did not view this area as an important problem, but rather they perceive the major problem of women as family conflicts. This discrepancy may be based on social workers' stereotypes in which the family roles are seen as major life concerns for women. This finding may also be a result of social workers training. However, it is crucial to note that while social workers believe women need help within their nurturing roles, the women themselves (and the general population of women) need help in giving more to themselves and not necessarily to their families.

Overall, there was little correlation between social workers' perceptions of low socio-economic women's problems and women's own view of their problems. Social workers view guilt as a central concern, while the women themselves placed guilt as last in the list of problem areas. Again, it may be that social workers have been trained to treat problems of an emotional nature, such as guilt or that they themselves (being all women) suffer from guilt feelings and/or stereotypes about guilt in women. The finding about guilt should alert social workers to the possibility of expectancy, in which they may inadvertently reinforce guilt feelings of clients due to their expectation that women clients suffer from guilt feelings. In general, the list of top items generated by social workers shows a stress on feelings, such as loneliness, guilt and dependency, while the top items listed by their client population related more to life

stress, role conflicts and time for self. While mental health was of concern to these women, other areas of real-life stress was more problematic.

These data are a first attempt to give social workers a view of the problems perceived by different groups of women. While in General there was a high correlation between low socio-economic women and the general population, as well as similarities between the needs felt by different types of women in the low SES group, differences of interest did emerge. The general population of women has similar problems but to a lesser extent than the low SES group. These findings would be expected due to the more difficult life situation faced by low SES women. For the low SES group, life stress was the second item rated (84%) while for the general population this item ranked number 13 (15.5%). Thus the degree of life stress experienced by low SES women is significantly greater than for the general population of women. While mental and physical health were of primary concern for both populations of women, it is interesting to note that the general population mentions guilt as a far more important area of concern than low SES population. It may be that low SES women are too involved with daily life struggles to be concerned with guilty feelings. The general population of women ranked non-traditional roles as fifth in their list of concerns, while this was ranked as number 11 by the low SES women. Low SES women, due to their social class, may not consider non-traditional roles as options to the same extent as the general population.

Finally, in looking at the differences within the low SES sample group, it appears that battered wives experience problems to a greater extent than the other subgroups, while homemakers experience less problems than the other subgroups. There is no doubt that the



battered wives group are exposed to far greater stress than the average homemakers, while the homemaker as the protection of a husband's financial and emotional support. Loneliness was experienced especially by the widows, elderly and divorced. Physical health problems were especially noted by the elderly, as was dependency for them and for the battered wives. For the battered wives, sex and contraceptives were more problematic than for the other groups.

It would be important to replicate these findings across cultures, as currently it is impossible to generalize these results to an American sample. However, these findings will hopefully challenge social workers to examine their assumptions about women clients. It may be that more emphasis should be placed in helping women articulate their needs more clearly. There is no doubt that social workers should be more aware of service to women that women want.

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TABLE 1

RATING OF PROBLEMS BY THE LOW SES GROUP  
 WITHIN GROUP VARIABILITY AND OVERALL  
 ENDORSEMENT BY LOW SES WOMEN OF PROBLEM AREAS

---

H = Housewives	W = Widowed	E = Elderly
D = Divorced	B = Battered	

---

Variables	No	%	H	W	E	D	B
1. No time for self	46	92	9	10	10	8	9
2. Life Stress	42	84	3	9	10	10	10
3. Mental health	41	82	6	7	9	9	10
4. Physical health	39	78	7	7	10	7	8
5. Role conflict	39	78	5	7	9	8	10
6. Loneliness	36	72	4	8	10	9	5
7. Family conflicts	36	72	7	6	5	8	10
8. Dependence	32	64	3	7	8	5	9
9. Unclear life goal	28	56	5	8	0	7	8
10. Non-traditional roles	19	38	6	5	3	5	0
11. Sex relations	17	34	2	3	0	4	8
12. Contraceptives	16	32	4	5	0	1	6
13. Guilt feelings	7	14	2	1	1	0	3

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF AREAS RATED PROBLEMATIC  
BY LOW SES WOMEN, GENERAL POPULATION WOMEN  
AND RATING OF CLIENT PROBLEMS BY SOCIAL  
WORKERS

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L = Low SES (N=50)

G = General Population (N=142)

S = Social Workers (N=16)

---

Variables	NUMBER			PERCENT		
	L	G	S	L	G	S
1. No time for self	46	81	5	92	60	31
2. Life Stress	42	20	5	84	15.5	31.1
3. Mental health	42	20	5	84	15.5	31
4. Physical health	39	67	6	78	48.3	37.5
5. Role conflict	39	41	5	78	31.5	31
6. Loneliness	36	38	6	72	29.5	37.5
7. Family conflict	36	49	8	72	40.5	50
8. Unclear life goals	28	59	1	70	45	6
9. Dependence	32	28	7	64	22	44
10. Sex relations	17	30	4	42	26	25
11. Contraceptives	16	26	2	40	23	12
12. Non-traditional roles	19	53	3	38	44.5	18
13. Guilt feelings	7	48	7	14	39	44

# PROFESSIONAL CONTACTS AND PERCEIVED OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

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## ABSTRACT

A random sample of 142 social workers in Israel, were asked to indicate the other professionals whom they meet in the course of their work, and the frequency of these contacts. They were also asked to assess the occupational prestige of social workers relative to that of the other professionals. The findings showed that social workers tended to downgrade their own prestige, the more frequently they met with representatives of occupations which have higher rankings on an objective occupational prestige scale.

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Although social work has been described in the past as an "emerging" profession (Schwartz 1967), there are doubts today about its position and future within the social services (Bell 1983), a struggle is underway for acknowledgment of its vital role in social welfare (Bell 1983; Karger 1983(b); Meyer 1983; Pecora and Austin 1983; Sherer 1986; Tambor 1983). The prestige of a profession may influence its bargaining power on the path toward recognition and development.

Occupational prestige:

All complex societies are characterized by the division of labor, and by an occupational prestige hierarchy. Studies have revealed a



substantial consensus on the relative prestige of occupations (Balkwell, Bates & Garbin, 1982; Hodge, Kraus & Schild 1982; Kraus, Schild & Hodge 1978; Treiman 1977). Knowledge and skill are widely considered the principal basis of occupational prestige, but race, gender, income, training, intelligence, rewards of the job and the overall value of the occupation to society are potential contributing factors. Power, control, authority, and privilege are granted to members of more valued occupations (Balkwell, Bates & Garbin, 1982; Bielby & Kalleberg 1981; Bose & Rossi 1983; Hall 1983; Parcel & Mueller 1983; Ritzer 1972).

#### The Occupational Prestige of Social Work:

Social work prestige has long been a matter of concern. Kadushin (1958) argues that it affects social workers' self concept, their relationships with other professions, their feelings about their jobs, and to some extent, their professional effectiveness.

Social work is usually ranked low in prestige among the professions. Thus Treiman (1977) found that it has an international ranking of 52, on a scale from 1 to 100, while Kraus (1981) reported that in Israel social workers rank 74. Euster (1980a) asked social work educators to rank social work prestige relative to that of 22 other occupations; it emerged in fifteenth place. Similar results were obtained when those educators compared their own prestige with that of their colleagues in 22 other academic disciplines (Euster 1980b). It is possible that the low esteem of social work is partly perpetuated by the low prestige of social workers and social work educators.

Possible sources for the low prestige of social work:

Kadushin (1958) points out that social work is "concerned with problems at which everyone works" (p. 42). The social worker is not seen as a professional possessing superior knowledge and expertise. Kadushin notes, moreover, that women are generally accorded lower prestige than men, and social work is identified as a women's profession. Social workers do not always have the autonomy to make decisions about clients. Low income, articulation of unpopular points of view, and the profession's lack of clear control over an important area of society's life are additional factors which may further erode the profession's prestige. Pollak (1961) like Kadushin (1958), believe that the low status of its clients leads toward the downgrading of social work prestige, as does the term "worker", which has non-professional connotations. Clearfield (1977) suggests that the mass media have contributed to the poor image of social work, whereas Rapoport (1960) argues that the harshest criticism comes from within the profession itself.

In Clearfield's (1977) study, almost 85 percent of the sample of social workers endorsed the statement that "the general public does not properly appreciate the work social workers do, and the profession is not highly regarded by the general public" (p. 26). However, the social workers themselves did seem to believe in the value of the profession to society. Over 80 percent perceived their work as vital, useful, and significant, although they also thought of it as endless, frustrating, and sometimes aggravating. According to Clearfield (1977), "Clearly the overall professional self-image of the respondents was positive" (p. 28). The negative public image of social work did not appear to have much impact on the social workers' self-image.

Although some new directions in the study of occupational prestige have recently appeared (Bielby & Kalleberg, 1981; Parcel & Mueller 1983), the effect of contact between different professions and occupations has not been studied. Our study examines how social workers' perception of their occupational prestige are affected by their professional meetings with other professionals. Since there is an accepted hierarchy of occupational prestige, it seems reasonable to expect representatives of occupations with different prestige rankings to influence one another, probably in our case, by enhancing social workers' rating of their own prestige when they meet people from occupations with lower prestige, and vice versa.

A path analysis is used in this study to explore the relationship between social workers' assessment of their prestige relative to that of other occupations, and a number of independent variables: Age, Sex, Educational level, Seniority in the agency, Frequency of meetings with other professionals, and Inclination to leave the profession, were included in our model. We assumed that the age of the subject will influence prestige levels, older subjects should have higher occupational prestige levels since they should have "come to terms" with their profession. We included sex as one of the variables since sex has been found to be a related variable to occupational prestige levels (Bose and Rossi 1983; Kadushin, 1958, 1976). Women were not given the same occupational prestige as men, the social work profession has therefore been affected; being in general a "women's profession".

The educational level of the subject was included in our study as a control since educational levels were found to be a principal basis of occupational prestige (Trieman 1979). Seniority in the agency was taken as an indi-

cator of ones acceptance of his/her role. Thus we expect that higher levels of seniority in ones' work place will be related to higher occupational prestige scores. On the other hand, we included the variable "inclination to leave the profession" as a check on the accuracy of the preceding variable. Thus one can have high seniority levels and still be unsatisfied and look for another opportunity. Kadushin (1976) suggested that this variable may be heightened by the low occupational prestige of social work. Herrick, Takagi, Coleman and Morgan (1983) indicate that criticism of some aspects of social work employment, personal life circumstances and attraction of non-social work employment were the main reasons for leaving social work. The frequency of meeting with other professionals was one of our independent variables. We expected to find a direct relationship between meeting with representatives of other professions and occupational prestige levels.

We expected higher seniority levels to be related to higher prestige levels. At the same time we assumed that the seniority in the agency should be related to the frequency of meeting other professionals, thus one should have to develop professional ties over time and it should influence perceived occupational prestige levels. We assumed that ones' inclination to leave the profession would lead to lower professional rates of meeting with representatives of other occupational groups and at the same time to lower seniority levels in the agency - these people should be "on the move". Sex should have a negative effect on the inclination to leave the profession - since social work is a "female profession", we assumed that females will have low rates of inclination to leave the profession, while males will have higher inclinations. Education should have a negative effect on the inclination to leave the profession - the higher the investment in the profession the

lower should be the inclination to leave it.

We expected age to be negatively related to the inclination to leave the profession, and positively to seniority in the agency and prestige levels. Older people should have a positive prestige level of their profession - otherwise they should have found a way to leave it, they should be less willing to change work places and thus have more seniority in the agency.

## METHOD

### Sample:

The sample was gathered in two stages. First, a random sample of 52 agencies was selected from the 156 social work agencies operating in the northern part of Israel. Each of these agencies was invited to participate in the study, and asked to submit a list of all its social workers. Questionnaires were sent to 225 social workers chosen at random from these lists. The final sample was made up of the 142 respondents (about 63 percent) who returned properly completed questionnaires.

The sample consisted of 112 females and 30 males. Ten of the social workers were Arab, and the remainder Jewish. Ages ranged from 22 to 60 years ( $x = 32.86$ ,  $s.d. = 9.13$ ). Respondents had been engaged in social work for up to 35 years; they had been employed by their present agency between one and 24 years. As regards their educational level, 31 held a Diploma in Social Work, 104 held a BSW or MSW, and 7 held a BA or MA.

### Instrument:

The questionnaire began with demographic

items. Respondents' age was coded in years; sex was coded 1 for females and 0 for males.

A further eight questions dealt with agency and work characteristics. In one of the items, respondents were asked to indicate ten professions/occupations with which they regularly come into professional contacts in the course of their work, and the frequency of these meetings. A list of 20 such occupations was provided and respondents were asked to specify others where appropriate. Each of these occupations was weighted by the prestige ranking reported by Kraus (1976), minus the prestige ranking of social work (73.67). Thus, sociologist was weighted 17.93 (92.6 - 73.67); lawyer 25.08 (98.75 - 73.67); police officer -45.53 (28.34 - 73.67); etc. This produced a scale which reflects the difference in prestige between social work and the other occupations mentioned. The frequency of meetings was weighted according to the following scale: meeting daily = 8; every 2 to 3 days = 7; 4 through 7 days = 6; 8 through 14 days = 5; 15 through 21 days = 4; 22 through 29 days = 3; 30 through 59 days = 2; and over 60 days = 1. Finally, a new variable (Frequency of meetings - Freqmeet) was created by multiplying the prestige difference score for each occupation by the score for the frequency of meetings, thus giving higher scores when meeting representatives of occupations of higher prestige scores over lower ones.

Another question concerned social workers' tendency to leave the profession (Tleave). Respondents were asked to indicate on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 5 - 1, whether they are currently thinking about leaving the profession; often think about it; sometimes think about it; have thought about it in the past; or have never thought about it.

In the final section of the questionnaire,

respondents were requested to compare the prestige of social workers with that of 29 different occupations. This list was taken from the prestige hierarchy of 220 occupations in Israel studied and validated by Kraus (1977, 1981). The 29 occupations were chosen to represent most of the occupations with which social workers have professional contact. For each of these occupations respondents were asked to indicate on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 5 - 1, whether the prestige of social workers is much higher; higher; the same; lower; or much lower. This form of question was taken from Euster (1980a, 1980b). the sum of these 29 scores served as a total prestige score (Tprstige), which became the dependent variable.

#### Procedure:

The questionnaires were mailed to the social workers through their agencies. Those who did not reply received a reminder four weeks later.

The results were analyzed using the SPSSX program.

#### Analysis:

We begin our analysis with a presentation of the correlations among the variables in Table 1, followed by the path analysis results in Figure 1 and the regression equations in Table 2.

Tendency to leave the profession (Tleave) is negatively correlated with Age, Education and Sex (see Table 1). Thus, older people and women are less inclined to leave the profession, as are people with a higher level of education. Figure 1 indicates that Sex has the highest impact on Tendency to leave ( $B = -.256$ ), Age has slightly less ( $B = -.237$ ), and

Education has the lowest impact ( $B = -.079$ ).

Table 2 indicates that age has a positive impact on seniority in the agency (Seniag) ( $B = .188$ ), as does sex ( $B = 1.147$ ). Educational level and inclination to leave social work have a negative influence ( $B = -.1473$  and  $B = -.325$ , respectively).

Figure 1 shows that Age has the highest impact on Seniority in the Agency ( $B = .386$ ); this result is supported by the indirect path through Tendency to leave (compound path =  $(-.237)(-.076) = .018$ ). Education has the second highest impact on Seniority in the agency, directly ( $B = -.184$ ) and indirectly through Age and Tendency to leave (compound path =  $((.152)(.379) + (-.079)(-.076) = (-.057) + (.006) = .063$ ). Thus, a higher Educational level alone does not lead to higher seniority in the agency: Older social workers with higher academic qualifications tend to have higher seniority. However, a higher level of education somewhat reduces the tendency to leave the profession, thereby leading to higher seniority. Sex has the next highest impact on Seniority in the agency ( $B = .104$ ). Figure 1 indicates that females tend to think less about leaving the profession and have higher seniority in their agencies (Compound path =  $(-.256)(-.076) = (.019)$ ). Tendency to leave the profession is directly related to Seniority in the agency ( $B = -.076$ ) suggesting that those who are more inclined to leave the profession have lower Seniority.

As table 1 reveals, Sex and Tendency to leave are negatively correlated with Frequency of meeting ( $r = -.063$  and  $r = -.096$ , respectively), while Seniority in agency is positively correlated with Frequency of meeting ( $r = .128$ ). Figure 1 indicates that Seniority in agency has the highest impact on Frequency of meeting ( $B = .123$ ), Sex has a relatively high impact ( $B = -.105$ ) and Tendency to leave the



lowest ( $B = -.101$ ). Tendency to leave has a negative direct effect on Frequency of meeting ( $B = -.101$ ), and a very low negative influence through Seniority in agency (compound path =  $(-.076)(.123) = -.009$ ). It seems that social workers who are considering leaving the profession tend to meet less with other professionals. This tendency is stronger when the inclination to leave the profession is coupled with low seniority. The influence of Age and gender on Frequency of meeting is interesting; Table 1 shows that both have a negative correlation with Frequency of meeting. Figure 1 indicates that Sex has a direct impact on Frequency of meeting ( $B = -.105$ ) and an indirect one through Tendency to leave (compound path =  $(-.256)(-.101) = .025$ ). It appears that females tend to less Frequency of meeting, except those who are less inclined to leave social work. Age affects Frequency of meeting through the compound paths. Older social workers tend to lower Tendency to leave ( $B = -.237$ ), but usually have higher Seniority in agency ( $B = .379$ ). We can see that when older people have higher seniority in their agency they tend to higher Frequency of meeting, without reference to seniority, older people think less about leaving social work and meet more frequently with other professionals (compound path =  $(.379)(.123) + (-.237)(-.101) = .046 + .023 = .069$ ).

Total prestige score is directly influenced by three variables - Age, Seniority in agency and Frequency of meeting. As indicated in Table 2, older people have a lower Total prestige score, as do those who tend to meet more frequently with representatives of other occupations. Those with higher Seniority in agency have higher total prestige score. Figure 1 shows that Age has a high negative direct influence on Total prestige score ( $B = -.254$ ), as it does through Tendency to leave and Frequency of meeting, but the opposite

effect through Seniority in agency and Tendency to leave (compound path =  $((-.237) (-.101) (-.154) + (.379) (.291)) = ((-.003) + (.110)) = .107$ ). The higher the social worker's age, the lower his/her prestige score; but those who have higher seniority in their agencies have higher prestige scores as well.

The direct influence of Frequency of meeting confirms our hypothesis that meeting representatives of other occupations affects social workers' perception of their prestige. Figure 1 reveals that this effect is negative ( $B = -.154$ ): higher rates of meeting other professionals with higher prestige leads social workers to downgrade their own prestige.

#### Summary and Conclusions:

The results of our analysis support the hypothesis that prestige ratings are affected, to some extent, by professional ties. On the basis of the literature, prestige theory and research, it seemed reasonable to assume that the effect of meeting people with higher occupational prestige would be to lower social workers' assessment of their own prestige. The findings support the influence and its direction.

The tendency of social workers to downgrade their prestige in relation to colleagues with higher occupational prestige is in line with the literature on the poor image of social work, both inside and outside the profession (Clearfield, 1977; Kadushin, 1958; Pollak 1961; Rapoport, 1960).

Seniority in the agency was found to enhance the social workers' perception of their prestige, but as we showed, higher seniority coupled with higher rates of contact with representatives of other occupations tend to

reduce prestige scores. A related finding concerns the impact of age on prestige - younger social workers have higher prestige scores, but older social workers with higher seniority in their agency have higher scores too. Both, however, have lower prestige ratings as a result of contacts with representatives from other occupations. Another point worth mentioning relates to social work educators' low ranking of social work prestige (Euster, 1980a). It is conceivable that social work students may be influenced by this perception. Our findings suggest either that social work educators in Israel hold positive views of the profession, or that if they do not, fortunately they are not able to influence their students' views. Since we believe that social work students are influenced to some extent by their teachers, it is a tribute to the social work educators in Israel that despite the attitudes within and outside of the profession, they are able to produce young social workers with relatively high occupational prestige levels.

The main conclusion of our study is that social workers should prepare themselves for their professional meetings with representatives of other occupations. The mere knowledge of the tendency to downgrade social work prestige may have a beneficial effect. An effective countermeasure to the low occupational prestige of social work should be to demonstrate social workers' activities and achievements - for example, through publications.

Further research should examine how other professionals' views on social work prestige are affected by their contact with social workers, and whether a change in perception on one side is followed by a change on the other. A more urgent task should be to inquire into the process whereby young social workers lose their initially favorable perception of the

profession.

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TABLE 1  
Pearson Product Moment Correlations, Means  
and Standard Deviation of the Variables  
(n = 137)

	Sex	Age	Educ	Seniag	Tleave	Freqmeet	Tprstige
Age	-.001						
Education	-.022	.152*					
Seniag	.127	.370**	-.121				
Tleave	-.254**	-.240*	-.110	-.177*			
Freqmeet	-.063	-.007	-.001	.128	-.096		
Tprstige	.095	-.145*	-.052	.176*	.029	-.114	1.000
Mean	.78	32.83	2.876	5.39	2.21	-100.784	98.745
S.D.	.03	.78	.575	4.57	1.07	591.468	10.137

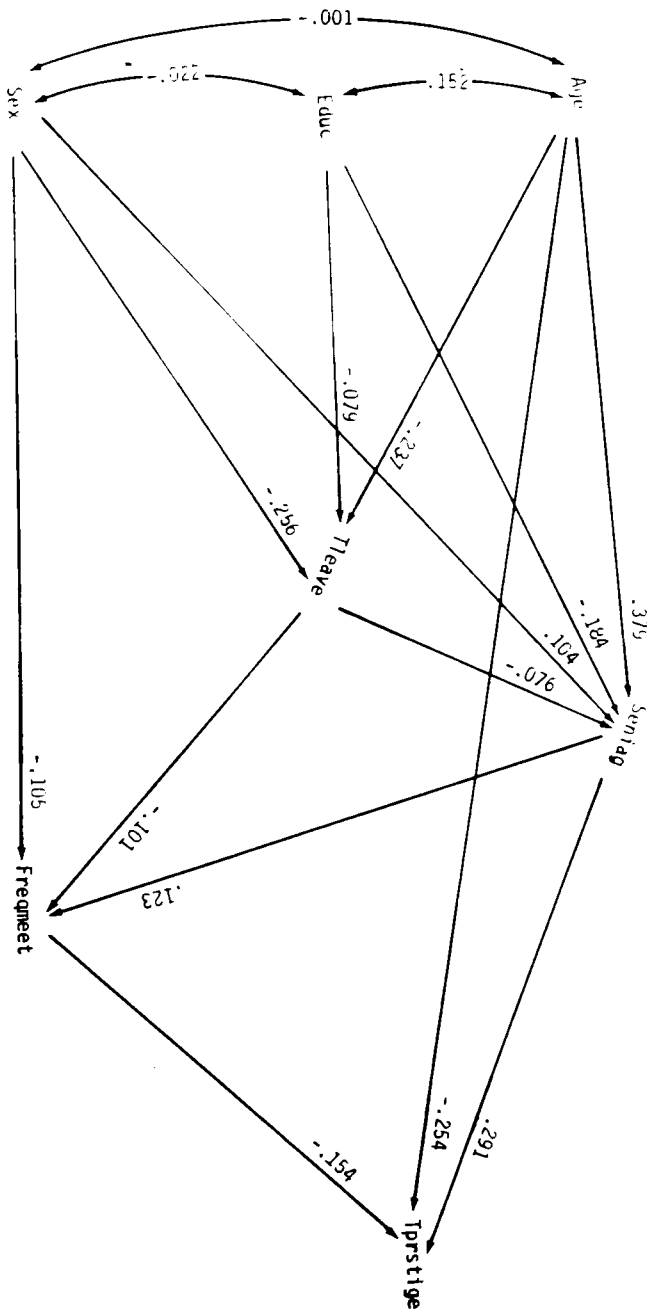
\* p < .05      \*\* p < .01



TABLE 2  
Regression Equations for the Path Model

Independent Variable:	Tleave	Seniag	Freqmeet	Tprstige
Age	-.278* (.009)**	.188 (.040)		-.220 (.097)
Education	-.149 (.152)	-1.473 (.634)		
Sex	-.664 (.209)	1.147 (.896)	-147.58 (124.18)	
Tleave		-.325 (.358)	-54.882 (48.28)	
Seniag			15.766 (11.06)	.644 (.197)
Freqmeet				-.268 (.001)
Tprstige				
Intercept	1.968 .133	1.122 .184	2515.676 .071	5821.903 .098

Figure 1  
Path Model (Standardized Coefficients)



SOCIAL WORKERS' SATISFACTIONS: METHODOLOGICAL  
NOTES AND SUBSTANTIVE FINDINGS

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Abstract

The use of instruments derived from industrial research to investigate the work satisfactions of social workers can lead to distortion of results. Responses from ninety-one social workers in nine agencies indicates sources of satisfactions and dissatisfactions not present in industrial settings, and -- in contradistinction to the "dual-factor" or "bipolarity" theory -- both satisfactions and dissatisfactions arising from the same source in some cases.

The most important factors affecting workers' satisfactions were the ability to achieve results, their relationships with clients, their relationship with members of multidisciplinary staffs, and presence or absence of sufficient time and resources.

The "higher order" needs -- recognition, responsibility, and advancement -- found in industrial research do not appear in these responses.

There are implications for social work education in these findings.

## Introduction

The service sector of the economy, including social work, has shown little research interest in workers' feelings, motivations and satisfactions, as compared to the industrial sector. Whereas industry became concerned with workers feelings almost fifty years ago -- primarily as a presumed influence on productivity -- and has continually broadened that concern, only recently has the service sector, particularly the human services, and especially social work, expressed research interest in workers' feelings, attitudes, and work patterns -- an interest basically spurred by concern about burnout. One result of this relative neglect has been that researchers in the services must, perforce, use methodology and instruments devised in and for industrial settings, with predictable resultant distortions.

This article will summarize the forces which influenced industrial relations research and the directions which it took; report on an exploratory study in social work which emphasizes the inapplicability of current industrial research methods for the services; and discuss the substantive findings of that study.

## Sources and Directions in Industrial Relations Research

Industrial relations research had its roots in the "scientific management" school of Taylor, (1) around the turn of the century, which saw workers basically as tools to be manipulated. this viewpoint was challenged by the reported findings of the Hawthorne studies, (2) which emphasized the importance of workers' feelings -- and importance which, incidentally, has itself been challenged. (3) Nevertheless, the basic findings of the Hawthorne experiments -- which came to be known as the "human relations" school of

industrial research -- were extended by Herzberg and his associates, (4) who sought the sources of workers' satisfactions and dissatisfactions by asking them to think of days on which they were particularly satisfied or dissatisfied at work, and to enunciate the reasons.

Herzberg found that satisfactions and dissatisfactions were not the obverse of one another; that they come from different sets of sources. satisfaction can be increased or decreased without affecting satisfaction, and dissatisfaction can be removed without increasing satisfaction. This came to be known variously as the "bi-polarity," or "two-factor", or "dual-factor" theory. Herzberg further found that satisfactions come from the work itself, and are the fulfillment of "higher order" needs, in Maslow's (5) terms, while dissatisfaction stem from the conditions surrounding the work.

Based on sources of satisfaction reported by Herzberg and his replicators -- which, it should be remembered, were responses by thousands of industrial workers to open-ended unstructured questions -- industrial relations research began to refine these sources, i. e., to relate different sources to demographic factors, or structural factors, or to personality variables; as well as dissecting the given sources in sub-categories, such as external/internal, equity/equality, attribution, valence-instrumentality-expectancy, goal achievement, and other so-called process theories. (6)

Almost ten years ago Locke (7) identified over three thousand such studies in the literature, and there are those who believe that there are at least an equal number of unpublished studies.(8) This is in sharp contrast to the total of 684 studies of all aspects of social work appearing in social work journals

between 1956 and 1984, (9) of which only a handful were concerned with social workers' satisfaction. Jayarante and Chess studied satisfaction directly (10), while others studied them as part of other phenomena: attrition (11), turnover (12), Stress (13), and careers (14).

It should be noted that the Herzberg methodology and finding have not gone uncriticized, (15) but the great bulk of industrial relations research is based squarely on the satisfaction which Herzberg elicited with his open-ended questions.

One result of the plethora of research set off by Herzberg is a set of instruments with reliability coefficients and validity indices which have been published in a number of places. (16) It is to these scales, or to parts of them, that social workers perforce must turn as they seek for recognized instruments with which to conduct research into the work patterns and satisfaction of social workers. However, since these instruments were derived from the expressed satisfaction and dissatisfaction of industrial workers, there is reason to question their applicability and their validity as they apply to service workers in general and to social workers in particular.

Consequently, as part of a larger study designed to explore the impact of social workers' satisfaction on the quality of their relationship with clients, it was decided to include Herzberg-type open-ended questions, to allow the social worker respondents to express the sources of their satisfaction and dissatisfaction, without making a priori assumptions about them.

### Sources of Social Workers' Satisfaction

#### Methodology

### The Sample:

Since one of the hypotheses in the larger study was that varying amounts of social workers' satisfaction would exhibit themselves primarily in workers' relationships with clients (rather than in provision of resources or changes in procedures), agencies were sought in which the major method of treatment consisted of client-social worker relationships. Nine public agencies meeting this requirement were identified in Jerusalem. These included a mental health out-patient department; a substance-abuse service; three hospitals' a service for women in distress; two local personal social service departments; and the social work department of an industrial concern. The total sample included all the social workers in these settings -- ninety-one in number -- with the exception of a few who were unavailable. Their ages ranged from 22 to 65, with the median being 31. Years of professional experience ranged from one to 13, with a median of 6. Educational levels included BSWs, MSWs, and Ph.Ds. Ninety percent of the sample were female. Given the restricted locality from which this sample was drawn, and the particular kind of agency to which the sample was confined, it is clear that this sample should not be considered representative of all social workers in Israel, and certainly not of those elsewhere.

### The Instrument:

The Herzberg-type questions were the final two of a forty-two question form, and consisted of the following, in Hebrew:

"Think of a normal day at work when you felt quite satisfied. What was the source of your satisfaction?"

"Think of a normal day at work when

you were quite dissatisfied. What was the source of your dissatisfaction?"

#### Data-handling:

The responses to these two questions were categorized by independent judges. The number of times each category was mentioned, and by how many people, and as a satisfier or dissatisfier, was computed and graphed. Due to the nature of the sample and the nature of the questions, tests of statistical significance were considered irrelevant, and consequently were not used. (17)

#### Findings:

##### Sources of worker satisfaction/dissatisfaction

One of the salient findings of this study is the fact that when given the opportunity through open-ended questions to identify the sources of their work satisfaction and dissatisfaction, social workers named factors in a large part different from those found in industrial and indirect service settings (Table 1). Although some respondents mentioned more satisfaction/dissatisfaction sources than did others, the great majority of the sources mentioned were unique to the human services, or had different meanings than did the same items in industrial settings.

Social workers mentioned thirteen sources of satisfaction/dissatisfaction, and of these, nine were not mentioned by industrial and indirect service workers queried by Herzberg. In addition, as will be noted below, there is question concerning the content of the common response, "achievement." If sources consisting of less than ten percent of the total responses (regardless of whether they denoted satisfiers or dissatisfiers) are omitted (Table 2), then four of the five sources given



by social workers are different from those given by other types of workers.

It should be noted that Herzberg considered only the responses, and not the number of respondents. Since each respondent could, and usually did, give more than one response, it is of some importance to also consider how many respondents mentioned each item. This information is contained in Table 3. When only those items mentioned by 50% or more of the respondents ( in contradistinction to the number of responses ) are considered, then there remains only one item which is common to industry and to social work, subject to the same reservation concerning "achievement" mentioned above. Thus, whether judging by the number of responses or the number of respondents, the important sources of satisfaction or dissatisfaction reported by social workers are almost totally different from those which make up the bulk of industrial relations research studies.

For example, the importance of relationships with clients, alluded to in 15% of the total responses and by 62% of the respondents, not only never arose in the ten studies quoted by Herzberg, (18) but is almost never included in studies of work satisfaction generally. Examination of almost five hundred worker-satisfaction scales (19) indicates only one response even remotely connecting workers' satisfactions with clients. This lists "respect from customers" as a satisfier. (20) Nothing else is even distantly related to relationship with clients.

The same is true of satisfaction and dissatisfaction arising from relations with multidisciplinary staffs. This was mentioned in 13% of the responses, and by 74% of the sample, but is nowhere included in the 500 scales mentioned above, nor in any industrial research studies in the literature.

Similarly, while 10% of the social workers' responses and 55% of the sample spoke about the availability or lack of availability of time and resources, this factor is completely absent in industrial research studies.

While the factor "variety of work" given in 10% of the responses and by 48% of the sample could conceivably be subsumed under Herzberg's category "the work itself," the latter usually contains repetitiveness as only a part of a reaction that is often explained to include a sense of self-fulfillment from proper use of one's knowledge and skills' or the feeling of working on something useful or valuable for society; or pleasure arising from the activity itself. Since social workers did not specify any of these items, nor the work itself as a totality, it is the factor or variety which makes this response unique.

Only in the case of "achievement," or "achieving results," given in 19% of the responses and by 85% of the respondents, is there overlap between industrial studies and the one reported here. Herzberg defines achievement as "successful completion of a job, solutions to problems, vindication, and seeing the results of one's work." Whether social workers meant the same thing is open to question, since achieving results in their terms probably means being of help to the client. However, enough similarity exists in the responses as given to consider this as the same item in both industrial and service settings.

#### Satisfaction vis-a-vis Dissatisfaction

The second salient finding in this study is the listing by social workers of some factors as both satisfiers and dissatisfiers. It is of the essence in Herzberg's bi-polarity findings and conclusions that one set of factors gives rise to satisfaction, while another

set of factors is the source of dissatisfaction. In this study, however, of The thirteen items mentioned by ten percent or more of the respondents, only four ("variety," "relations with colleagues," "bureaucratic pressures," and "salary") had as much as 75% of the responses on one side or the other (Table 3). Conversely, nine of the thirteen were both satisfiers and dissatisfiers, by this formula. further, as regards five of them, the same respondents listed them as both satisfiers and dissatisfiers, in rations ranging from 16% to 41% (Table 3). This is a clear contradiction of the theory on which the great bulk of studies based on Herzberg's findings are founded.

### Social Workers Satisfactions

In addition to the finding that the sources of satisfaction in social work differ in large part from those in industry, and that the qualities of satisfaction and dissatisfaction are not as distinct in social work as they are in other settings, this study also gave social workers an opportunity to enunciate the sources of the satisfaction and dissatisfaction. This section discusses their responses.

Eighty-five percent of the social workers interviewed reported receiving satisfaction from their ability to achieve results by and for their clients, or dissatisfaction from inability to do the same. This is in line with Fisch's (21) finding that one of social workers' reasons for leaving their jobs is their inability to function for their clients' benefits as they feel they should. Since in many industrial settings efforts to increase workers' satisfaction are through the previously mentioned job enlargement, job enrichment, and other variations of "process theory," (22) these findings indicate that increasing social workers' satisfaction requires a very diff-

erent focus. Insofar as they are enabled to help their clients more successfully through provision of more time and resources, through more training, through changes in policy and administration, or through other means, their own work satisfactions will be increased. This, incidentally, supports some rather recent findings in industrial research that rather than satisfactions leading to more, harder, or better work, such work may itself create satisfactions for workers. (23).

Certain client characteristics -- their unwillingness to help themselves, and their inordinate demands on the time and energy of the worker. (24) changing this aspect is much less under the control of agencies, and even of workers themselves. To the extent that social work education leads students to think of clients as invariably wanting a good relationship with the worker, and grateful for help given, this stereotype is susceptible to change. However, it should be noted that this item contained slightly more satisfiers than dissatisfiers -- contact with clients can be a source of satisfaction. Moreover, 41% of those mentioning this item were selective, seeing it as a source of satisfactions in some cases, and dissatisfactions in others.

Where relationship with multidisciplinary staffs is concerned, this is probably not unique to social workers, since members of other human service professions work together with a variegated staff. Handless, for example, studied the relationship of nurses to doctors, among other things. (25) In the agencies studied in the present research there was a high proportion of interdisciplinary relationships -- with probation officers, homemakers, nurses, doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists, and others. Since relations with outside agencies were reported on separately, these multiprofessional teams seem to be within the agencies studied, and thus the

relationships -- positive or negative -- are on-going and stable. The findings suggest, therefore, that there are some agencies where the relationship is good and others where it is not. The existence of the former would seem to suggest that the latter are amenable to purposeful change efforts.

Although the availability of time and resources was mentioned in total by 55% of the respondents, and 75% of those mentioning it found it to be a dissatisfier, yet 25% found this to be a satisfier. The used terms like "having time to do a good job," or "being able to meet time schedules." That the majority were dissatisfied, however, supports Dressel's finding that this is primarily a source of dissatisfaction. (26) This area too, is at least theoretically amenable to change, although it is probable that had agencies been able to provide more time and/or resources, they would have done so.

Although no other factors were mentioned by as much as 50% of the sample, 10% of the responses mentioned the variety of the work. As discussed previously, it is not clear from the responses exactly what aspect of variety is meant, or most important -- clients, problems, methods, or activities. This area warrants further investigation.

Further, it is noteworthy that neither supervision, administration, nor bureaucratic pressures constituted 10% of the responses, or were mentioned by 50% of the respondents. Supervision, however, was clearly a satisfier for most of those mentioning it, just as bureaucratic pressures were unanimously seen as dissatisfiers, with administration -- including staff meetings and in-service training -- about equally divided. If all of these are combined into an overall supervision/administration category, they amount to 16% of the responses, and are somewhat on the dissatis-

fier side.

Relations with other services are clearly dissatisfiers, while relations with colleagues are satisfiers. Salary was mentioned in only 2% of the responses, but was in every case a dissatisfier.

Finally, the "higher order" needs postulated by Herzberg, including recognition, responsibility, and advancement, do not appear in social workers' responses. The first two may be embedded, so to speak, in the job, with self-recognition or recognition by clients replacing the need for outside recognition, and responsibility being inherent in the many decisions made in the course of social work practice, as well as in the relative freedom given social workers to conduct practice within a framework of judgements and decisions. The lack of "advancement" as a factor may be an artifact of the Israeli situation, where job descriptions and ranks are legally determined in public agencies, and promotion is usually either through a collective work agreement, or on the basis of seniority.

Summarizing this section, it is clear that many of the sources of satisfaction given importance in industrial relations studies do not appear in social work, or do not become determinants of satisfaction among social workers.

### Summary

In this study of practicing social workers, open-ended questions were asked about the sources of their satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The methodology proved useful in that it resulted in identification of satisfaction sources not found in industrial or indirect-service research; in the absence of several sources customarily found there; and in differences concerning the distinction between

satisfactions and dissatisfactions. Social workers saw achieving results; relations with clients; and relations with multidisciplinary staffs as sources of both satisfactions and dissatisfactions, while the variety of work was a clear satisfier, and lack of time and resources a dissatisfier. No other factors were mentioned in ten percent of the responses, or by fifty percent of the respondents.

Many of the sources of social workers' satisfactions seem amenable to influence or manipulation in a planful manner. However, more investigation seems indicated into the content of workers' relationships with clients; the exact meaning of "achieving results;" the components of variety in social work; and the dynamics of multidisciplinary staff relations.

As research into work patterns in the services continues, it seems important that exploratory, hypothesis-seeking studies be undertaken, rather than adopting the assumptions, hypotheses, findings, methodology, and instruments developed in and for industrial research.

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Table 1.

Sources of Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction  
(total responses)

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Industrial Workers	Social Workers
<u>Similar</u>	
Achievement	Achieving results
Supervision -- technical	Supervision
Supervision -- relations	
Company policy/administra- tion	Administration
Salary	Salary

---

<u>Dissimilar</u>	
Recognition	Relations with Clients
Work itself	Relations Multi- disciplinary
Responsibility	staff
Advancement	Variety of work Relations other services
Working conditions	Relations coll- eagues Bureaucratic pressures Participation in decisions Relations clients families

Table 2

Sources of satisfaction/Dissatisfaction  
(constituting ten percent or more of total  
responses)

---

Industrial Workers

Social Workers

Similar

Achievement

Achieving results

---

Dissimilar

Work itself  
Recognition  
Responsibility  
Advancement

Variety of work  
Relations with  
clients  
Relations Multi-  
disciplinary  
Availability of  
time/resources

Table 3

Social Workers' Satisfaction/Dissatisfactions as Responses to Herzberg-type Questions

N = 91 respondents 524 responses																
respondents mentioning item	respondents listing as both satisfier and dissatis-	DISSATISFIERS      SATISFIERS														
#	%	#	%	number of responses											Total responses	
				50	40	30	20	10	0	10	20	30	40	50	#	%
77	85	18	23	41 achieving results 54											95	18
				37 relations clients 43												
56	62	24	41	32 relations multidis. 35											80	15
				9 variety of work 43												
67	74	-	-	37 avail. time/resources 13											67	13
44	48	8	18												52	10
50	55	-	-												50	10

respondents mentioning item	respondents listing as both satis- fier and dissatis- fier	DISSATISFIERS										SATISFIERS										Total responses	
#	%	#	%	number of responses										#	%								
				50	40	30	20	10	0	10	20	30	40	50									
				27 relations other services 15																			
34	37	8	24	-----+-----												42	08						
				9 supervision 22																			
31	34	7	16	--+-----												31	06						
				2 rel. coll. 25																			
27	30	-	-	-+-----												27	05						
				12 admin 11																			
23	25	-	-	---+-----												23	04						
				19 bur. press.																			
19	24	-	-	-----+												19	04						
				5 part dec 11																			
16	18	-	-	--+-----												16	03						
				3 rel fam 9																			
12	13	-	-	-+---												12	02						
				10 salary																			
10	11	-	-	---+												10	02						



SOCIAL SERVICE NEEDS OF MIGRANTS IN LIMBO:  
ISRAELIS IN NEW YORK

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ABSTRACT

This is an exploratory study about the social service needs of Israeli migrants in New York City. A structured, face to face interview schedule was administered by the author to a sample of 86 intact families. The families were found to be mostly undecided regarding their stay in the United States. Their state of "limbo" was reflected in specific patterns of utilization of general and ethnic social services, and in six major areas of concern and needs: (1) a sense of social isolation; (2) the wives' low level of adjustment; (3) emotional stress due to the families' hesitancy to stay in the United States; (4) distress due to concerns about children's national (Israeli) identity and their education; (5) health risks due to the lack of any health insurance coverage and, (6) reliance on supplementary income primarily through ethnic (Jewish) charities. Guidelines for policy and research on the delivery of social services for these Israelis conclude the paper.

The review of the history of social services reveals a strong relationship between social needs and the ways in which societies organize to meet them. Interest in client needs in the social welfare field and in the planning of responsive services dates back to the earliest social surveys in England in the 18th century and in the United States in the

19th century conducted by Dorethea Dix. More recently, interest has grown about the help-seeking behavior of new immigrant groups, and the obstacles they face in the adequate utilization of the available social services. [1]. While research efforts have mostly been invested in analyzing demographic data and that of service providers, only a few studies learned systematically the needs and preferences of the users and their alternative avenues of choosing among the general and ethnic social services of the absorbing society. In the light of these research trends, the following study on Israeli families was undertaken.

## BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE

Israeli immigrant communities have been growing in several metropolitan areas in the United States, but there is no baseline data to guide social welfare policy makers on their needs for social services. Most of the social studies on Israeli immigrants limited themselves to the motives, attitudes and intentions of Israeli students and professionals [2]. These studies produced generalizations about Israeli immigrants, irrespective of the methodological limitations of their demographically skewed samples [3].

Three central bodies have recently expressed interest in a more practical understanding of Israeli immigrants in the United States. The Israeli government is alarmed by the magnitude of the emmigration of its citizens [4]. It considers policies which are fragmentally introduced to reach out to potential returnees and to prevent further emmigration. In the United States, American Jewish organizations are alarmed by the decrease in the size of Jewish communities, due to demographic changes in life expectancy, migration patterns, ethnic assimilation and the lack of Jewish immigration. These concerns led the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in New York, for

instance, to change its policies and to legitimize the rights of Israelis to choose their place of residence outside of Israel. This resulted in the Federation's becoming more responsive to the personal and ethnic needs of the Israelis by seeking to "reach out to them, get to know them and come to understand them" [5]. Finally, American research institutes have started to express interest in the emerging Israeli community as a distinct ethnic group, placing emphasis on the impact of intergroup relations in immigrant communities [6], or on the impact of these newcomers on the labor market [7].

Estimations of the size of immigrant groups in the U.S. are unreliable, due to problems in recording human movements [8]. It is particularly difficult in the case of Israelis who have the option to return freely. Since many Israelis tend to postpone their decision about the permanence of their residence, thus making it difficult to tell when these temporary sojourners become expatriates, the estimate of the size of this group at 100,000 to 200,000 is problematic.

Because of the above sampling constraints, an exploratory study, using primarily descriptive survey methods was undertaken. The purposes of the study were to: (1) provide systematic baseline information on Israeli families in New York City; (2) describe differential patterns in their utilization of social services; (3) describe specific areas of concern and unmet needs and (4) suggest policy guidelines regarding the planning and the delivery of social services for this emerging ethnic group.

## DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The author had conducted eighty-six face to face interviews with intact Israeli families with at least one child. The families

were selected on a non-probability purposive quota sample basis, chosen to reflect three variables relevant to the study goals. It was assumed that before looking for especially disturbed families of individuals, one should fine out basic facts about more ordinary, or "typical" families and about their coping mechanisms. Information was obtained on 355 individuals, i.e. both spouses and their 183 children. The families were selected by: (1) borough of residence - one half from Queens and one half from Brooklyn; (2) sub-ethnic background - one half Ashkenazi and one half Sephardi Families and (3) length of stay in the United States - one half "newcomers" (between one to three years) and one half "old-timers" (between four to ten years) [9].

"Snowballing" referral [10], the major sampling method was extended by three complementary community explorations: spectators at the Israeli Film Festival were approached, local Israeli food stores and restaurants were visited and, "Hebrewitized"-Israeli last names were selected arbitrarily from phone books. The key dependent variables of the study were utilization patterns of social services [11], needs assessment [12], and ethnic dimensions in the delivery of services [13] - all central notions in social work practice and planning [14].

To analyze the patterns by which Israeli families were seeking help and by which they were utilizing social services, an integrated method was used by exploring: (1) socio-economic and socio-demographic variables such as age, household size, income, and level of education [15], (2) socio-cultural variables such as religiousity, identity and life styles [16]; (3) coping roles undertaken by primary group supports and their functions in relation to bureaucratic social services [17] and (4) ethnic dimensions of service utilization [18]. An integrated method was also used to deter-

mine the families' major areas of concern and needs. It combined information gathered on felt needs, on socio-economic conditions, and on patterns of service utilization [19]. Normative and comparative approaches in the analysis of data were also employed [20].

## FINDINGS

### Socio-Demographic Characteristics

The households studied were: (1) residing in highly concentrated Jewish areas in both boroughs (three-quarters of the families), (2) small - nuclear type families, three-quarters of which had either one or two children, (3) young - the husbands median age was 34 years, (4) in reasonably good health - both physically and mentally and, (5) attracted to the United States - in most cases by the husbands' initiative - the primary reasons given being: to reunite with family in the United States, to improve job opportunities, or out of general curiosity and a spirit of adventure.

Two-thirds of the families were found to be undecided regarding their stay in the United States; one-fourth claimed they would return to Israel within three years, and the remaining ten percent indicated with certainty an intention to stay in the United States. In this respect, the Israelis, unlike most other immigrant groups, are hesitant to become Americans, and therefore may best be characterized as a "community in limbo". This finding is central to the study and is presented below to explain several areas of need and utilization patterns of social services.

The employment characteristics of the families were typical of most immigrant groups [21]. About two-thirds were self-employed in small "ethnic enterprises", usually consisting

of family and compatriot networks. Significantly fewer wives were employed in New York than they had been in Israel and of those employed, many experienced a marked downward mobility on the scale of occupations.

### Utilization of Social Services

Four areas of service utilization were identified in the study: entitlement programs, ethnic charities, education and recreation; counseling and guidance services.

Entitlement Programs The utilization rate of entitlement programs - such as public assistance, unemployment benefits, food stamps, etc. - was 12 percent. There could be several plausible explanations for this level of utilization. First, the study's focus on intact families a priori selected a self-supporting group [22]. Second, at least 50 percent of the families did not qualify for public benefits since they have not built up their entitlements as American citizens. Third, permanent residents, even when eligible, face psychological and institutional barriers to use such benefits [23]. Since most Israelis have come to the United States emotionally committed to return to their country in case of failure, the option of turning to public welfare services was hardly taken into consideration. But even when the need for formal help was admitted, there were additional barriers, such as the language and the lack of understanding of the fragmented American social service system.

Ethnic Charities: Ethnic charities (Jewish) partially substituted for entitlement programs. When need grew, and primary group supports either did not exist or failed to be helpful, 16 percent of the families turned to, or were helped by ethnically based Jewish charities. Interest-free loans, secret almsgiving, tuition discounts in nurseries,

schools and summer camps were the major forms. These alternative resources facilitated access to services in ways closer to family patterns and cultural groups values [24].

Education and Recreation: Seventy percent of the school-age Israeli children in the sample were enrolled in American-Jewish schools. Most of those who reported using community centers and after-school programs were utilizing facilities under Jewish auspices such as YMHA's and synagogues. Over 80% were using Jewish summer camps.

These findings challenge the popular image of the Israelis, that is, that they live isolated from local Jewish communal services and that they assimilate at high rate into American society [25]. In several areas, the findings of this study suggest the contrary: significant proportions of Israeli families are actively integrating into the American-Jewish community.

Counseling and Guidance: A different area of ethnic integration was demonstrated in the utilization of counseling and guidance services. Twenty percent of the families reported using such personal social services, categorized into three groups: Jewish schools, Jewish family and guidance services, and congregations or synagogues. Though varied in structure and purpose, each incorporates elements of ethnic culture and social service [26].

A broader insight into the families' help-seeking attitudes was gained by introducing them to four hypothetical case vignettes in which a counselor had to be selected. Respondents were found reserved about turning to an American-Jewish agency, since they felt psycho-social barriers and a sense of being "marked-off" by these agencies [28]. Israeli professionals or local Rabbis on the other

hand, were more likely to be perceived as their "own group", thus responsive to the ethnic dimensions of their needs.

### Variations in Utilization by Key-Variables

Significant differences of service utilization were identified between families residing in Queens versus those residing in Brooklyn [29] and between "newcomers" versus "old-timers". Interestingly, the families' sub-ethnic background (Ashkenazi versus Sephardi), failed to influence patterns of service utilization. While the limitations of the sampling procedures should be kept in mind, these findings suggest that class, locality, and other social conditions - such as migration motives, primary group supports and environmental circumstances - may account more for variations in service utilization than the ethnic origin of the families.

Queens versus Brooklyn: Relatives were more available to families in Brooklyn and they were more relied upon than they were by families in Queens. It is plausible that the lower socio-economic status of the families in Brooklyn compelled them to depend on such supports more than those living in Queens. Families from Brooklyn also used significantly more income supports and Jewish charities than those residing in Queens. Furthermore, one-fourth (26%) of the Israelis in Brooklyn lacked health insurance coverage, in contrast to the Israelis in Queens where every family has such coverage.

The enrollment of Israeli children in Jewish schools was significantly higher in Brooklyn than in Queens (85% vs. 67%). However, since the differences could not be attributed to interborough variations in the level of religious observance, environmental circumstances were looked to for possible explanations. They included differences in



the reputation of local public schools and in the ethnic mix of their students, and differences in the eligibility policies for tuition discounts of parochial schools between the two boroughs.

In the analysis of help-seeking patterns in the hypothetical case vignettes, Rabbis averaged as significantly more popular counseling options in Brooklyn than in Queens. In Queens credentialed professionals (i.e. psychologists, social workers, etc.) were more common. This difference could be attributed to language barriers (inferred by levels of education) and to the lower level of income among families in Brooklyn.

"Newcomers" versus "Old-timers": Three major service utilization patterns of "old-timers" indicated that they were living a more settled style of life than were the "newcomers". First, "old-timers" , more often used services for which payment was required. Unlike "newcomers" who used primarily free guidance services through school counselors or Rabbis, "old-timers" tended to purchase counseling services in the marketplace. The utilization of recreational services was also more common among "old-timers", probably reflecting their higher socio-economic status [30].

Second, despite their higher socio-economic status, "old-timers" were more likely to collect public benefits than "newcomers". It is plausible that their ability to prove eligibility as well as their improved familiarity with the American social service system accounted for this pattern.

Third, "old-timers" more often used Jewish services such as sectarian schools for their children in the higher grades, were more often involved in Israeli or Jewish self-help groups and, in the hypothetical cases, they selected more American-Jewish counselors. This greater

use of ethno-religious services by the "old-timers" was further supported by their observance of more traditional religious practices than those of the "newcomers".

### Major Concerns and Needs

The study revealed six areas of family concerns and needs in the field of personal social services, education, health and economics. They were: a sense of social isolation: the low level of adjustment by the wives; ambivalence about their future in the U.S.; the children's national identity and education; health risks; and their poor economic condition.

1. Social Isolation: A sense of social isolation was explicitly or implicitly expressed by most of the interviewees. It was well summarized by one respondent who said that "For the mainstream Americans - we will always remain aliens, for the Blacks - we are White, for American Jews - we are not welcome and, among ourselves - we are suspicious." The intensity of this state was especially exemplified in secular families and by those who did not have extensive primary groups supports. For such families, the lack of organized systems of mutual aid raised fears about times of severe need. Thus, one third of the respondents translated these concerns as a need for a local Israeli center. They expected such a separatist ethnic agency to provide a response to the families' isolation by: (1) offering a place to socialize with their own group in their own community (2) organizing around issues of self-help and (3) providing information, referral and counseling services - all in the Hebrew language. Among the "newcomers", nearly half (46%) felt that such a center could be the best response to their sense of isolation.

2. Wives' Adjustment: About one-fifth

(21%) of the respondents stated that the social isolation of the wives was experienced as an extreme mental stress. Wives also reported significantly lower adjustment levels than their husbands and more concern about the future plans of the family. These feelings of discontent prevailed among over one-third of the "newcomers" but were hardly felt amount the "old-timers" group. furthermore, over 50 percent of the "old-timer" wives reported a highly satisfied level of adjustment to life in the United States. Thus, either the adjustment of Israeli wives is relatively slower than that of their husbands, or, where the wife failed to adjust, families returned to Israel.

Four findings in the study could account for the maladjustment of Israeli women. In most cases, the husbands were the primary initiators of emmigration, and the wives joined reluctantly. Second, wives experienced a 25 percent drop in labor-force participation in the United States, and a marked downward occupational mobility. This meant that many women either lived as shut-ins or felt degraded at work. Third, there are major differences between the work related American social welfare system and the one the wives were used to in Israel. In Israel, employment policies are mother-and-child oriented - e.g., reduced work hours for women in the year following childbirth or with at least two children under the age of twelve, approved work absence due to the illness of children, etc. In addition, most localities have excellent networks of child-care services in the form of kindergartens and day-care centers [31]. The lack of these types of public supports in the United States, in addition to the general hardship of migration, compelled several wives to change their life style and renounce employment.

Finally, the lower adjustment level of the

wives could be attributed to fewer significant primary group supports in the United States than in Israel. Their husbands, in contrast, had more primary group supports (e.g. close family and friends) in the United States. Thus wives tended to worry more often than their husbands about the future plans of the family in the United States and about their relations with extended family in Israel.

3. Families in Limbo: As stated previously, two-thirds of the families were undecided about the permanency of their stay in the United States. Of these, only 12 percent identified this state of ambivalence as emotionally stressful, while for most of the families, such uncertainties were not perceived as a strain. With regard to the state of limbo, time acted as an intensifying factor rather than as an alleviating one. Thus among the "old-timers", the proportion of families experiencing the stress of limbo reached nearly 20 percent. This was especially the case in families with older children, where the children's willingness to return to Israel was becoming less predictable.

To be in the stressful state of limbo meant primarily to feel suspended between two places, or to sense a sort of "split soul", i.e., to live physically in the United States but emotionally in Israel. A state of this kind involves mental resistance in some cases a failure to undergo the process of "Americanization". There is a difficulty in accepting the finality of the act of migration which is further accentuated by the attitude of the people in Israel who always welcome returnees. Acceptance of the mental status of immigrants, would result in a sense of betrayal of the patriotic-nationalist (Zionist) ideals they were raised on in Israel, which include the capacity for self-sacrifice for the future of the Israeli collective. For this reason, the Hebrew term for emigration - Yerida - is

strongly emotional, implying descent, desertion and the endangering of the existence of Israel. On the other hand, the Hebrew term for immigration - Aliya - implies to go up or to ascend. The present individualist/ entrepreneurial goals of the Israelis in the United States are in direct conflict with these ideals.

A prolonged stay in the United States also involves other types of identity conflicts: Feelings of estrangement, alienation, rootlessness and temporariness which often lead to a general sense of marginality accompanied by various levels of anxiety. At those times, the "American Dream" may become a dream of return to Israel, accompanied by the grave realization that an easy way back may no longer exist. It might also involve the shame of admitting failure, which would necessitate added mechanisms of rationalization.

4. Israeli-type Education Like most immigrant groups, Israeli families tend to object to the integration of their children into American society. But unlike most immigrants, this objection is strongly related to their emotional state of "limbo". Israelis wish to maintain their national identity not only as a source of pride but also to facilitate their return to Israel. Indeed, their educational options place that identity in jeopardy. It is a kind of "no-win" situation for the Israeli - because local Jewish schools primarily emphasize religious content, while the public schools avoid explicit ethnic or religious education, leaving those roles to the families. Thus, Jewish schools become a compromise - a "second best". Several secular parents yearned nostalgically for the Israeli secular public school system. There, as students, they were raised on "Jewish consciousness" as members of a majority group in their own sovereign state. They were acquainted with the Bible as the sourcebook for Israel's

history and with religious beliefs and practices without being required to adopt them personally.

In this study, both spouses were recurrently distressed by the future of their children in general, and specifically by the lack of national-Israeli dimensions in their education. Thus, a separatist need for an Israeli-type secular public school surfaced among one-fourth or the respondents. This need was felt among one-third of the families in Queens - a proportion twice as high as in Brooklyn. The difference may be attributed to other findings in the study, namely that families in Queens were more likely than those in Brooklyn: (1) to be concerned with the education of their children; (2) to fear general assimilation and (3) to score "high" on Israeli and Zionist identities.

5. Health Risks: thirteen percent of the families and the same proportion of children were found not to be covered by any type of health insurance. They have also discontinued payments for health coverage in Israel. All of these cases were in Brooklyn. thus, about one-quarter of the Israeli families sampled in Brooklyn were risking - if not already suffering - the financial and mental implications of a major illness. This condition was hardly addressed by the respondents as an area of concern. However, the implication of this finding is grave enough to justify its inclusion in a normative category of need or as a "population at risk" [32]. Furthermore, two-thirds of these cases reported an annual income under \$15,000, supporting previous findings in which a strong association was reported between low family income and the lack of health coverage [33].

In the few cases of severe health crises encountered in the interviews, it was up to the extended family (where it existed), their

financial ability and their good will to see that medical bills were covered. If any of the above did not exist, Jewish charity became the last resort. This finding means that families outside the health care system most probably receive episodic and fragmented services for acute conditions. But above all, they do not receive the benefits of preventive or health maintenance services that a regular source can provide.

6. Economic Condition: A sense of financial stress was rarely revealed by the interviewees. However, one-quarter of the families reported an annual income of less than \$15,000 in 1981 and nearly 10 percent reported less than \$10,000. This data alone is not sufficient to infer the incidence of poor families. But this study had also revealed that 16 percent of the families received some form of Jewish charity such as tuition discounts, interest-free loans and secret almsgiving. Half of those recipients reported income levels under \$15,000. Such inter-relations were more common among families in Brooklyn, where one-third reported income of less than \$15,000 and over one-fourth reported help from Jewish charity. Furthermore, the few cases of unemployment, the receipt of food stamps and Medicaid benefits, were also primarily in Brooklyn. The combination of low income, reliance on charity, the receipt of public benefits and the lack of health insurance, draws attention to the overlapping elements of a potentially poor or near-poor fragment of Israeli families in New York City. Since most of these are likely to be concentrated in Brooklyn, their normative categorization as a "population at risk" is further justified.

The table below summarizes these six areas of concern and need by presenting: (1) their proportion in the total sample; (2) the subgroup in which they are predominant (i.e., the independent variables) and (3) the proportion

of that need or concern within the predominant sub-group.

AREAS OF MAJOR NEEDS AND CONCERN:  
THEIR PROPORTION AND THE SUB-GROUP  
IN WHICH THEY ARE PREDOMINANT (N=86)

Areas of Major Need and Concern	Percent of total sample	Sub-Group in which Predominant	Percent of sub-group
1. Social Isolation (Israeli Center)	31	"Newcomers"	46
2. Wives Adjustment	21	"Newcomers"	37
3. Families in limbo	12	"Old-timers"	18
4. Education (Israeli-type school)	24	Queens	33
5. Health Risks (No insurance)	13	Brooklyn	26
6. Economic Condition (Jewish Charity)	16	Brooklyn	28

GUIDELINES FOR POLICY AND RESEARCH

The major finding of this study is that in the absence of other options, an Israeli "community in limbo" tends to integrate primarily into the local American-Jewish community. For several families, this integration is a compromise, at the American-Jewish community does not satisfy their explicit ethnic needs for services, neither their needs for activities geared to maintaining a separate Israeli na-



tional identity.

In order to deal with these separatist needs, a policy guideline is suggested. It does not deal with specific programming and administrative structuring in the technical sense, but is rather a "general guide to action, a cluster of overall decisions to rationalize policy changes" [34].

When dealing with the need for separatist services, three major partners in the Israeli-Jewish system should be considered: the Israeli government, American-Jewish organizations and the Israeli-ethnic private sector in the United States. These three systems are strongly interrelated - although in an unstructured manner. Each provides a variety of services to the Israeli and American-Jewish community.

Israel's quandry in taking an active role in the provision of separatist services is the most controversial of the three systems, due to its unique ambivalence towards its emigrants. For example: in informal discussions of this study's findings, Israeli officials expressed concern that an Israeli-type educational system in the United States would support and facilitate the move from Israel to the United States. On the other hand, they are aware that such a school could slow down and interfere with the process of integration and acculturation to American society through the enhancement of national Israeli identity. The lack of information on the possible impact of such a school is Israel's major reason for deferring a decision at the policy level. However, the choice not to decide is not necessarily the optimal alternative [35]. Further research on the dilemma and some experimentation could prove helpful.

In contrast to Israel's ambivalence toward its compatriots, the American-Jewish social

services have a clear commitment to all Jewish groups in the United States. thus, several separatist programs, staffed by Israeli professionals, were started recently in local Jewish social service agencies to better address Israeli ethnic needs. Their remaining dilemma is: under what circumstances and to what extent should Israeli identity be considered in the delivery of social services, and would such consideration lead to more empathic help or to the undesired segregation of Israelis from the local Jewish communities?

Data in this study suggest that the families' recency of migration, their geographic locale and social class are important variables in addressing these questions. For example, American-Jewish organizations might want to consider not only the separatist ethnic needs of the Israelis, but also the health and socio-economic conditions of those who are at the lowest reaches of the social strata - the Israeli poor and the near-poor congregated primarily in Brooklyn.

The ethnic private sector is the third partner in the system providing separatist programs for Israelis. The most extensive portion of this sector is in the area of entertainment. However, there is also a wide variety of Israeli professionals who have developed an ethnically-based clientele (i.e., lawyers, doctors, etc.) The nature of any such private sector is to fill the gaps in areas not addressed by public or voluntary auspices. Thus, the ethnic private sector will primarily respond to areas of inaction by the Israeli government or the American-Jewish organizations.

Such an analysis suggests that both the State of Israel and American-Jewish organizations have to weigh their role in providing services for the Israelis. While they may judge this group differently, they do have

interrelated interests. Some coordination could benefit both parties more than the present fragmentation. Clarification of concrete areas of common interest requires further exploration of basic facts and values and the establishing of functional boundaries and levels of coordination.

The size of the sample and the goals of this exploratory study were too limited to reveal extensive policy implications. For further validation of the findings, more research is needed on: a) social service needs of additional immigrant groups to allow for inter-ethnic comparison, b) different subgroups of Israelis such as: singles, divorced, separated and deserted, the poor and near-poor, and mixed marriages of American and Israelis, c) the characteristics of service utilizers from the "supply-side" (the service users) perspective and, d) longitudinal studies on the major phases and dimension of maintaining an ethnic identity or integrating into the various types of American "melting-pot". Studies like this one, and the variations suggested, may enhance the understanding of practitioners and the responsiveness of social policy-makers to the needs of the various emerging ethnic communities in the United States.

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HOLIDAYS AS MULTIPLE REALITIES:  
EXPERIENCING GOOD TIMES AND BAD TIMES AFTER  
A DISABLING INJURY

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ABSTRACT

Holidays are idealized as times of celebration. They are embedded in cultural symbols, family patterns, and lived experience. Because all holidays are not good times, however, the lived experience of holidays is considerably more complex than its symbolization. This ambivalence is dramatically deepened for recently disabled adults who view holidays as a specially strained time of remembrance. Past holidays are often idealized in a new way as one's biography is placed into a new embodied reality. Simultaneously, holidays remain days when one is supposed to celebrate, and often denote some celebration for the injured. The resulting experience is a melange of painful past memories, agonizing perceptions of the future, and a sense of possibility in the present. In this paper, I examine holidays as the locus of particularly problematic good times and bad times juxtaposed in one experience. The Data for this study were collected while the author did participant observation at a rehabilitation hospital during a series of holidays: e.g., the Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving, and Christmas.

## INTRODUCTION

Holidays are the community's stage for symbolic action (Deegan, 1985). They are ritual days set off from mundane reality and idealized as times of celebration or commemoration. They are part of the community's "symbolic universe" linking affect, experience, and institutions into an inter-subjective network of meaning (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Holidays mark the passage of time and help construct our individual biographies and community histories. The lived reality of holidays is incredibly more complex, however, than their symbolic meanings, and people sometimes enjoy and sometimes dread their coming. "Holidays" are multiple realities (Schutz, 1962: 208-59) connecting human meaning and emotion in historically specific locations.

Because of their significance and layers of meaning, holidays are fraught with negative as well as positive emotions and memories. Loneliness, isolation, absence from loved ones, and depression are all experiential markers of the multitextured nature of "holiday celebrations." Particularly "happy holidays," such as fondly remembered childhood Christmases, Easter Egg Hunts, and an exciting "4th of July" Parade, are important experiences anchoring co-participants into "significant others" (Sullivan, 1953) and transforming contemporaries into a meaningful community (Turner, 1969). Each individual builds a biography (Schutz, 1971: 288) of holiday experiences shared with others or separated from them, and this "holiday biography" over the course of the life cycle locates each person in a world thickly or sparsely textured with periodic times of celebration. Each person experiences holidays as multiple, often contradictory and ambiguous, realities.

Although each person's biographical ac-

count of holidays changes over time, especially as friends and family members change, an abrupt change in one's life situation is often condensed and poignantly remembered on holidays. Traumatic injuries leading to permanent disabilities are one type of abrupt change, and this change is generally considered one of loss.

Adults who have recently experienced such physical assaults often find that their lives are systematically altered. Such "dramatic biographical relocations" are physically, socially and emotionally wrenching. Holidays, however, become particularly problematic, for the lived experience of the present and the anticipated future suffer in comparison to an idealized past (Schutz, 1967). Holidays with their already emotionally laden and often ambivalent experiences take on new meanings. The "happy holidays" and idealized memories of the able-bodied past are compared to the bleak present. The comparison may be one causing only slight pangs buried among more pleasant possibilities and actualities, or the comparison may be so stark and powerful that holidays become days of mourning rather than celebration. They become the accentuated days of suffering rather than pleasure, and the contrast between ideal and real holidays can be excruciating. This confrontation with human change and loss is deepened in institutions which place further distances between the idealized celebration with selected others, often in private homes, and the lived experience of holidays spent with strangers who are often in pain, in public institutions, and far from homelike environments.

This analysis of the multiple realities of holidays is based on the observation of recently disabled adults in a specialized physical rehabilitation hospital. I was a participant observer at this hospital from June 1973 to March, 1974. The holidays observed in-

cluded the 4th of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving, memorial Day, christmas, St. Patrick's Day, and Easter. In addition, other days of celebrations such as hospital anniversaries, celebrity visits, and recreational special events were also observed. Everyday life for nine months provided a contrast to the holiday times (Deegan, 1975, 1977a, 1977b, 1978, Deegan and Nutt, 1975).

My analysis begins with the social construction of holidays, a new area of study in phenomenology. I turn to the specific experiences of myself and patients in the hospital, and then discuss the institutional construction of holidays. I conclude by briefly dipping into the murky waters of alternate ways to experience and construct institutional holidays.

## THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE HOLIDAYS

Holidays are ritual times distinct from everyday life. (Turner and Turner, 1978). In traditional societies, holidays are generally associated with religious events and thus the word "holiday" is a secularization of the earlier work "holy-day." In American society, civil holidays are associated with sacred times, (Bellah, 1969) and all American holidays are both "sacred" and "profane". Because of the diversity of religious beliefs, holiday traditions, and lived experiences associated with them, modern societies, in contrast to non-modern societies (Durkheim, 1915: Turner, 1974: Deegan, 1985) do not have the power to define one dominant reality as ideal for each holiday. For example, Christmas is a deeply embedded and sacred event for many Christians, a partially sacred and profane event for many more Christians, and an imposed religious ideology for non-Christians. The recent debate over whether the Creche containing statues of Mary, Joseph, and the infant Jesus could be

shown on public ground in Washington D.C. reveals the complex interplay between the sacred and the profane, and Christmas is more a clearly defined religious holiday than most American holidays.

Despite this variability, some themes remain constant. For example, the family and home are symbolically important for holidays, and a focal point for the union is the holiday meal. Different generations and extended family members often see each other only on such ritualized occasions, and the sharing of holidays over the life cycle marks the family tie in a particularly overt and definite way. Conversations about family and friends who are not present are part of the process of constructing "holiday life" and shared memories -- especially if pleasant -- are revived. This is an ideal type of "growing old" together (Schutz, 1967).

Holidays serve a complex function of being the source of both anomie and, its antithesis, nomie. In other words, holidays are often rather formless and disappointing, causing a sense of normlessness or anomie (Durkheim, 1897). At the same time, holidays are often the source of a sense of rules and order, they are "a nomos-building instrumentality...a social arrangement that creates for the individual the sort of order in which he (she) can experience his (her) life as making sense" (Berger and Kellner, 1970: 50, female pronouns added). Holidays can become times that are dreaded because they fall so far short of their idealized meaning and emotions, and holidays can become times that are anticipated with joy because they enrich our lives and create meaning for everyday existence and experience. A particular person may experience predominantly dread or joy, but we generally enjoy some holidays more than others, and these mixed emotions and feelings can fluctuate over time. As a result, holidays

are days of ambivalence and contradiction, mirroring the complexity of both order and disorder in modern life.

The lived experiences accompanying the multiple realities of holidays reflect the ambivalence embedded in the social construction of holidays. These lived experiences are not static events, however, and they are woven into a tapestry that often makes them gain or lose significance over time. Thus the father who was hated within a family becomes an idealized patriarch in reflection, or just as possible, the ideal husband at one point in time is recalled later by an ex-wife as a despot and tyrant. There is a general tendency, however, for the "happy holidays" of the past to become even more glowing in memory than in the lived experience, and our past takes on a patina of meaning and order that anchors us over our life cycle. Jane Addams (1916) calls this phenomenon "the long road of woman's memory" and explains how even the very poor and disenfranchised look on their past with love and pride. Rubin (1976) recently found that contemporary working class families exhibit this same ability to forget the negative events of their family lives and emphasize that which is meaningful and orderly. These general characteristics of holidays; to be a mixture of sacred and profane, meaning and disorder, love and hate, are all present in the lives of recently disabled adults. These tendencies are augmented and exaggerated, however, as we see next.

#### HOLIDAYS AS "GOOD TIMES" IN THE PAST AND "BAD TIMES" IN THE PRESENT

Recently disabled adults take the idealization of past happy holidays to an extreme. At least one significant "loss", the new, permanent disability, has occurred in the present in comparison to the past. Thus, the

person remembers the able-bodied self as one where games were played, meals cooked and eaten, walks taken, and everyday bodies were necessary but taken-for-granted parts of this celebration process. Some patients relive these memories in light of their new physical restrictions. A quadriplegic, for example, may not have the ability to even lift a fork or spoon let alone gobble down a hearty meal. The absent skills are poignantly compared to the "good times" of the past and the new self/body is seen as lacking.

The remembered past also compares to the often painful and isolating present. The life of a patient is controlled by the institution (Goffman, 1961) and the physical pain associated with some injuries is often severe. Thus the everyday life of the institutionalized patient is in stark contrast to the freedom of space and time found in a home, even a relatively unhappy home. The holiday, the able-body, the home, and the family are idealized in the past while the hospital, its paid staff who are largely strangers and suffering patients are part of the new, unwanted mundane reality.

The event that led to my own confrontation with holidays as problematic reveals the complexity and emotional power of such events. It also reveals the embeddedness of researchers in the reality that they study. I was feeding a teenage woman who had just learned that she would spend the rest of her life paralyzed from the neck down. I was Christmas Eve and she was deeply withdrawn and passive. When she saw her parents enter the large cafeteria she let out a hideous, inhuman howl of agony. In that moment her despair washed over the "celebrants", particularly her parents who were frozen by her naked pain. Meanwhile, she was physically endangered for she had food in her mouth, a markedly limited ability to swallow, and she was flushed, crying, and

choking. I shoved my face in from of hers and told her quite firmly and angrily to "shut up". She was so startled that she stopped immediately and her parents removed her from the room. I was "traumatized," or shocked out of my natural attitude. My immediate emotional response was that I really did not know why she was allowed to live. I was embarrassed by my violent feeling and behavior towards her which were specifically located in this one event and "bracketed" -- if I may use that term here -- from my natural attitudes.

Contrary to my attitudes, emotions, and reflection, a number of staff members came up to me and told me that "I handled it (the situation) well." They mentioned how "such problems" needed to be "covered up" and "handled quickly" so other patients could maximize their enjoyment of these "good times." But from this time forward, I noticed the specific efforts to contain misery in such a "public/private" event. My ambivalence about holidays grew, and I had to increasingly make an effort to have "fun" on such institutional occasions. The patients' grumbles took on more meaning. Their dread was my dread, but institutionally I was not supposed to legitimate the patients' negative feelings.

It is clear that my own experience of hospital holidays focused my research interests. Many patients did not experience or exhibit my dramatic dread for holidays. They displayed the appropriate signs of having fun; i.e., loud talk, flushed and smiling faces, and interpersonal touching indicating intimacy and shared good times. Despite these signs of "good times," however, I noted other signs of holidays as stressful. Thus, many people engaged in small family arguments that they tried to hide from public view. Smiles would disappear if the patients "forgot" to "keep them on," and patients were often "cranky" and irritable afterwards. Although considerable



conversation in the days after holidays is oriented towards a description of holidays as "good times," I was unable to believe these words. I do not know now how much of my skepticism arose from my own disbelief and how much arose from the unbelievability of what was said. Whatever my own role, however, a distinct effort was made by staff and patients to recall these events as "fun" and a tactful silence about tears and screams was maintained (Goffman, 1967). For holidays in an institutions are special settings for special days, and the fit between public and private norms for holidays are often unknown, at odds, or meaningless. In institutions, having fun on holidays is a special form of work, a topic I explore next.

#### INSTITUTIONAL HOLIDAYS AS PUBLIC WORK FOR PATIENTS AND STAFF

As mentioned earlier, holidays are embedded in family life. This is often associated with home settings, and what we call "private" life. Holidays are "public" special days but they are often spent and celebrated in private settings. A considerable amount of energy, or "holiday work," is done by individuals preparing for a holiday. For example, christmas trees are bought, "put up," and "decorated." Thanksgiving meals are notoriously bountiful, while the 4th of July almost demands hot dogs and potato salads. Household decorations, lawn ornaments, and particular clothing are other signs of "holiday preparations." Family members and friends may share these activities. Smells of food, perhaps a lighted fire, the "good china," and special seating arrangements are all parts of the private rituals surrounding these public days.

Institutional settings contrast dramatically with these idealized home holidays. Instead of smelling roasting chestnuts, the air

is filled with antiseptics and perhaps foul body odors. Instead of wearing festive clothing, white hospital gown cover - sometimes barely - the body. (There was an attempt to not wear hospital clothing on these days but it was not always possible or desired.) Instead of having the best china, hospital dinnerware was used. Instead of being surrounded by -- again idealized -- smiling faces, some patients are deeply despondent, in pain, or perhaps even drooling their food down their faces. There is no doubt that a great deal of "work" goes into making an institution more of a fun place than it usually is for the patients and does not re-create a private home environment. The extreme effort to make a festive environment creates a "tension for appreciation" where patients and families remark upon the "changes" and "fun atmosphere." But such remarks and tactful talk cannot hide the reality that public holidays in hospitals are pretty grim, very different from a home, and very far from the ideal "happy holiday". Thus the reality of what is going on is a very tenuous one. Past memories may make the contrast so sharp that it gains precedence over presenting a tactful front, and some patients may not want to or be willing to "keep up the show." Thus, at any moment, the possibility of the legitimated reality of having a "good time" is threatened and the powerful alternate realities of ambivalence, despair, anger, and mourning may break through and dominate. Considerable work by patients, families, friends and staff must be done to try to continually reweave a reality ad definition of "good times".

As noted, this paper emerged out of my own increasing distress with the incongruent realities of hospital holidays. Not only was I working when I was supposed to be playing, but the tension at the hospital would increase for days before the holidays. This tension was consistently interpreted by the hospital

staff, especially the recreational therapy staff, as one of positive anticipation. The patients would often support this social construction of the tension, but just as frequently, they would make asides and comments about not feeling positive about the approaching event. These negative signs were often ignored, reinterpreted, or jokingly discussed by the staff. Thus patients who would say that they never wanted to have another "Christmas" or "Thanksgiving" would be cajoled by a staff member who responded "You don't really mean that," or "You'll feel better tomorrow." Staff would also refer to forthcoming holidays with excitement saying things like "It's only 10 days to Christmas" or "We are going to really have a nice party for Easter." Patients would be asked if their families were coming for the holidays, and these questions increased in frequency as the holiday approached. There were many simultaneous efforts to have patients return to their homes for the holidays, offering a contradiction to the work being done to make the institutional holiday a "fun experience."

Staff members would use holidays as conversation topics, but they would not elicit any response from those grieving about their injuries. Deeply depressed or withdrawn patients will not respond to emotionally neutral questions, so "cheery" questions are often entirely ignored. Less withdrawn often used these gambits as a way to make "small talk", however, and holidays thereby served to mark time and generate daily conversation.

Physical signs of the forthcoming holidays also were evident. Pictures of white Bunnies for Easter, shamrocks for St. Patrick's Day, streamers for parties, and "sign-up" sheets for special meals were physical signs of the anticipated holiday. The process of putting up the holiday markers and symbols occurred during the days preceding the events. Com-

ments on where to place them, if they were attractive, the significance of the holiday, and so on were thereby part of everyday life. Thus the "holiday work" done at home was mirrored in the institution, but the symbolic markers of earlier holidays were absent if not contra-indicated. Institutional holidays have their own strengths, nonetheless, and these too need analysis.

### THE "GOOD TIMES" OF HOSPITAL HOLIDAYS

I have explored in some detail the dreadful nature of institutional holidays, and I would now turn to their more playful aspects. As problematic as these holidays are, to fail to celebrate them or note their passing would be even more difficult and painful. Times of mourning and structural alienation are part of life, our biographies, and the holiday experience itself.

Many patients have playful, forgetful "good times" on holidays, and most patients have at least some moments that are fun. Building disability into one's biography is a painful process, and institutional holidays definitely show that community celebrations are part of life. Life goes on, regardless of an individual's certainty that it has basically ended. The givenness of holidays, their association with the sacred and meaningful, their ties to the family and life cycle are characteristics welding the individual to the group.

Biographically, it is quite possible that these miserable holidays mark a low in a person's life that is not repeated. They may also become a turning point in the healing process. To have any fun at all when one expects to never have a good time again is a remarkable experience. (This is an example of

what I call "a bracket within the biography", a seal on one's past.) Although this is not comforting at the time one is experiencing an awful holiday, It can provide comfort and an source of order at later stages in life.

The severely injured confront daily the frailty of existence, and this can bring new meaning to life and to holidays. At some point in a healing process, the person is glad to be alive and this joy of living is something to celebrate.

Finally, institutional holidays are "good times" in comparison to the everyday life of institutions. This type of celebration is very different from the holiday of the home and past, and the appreciation of institutional holidays as different types of celebration is sorely lacking. I will briefly discuss this aspect before concluding.

#### INSTITUTIONAL HOLIDAYS AS UNIQUE CELEBRATIONS

Institutional holidays are not comparable to those at home, with family and friends, or even just sitting alone in one's favorite chair and slippers. In order to appreciate institutional holidays they must be seen as a brave attempt to celebrate with people who are in various degrees of mourning. Institutional holidays also provide strong confrontations with many volatile areas of meaning: family, friendship, aging, existence, community, and religion. Americans as a group hide the underside of these fundamental, but problematic, structures for inter-subjective meaning and experience.

Holidays, in general, may challenge our idealizations of these somewhat shaky sources of reality, but recently and permanently dis-

abled adults may have to confront the brutal fact that their expectations concerning their body, family, friends, community, and religion are now failing them. Institutional holidays are, by definition, an arena for deep meta-physical confrontations. Unfortunately, from my point of view, this opportunity for enriching growth is lost by the rather frenetic activity defining institutional holidays as uncomplicated "good times."

Some of the "recipes" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 42) for dealing with the seething realities of institutional holidays include ignoring them, containing them, denying them, and dismissing them with a joke or a piece of cake. These are effective, immediate responses, but I question their validity over time and for large numbers of people. The incredible work of having a good time in a somewhat miserable place is heroic action requiring commitment and leaps of faith. But part of this work is unnecessary, for holidays are quintessentially ambiguous in a world where home, family, food, community, religion, and fun are not always ideal or compatible.

Times when we are jolted out of our everyday attitudes can be seen as dangerous times that can be shared instead of shamefully hidden. Institutional holidays are part of community life just as much as home holidays, and we can learn to face our multiple realities instead of vainly hoping they will just go away. We can create institutional holidays that we would choose to experience instead of living in a world with institutional life that we dread and fear.

## CONCLUSION

I have explored the meanings of holidays in hospitals as a way of looking at everyday

life, ritual celebrations, and the peculiar character of celebrations during public times of sorrow and trauma. The multiple realities of institutional holidays lie on the margin of celebrations and at the heart of questions of human meaning. Examining problematic good times reveals complexity as well as the American response to severe metaphysical challenges. The social construction of holidays exists betwixt and between good times and bad, making their study a dangerous exploration on the frontiers of human fragility. I conclude by calling for a more reflexive analysis of the underside of American ritual occasions so that we can share more fully as a community and as individuals in times of celebration.

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ASSESSING THE NEEDS OF  
MOTHERS WITH MENTALLY  
RETARDED OFFSPRING  
an empirical approach

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Abstract

This exploratory study assesses the needs of mothers with retarded offspring living at home. Previous studies have focused on meeting those parental needs which would benefit their retarded offspring. This study does not limit parental needs to those needs, which if met would benefit the retarded child, and defines parents as an independent group with special needs.

Introduction

Services for mentally retarded people continue to develop. An outgrowth of concern for retarded children is the development of services for parents with mentally retarded children, i.e. parents' advocacy and therapy groups.

However, a concerted effort to plan comprehensive services for parents with mentally retarded offspring has not gained adequate attention among practitioners and administrators. Interest in parents' feelings and attitudes has arisen inasmuch as they are of crucial importance in planning for (the child's) effective treatment and rehabilitation." (Thurston, 1959) Most recently, interest is

being focused on parents attitudes towards normalization, "as parental attitudes can not only influence children's behavior, but can, in fact, undermine the acquisition of behavior skills...." (Ferrara, 1979) However, little attention is given to the needs of parents of retarded children other than those needs which are believed to influence the children.

This study attempts to assess needs of a sample of mothers with retarded offspring who live at home, via their responses to a structured interview schedule which was developed for this study. This study focuses on the need to develop more adequate services for parents of retarded children.

### Review of the Literature

The literature identifies parental concerns and reactions to their retarded child, recommends services to address these concerns and reactions and cites services that parents of retarded children use and find beneficial. A portion of the studies are based on empirical work, however most are based upon clinical observations.

### Parental Reactions

The discovery that a child is retarded is a painfully scarring event for parents. It is suggested that parents of mentally retarded children react with loss of self-esteem, shame, ambivalence, depression, self-sacrifice, defensiveness, disillusionment, vulnerability, inequity, insignificance, past orientation and loss of immortality. (Roos, 1979) Others have added to this list of parental reactions guilt, anger and death wish. (Olshansky, 1966) Some believe that these scars never heal and that they persist with these feelings, living in a state called "chronic sorrow." According to this, these parents have "little to look forward to; they

will always be burdened by the child's unrelenting demands and unaltered dependency. The woes, the trials, the moments of despair will continue until either their own death or the child's death." (Olshansky, 1962)

Others have proposed that parents can ultimately accept the child's condition, a response they have termed "constructive adaptive." (Zaider, 1982) A continuum suggested of parental reactions range from 1) "mature acknowledgement of actuality" in which "the child is accepted as he is" 2) "disguise of reality" in which "the handicap is seen clearly but is ascribed to some circumstances, the correction of which would restore the child to normality" and 3) "complete inability to face reality in any form" leading to "uncompromising denial" in which the parents believe that "there is absolutely nothing wrong with the child." (Kanner, 1953)

Both extremes, the constructive adaptive and chronic sorrow are believed to be the end result of a series of emotional stages through which the parents traverse. Gearheart and Litton (1975) propose the following chain of parental reactions: 1) awareness of retardation, 2) denial, 3) recognition, 4) search for a cause, 5) search for a cure and 6) acceptance. Leland and Smith (1974) have similarly proposed three phases of parental reaction: 1) "initial grief reaction", 2) "transitional stage of adjustment" and 3) beginning acceptance of the situation by parents.

Rather than a series of phases in an adaptive or maladaptive process, parental reactions are also seen as a series of responses to crisis involved in parenting retarded children. These crisis are: 1) Novelty shock: this occurs when parents first learn that the child is not normal and are faced with the discrepancy between their expectations of having a normal healthy child and their retar-

ded infant. 2) Value crisis this reflects the parents' conflict regarding "the meaning the child represents." A value crisis tends to extend for a considerable length of time, "but once resolved they are not likely to again become a major source of conflict." 3) Reality Crisis which are parental reactions to daily management problems due to the presence of a retarded child in the home and accompanying factors such as social pressure ( Zaider, 1982).

### Parental Concerns

The reality crisis described above manifests itself in parental concerns. These areas of parental concern in order of prevalence are education, family living and physical care. Parents concern for the former is that better training programs be developed for their children. (Wolfensberger, 1970) The retarded child interferes with family life by: 1) weakening integration 2) creating additional expenses and 3) limiting family activities. (Gearheart, 1975) Families have tended to sacrifice gratifying needs of other family members over those of the retarded child. (Koch, 1971) Additionally, the retarded child living at home places serious restrictions on the mobility of the family. (Boggs, 1970)

Parents are concerned about such aspects of physical care as the possibility that the child will be the victim of physical harassment finding suitable living conditions for the child and planning for the future (Skelton, 1972). An example of this is the well being of the child after parents' death, (Roos, 1977) which is more prevalent among parents of the adult mentally retarded. (Goodman, 1978) Additional concerns are leaving the child unaccompanied, for example, riding public transportation. (Roos,1977)

A concern particularly of parents with

adolescent and adult retarded offspring are the dangers posed by the child's sexuality. (Goodman, 1971) Parents are also concerned with finding suitable recreation and companionship for their retarded offspring. (Skelton, 1972)

### Community Services

On the basis of the aforementioned parental concerns, the literature recommends services that would benefit parents of retarded children. Improving educational services is recommended to address the primary concern of parents, which is training and education. Clinics providing family counseling are recommended to help families with familial problems related to having a retarded child in the family, (Skelton, 1972) as well as for training parents in child management, for example, behavior modification techniques. (Olshansky 1966)

Concerns for physical care of retarded children are being addressed through short-term holiday care, thus enabling the parents to have a vacation and freedom from worrying about the child's physical care and hostels providing permanent accommodations to mentally retarded adults. "Families" comprised of retarded persons is recommended to provide retarded adults with recreation and companionship. (Skelton, 1972) Other services recommended also based on concerns of parents are babysitting and adequate education past age 16. (Olshansky, 1966)

The aforementioned services are recommendations of professionals and based on clinical observations. The empirical studies of service utilization by parents reveals that home visits by nurses, the activities of parents' associations, and nursery schools are the most widely utilized and are felt by the parents to be the most beneficial services. (Ehlers.

1966)

Previous studies assessing parents' needs in order to recommend services have either addressed parental needs through services beneficial to the child or have prescribed services based on an understanding of parental needs gained through observations of reactions and concerns of parents. In this study an attempt was made to ascertain from mothers themselves their concerns, reactions and the services they use, as well as services they feel would be beneficial.

This study attempts to identify mothers' perceptions of: concrete unmet needs, services missing and several dimensions of specific life areas (social, marital and communal). Information was also obtained from the case record of each child, which included information about: family composition, child's age, mental and physical functioning. Attempts were made to identify significant relationships between variables by crosstabulating the information obtained from mothers with data from case records.

### Instrument

As the approach taken in this study to assess the needs of parents with retarded children was not found elsewhere, an exploratory study using a small sample of mothers of of mentally retarded adults and children living in Tiberias, Israel was first embarked upon. The instrument used for this initial study was a Hebrew version of the Thurston Sentence Completion Form which includes 45 incomplete sentences divided into seven attitudinal and reactional areas. (Thurston, 1959) The item selection and instrument design of the final instrument is based on the results of the exploratory study and the reviewed literature. An interview was conducted with a planner from AKIM, the national organization



for retarded persons. He knew of no other such efforts in Israel. The final instrument was designed primarily by members of the Research Department of the Israeli Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the author of this paper.

The questionnaire is comprised of two parts, the first part consists of information obtained from the child's case record which includes: I.Q., type of test and test date, family composition, birth order, age, parents ages, country of origin, occupation, and number of occupants in the parents' home. The second part is an interview schedule administered to the mothers, which took between 25 and 50 minutes. The questions asked in the interview are about the child, parents, siblings, and extended family.

The questions the mothers are asked about the retarded child included the following areas: level of functioning (bodily, motor and sensory), use of medications, institutional affiliation (sheltered workshop, day care center or special education), satisfaction-discomfiture in institution and social network. Mothers are asked about their social life, religious life, marital relationship, care-taking patterns of child, help-seeking patterns (use of friends, neighbors, professionals, agencies and relations), service utilization, assessment of effectiveness of institutions, agencies, and specific human service professionals. They are also asked to identify unanswered needs and services, special family problems and their attitudes towards the place of the retarded persons in the community.

### Participants

The final instrument was administered as a structured interview schedule to 69 out of a total population of 79 mothers with retarded

offspring in Tiberias, Israel, who live at home and range in age from 6 to 26. The mean age of the retarded children is 11.8 years and the median is 10 years. Forty-six percent of the children are female and fifty-four percent male. The 10 not interviewed either moved from Tiberias during the study period or relocated in Tiberias and left no forwarding address.

The children of study participants attend the local day-care program the "maon", the sheltered workshop the "mass", or special education tracks within the public school system. These children range in I.Q. between 28 and 76. Because of the large number of missing I.Q. scores, and variety of tests used and variability of testing dates, central tendency data was not representative. Retarded persons are divided by law into two groups those with an I.Q. of less than 70 who are serviced by the Welfare Office and its institutions and those with an I.Q. of greater than 70 who are serviced by the Department of Education. Some idea of the I.Q. spread can be gained by the fact that 34% of the children participate in Welfare Office run institutions (indicating an I.Q. less than 70). The remaining 66% of the sample attend special education classes, which reflects an I.Q. that exceeds 69.

Most of the mothers interviewed reside in upper Tiberias in densely populated public housing projects. This area is a target of Israel's urban renewal program, "Project Renewal." Upper Tiberias, which houses over 1/3 of the city's population, is plagued with crowded living conditions for large families, juvenile delinquency, crime and poverty. In 1978, the total population of the city was 27,500 of which 36% were members of large families (families with 8 children or more) (Berman, 1979). The average age of the mothers in this study was 34. The oldest mother was

59 and the youngest mother was 21. Less than 10% of the women in this study are natives of Israel. Almost 80% are immigrants from North African countries.

### Findings

The most frequently reported unmet concrete needs were: help for the child with school work (20%), household furnishings (17%), food and clothing (12%), and financial assistance (10%). Other unmet needs were: automobile (9%), home enlargement (4%), household aid (4%), transportation reimbursement (3%), transportation arrangements (3%), baby-sitting for the retarded child (2%), and after school program for the retarded child (1%).

A majority of respondents (67%) felt that there were services missing. Of these parents 35% could not identify the services missing. The parents who could identify missing services listed the following: 22% felt clubs or meeting places and playgrounds for retarded children were missing, 8% felt schools for retarded children were missing, 5% cited a need for tutors for the retarded child to aid them with school work and 3% felt that volunteers to work with retarded children were missing.

When asked, most of the mothers (67%) said that they would like to go out more frequently for entertainment. The following were the responses of these mothers asked what would facilitate their home going out more frequently: baby sitter (47%), money (34%), home arrangements for the retarded child (5%), car (5%), household help (2%) and caretaker for other sick family members (5%).

Almost 70% of the respondents wanted to vacation more frequently. Almost forty five percent wished to do so with their retarded child and the remainder without the child.

When asked what would facilitate taking a vacation, the following were identified: baby-sitter (49%), money (43%), car (6%) and caretaker for other ill family members (3%).

Mothers were asked about their satisfaction with their neighborhoods. Slightly less than one quarter expressed a desire to relocate. Almost half of those favoring relocation related this wish to their retarded offspring. These included moving to a "more accepting area", an area "with more developed programs for retarded children" and concerns that the child is harassed where they currently live.

When asked about their interest in participating in meetings with other parents, slightly more than half responded favorably, about one third were not interested and the remainder were uncertain. Most of these mothers (63%) had never met with other parents. Those that had participated in a parents' meeting, were split six to four with the majority having enjoyed those meetings. Forty percent of all the mothers, when asked "if meetings were important" said "Yes" and an equal amount said "no" and the remainder were undecided.

Agendas suggested for parents meetings by the mothers were: suggestions and discussions on each child (53%), entertainment and to "forget about their troubles" (13%), learn methods of helping the child (10%), professional guidance (10%), comfort and consolation (7%), gain an "intellectual understanding of the problem" (3%) and to gain an ability to discuss topics related to mental retardation (3%).

More than one third of the mothers rated their marital relationships as very tense, almost fifteen percent slightly tense and just over one half as good and less than ten per-

cent as pretty good. Only slightly more than one quarter speak very frequently with their husband about the retarded child. One quarter do not speak at all with their husbands about the retarded child, 32% speak little and 17% speak frequently. If something unpleasant occurs relating to the retarded child, less than half of the mothers speak with their husbands and almost one third speak with no one. Slightly over ten percent speak with older offspring. Less than five percent speak with professionals, siblings, parents and friends or neighbors.

In an attempt to identify significant relationships between variables, a needs index was compiled and several cross tabulations were done. The needs index is obtained by counting the needs identified by any given mother. For example, a mother who expressed a need for a babysitter and household goods, rated a 2 on the index. The index ranged from 0 to 3. The relationships studied were between the needs index and mother's marital status, use of services, mother's burden, child's satisfactions-discomfiture in school or training program, child's age, sex of child and amount of visiting in the home by friends, mother's religious observance (based on response to self reporting scale widely used in Israel). It was thought that each of these variables might have some relationship to the amount of needs identified by a given mother. For example, the age of the child it was thought might impact on the amount of needs of the child's mother. Of these cross tabulations, child's age (see Table 1), home religious observance (see Table 2) and the amount of visiting in the home by friends (see Table 3), approached significance.

## Discussion

This study identifies needs of mothers with retarded offspring through their respon-

ses to an interview schedule. Assessing only maternal needs and not parental needs was done in this study because of the technical difficulties involved in locating and interviewing both parents. This approach has precedent in the literature as for example Ehler's (1966) study. This study hypothesized that mothers represent the extreme needs of parents. This is supported by the following.

70% of the mothers claim to have little or no help from their husbands. 50% of the mothers said they do all the shopping. Twenty three percent said their husbands do the shopping and 27% said shopping responsibilities are shared by parents and children. The mother-daughter dyad clean 85% of the homes and the fathers clean less than 3% of the homes. Of the 37% of the children who wake in the middle of night and require assistance, 72% are assisted by their mothers, 11% by their fathers and in 15% of the households this responsibility is shared.

No ongoing parents' groups exist in Tiberias. Parents' meetings are arranged on occasion through the childrens' institutions. A small number of couples reported that they had been involved in post-natal groups for parents of retarded children at Rambam Hospital in Haifa. At the time of this study, Akim, the National Organization for Retarded Persons, was in the process of opening a center for activities in Tiberias.

The services available for parents with retarded children in Tiberias are limited. The welfare office sponsors a day-care program and a sheltered workshop and provides concrete services to the families with retarded offspring centering on the retarded child. The office lacks the resources to address the emotional needs of the families and parents of the retarded. The special education system is not designed to provide services for parents

or families with the exception of an occasional parent/teacher meeting.

Future studies should apply a comparative perspective by including in the sample a group of parents of nonretarded children, in order to better discern those needs exclusive to parenting a retarded child. Fathers should also be included in future studies. To improve the generalizability of the findings and discern cultural factors, attempts should be made to include non-Israeli mothers of retarded and nonretarded children. Within Israel itself it would be informative to compare among the diverse cultural groups in that country. This was not possible in this study as 80% of the mothers were immigrants from North Africa. Attempts to control for socioeconomic status and I.Q. were unsuccessful as accurate information about the former was not available, and regarding the latter, many I.Q. scores are missing from case records and of the available scores, many of them were old and from several different test editions.

Consideration in future studies should be given as to the extent to which the needs of these parents are similar to the needs of other groups of parents of handicapped children. Results of such a study may suggest a possibility of amalgamation of groups of parents with children having various handicaps in order to provide more extensive parental services to all groups involved, particularly in small towns like Tiberias. Little is known about service needs of the entire family. The literature identifies debilitating effects a retarded child has on the family, however there is little consideration of family-geared services, which is an area for future study.

#### Implications for Practice

The results of this study suggest that the parents of retarded children in this popula-

tion live in isolation. Possible evidence of this is that no mother refused to be interviewed and the mothers in many cases spoke at great lengths with the interviewers. This finding suggests that what Ehlers found to be the most appreciated service, visiting nurses, may be a very worthwhile service filling a real need in Tiberias. As funding is a constraint AKIN (the National Association for the Retarded Persons) might be a source of volunteers to make home visits.

The concrete service needs identified in this study also give a flavor of isolation, in particular the perceived need of parents for increased socialization and entertainment. The obstacles to fulfilling this are money and babysitting. In an effort to meet this need, theatre tickets could be obtained, possibly on a philanthropic basis, and volunteer babysitters found or funding found to subsidize babysitters equipped to handle retarded children. Regarding the need for more vacations, services are already available in some areas (not in Tiberias) for example, holiday care for retarded children facilitates parental excursions without the retarded child. However, for those who identified a need for family vacations with the child but needed funds, no such funds are available.

Other services suggested in this study were aids to help the children with school work and parents' groups. From the perspective of this study, the former would be more important in lessening the mother's burden. The data regarding interest in parents' groups is encouraging in regard to the possible formation of such groups, although it must be remembered that there have never been ongoing parents' groups in Tiberias, hence the mothers' responses reflect sporadic parent meetings held at the various institutions and not an ongoing group experience.



Many of the interviews were conducted by this writer and the remainder by interviewers trained by him. A problem frequently encountered was that the participants in the study seemed to maintain erroneous "messianic" hopes about changes that this study might bring about. We attempted to give this group of mothers no reason to anticipate rapid change and in fact, we made great efforts not to instill false hopes in this very desperate, indigent and lonely group of mothers. Any damage caused by this study is greatly regretted.

This exploratory study is a preliminary attempt at assessing the needs of mothers with retarded children as a population with needs independent of those of their children. This study is based on a belief that parents with retarded children are a group with many needs which go unmet, and that mothers represent the extreme needs of the family. This study differs from previous studies which viewed providing services to the parents as a means of helping the retarded child. Parents' needs in previous studies are either masked by the numerous needs of their children or receive attention to the extent that they are viewed as a means of helping the children. It is likely that any help given to the parents with retarded children will aid their children, however, this study argues that the former need not be a criteria for providing services to parents with retarded children.

## Chi Square

Cross tabulations of amount of mother's needs and several variables (less needs 0-2, more needs 2-3)

Table 1

Age of child x needs index

	less needs	more needs	
child over 12	86%	14%	x <sup>2</sup> =2.22 df=1
child under 12	70%	30%	p 7.1

Table 2

Mothers level of religious observance x needs index

	less needs	more needs	
less religious	70%	30%	x <sup>2</sup> =1.35 df=1
more religious	82%	18%	p 7.2

Table 3

Frequency of friends visiting in home x needs index

	less needs	more needs	
friends visit frequently	63.6%	36.4%	x <sup>2</sup> =3.46 df=1
friends visit sometimes or rarely	82%	18%	p 7.2

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A copy of the interview schedule can be obtained by contacting the author of this paper. The primary author of this instrument was Yehudit Sali.

# A PERSPECTIVE ON DIFFERENTIAL SERVICES IN COUNSELING: ALTRUISM AND LIKENESS

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## ABSTRACT

In this exploratory study using a small sample, an attempt is made to understand the differential services provided by vocational counselors in a non-profit agency, a setting in which a strong identification with clients is encouraged. The services are measured and the unequal measures of service are related to the degree to which the client is seen as an image of the counselor in certain respects. Counseling is viewed as an altruistic occupation and the differential services are analyzed in this context. In general, it is suggested that the differential counseling and psycho-therapeutic services noted by other writers all reflect a kind of likeness between counselor-therapist and client-patient, that the relationship is somewhat narcissistic, and that while the kinds of likeness observed may be quite varied, they can be classified as reflecting biological, psychological, and social factors.

### The Setting and the Problem

This study was carried out in a voluntary job counseling and placement agency -- the Youth employment Agency (YEA) -- located in a large city in the eastern part of the United States. At the time the research was concluded, the agency employed 42 people. Twelve

of these were counselors. The remainder of the staff was composed of administrators, aides, clerks and various specialists such as remedial-education teachers and "post-placement monitors" who kept track of the client's progress after job placement and dealt with any problems on the job. The clientele of the agency was a young (16-19) largely minority-group population made up mostly of dropouts, drug abusers and correctional cases. The principal methods used in the research were interviews (of staff and clients), observations of the counselors in session with clients, and agency records including case files. The research took place over a three-year period.

The problem of interest was the differential services provided clients: some clients were observed earlier to get more service or better service than others.

### The Literature

The problem of differential services to patients of mental health professions has been explored by a number of writers. Keith-Spiegel and Spiegel (1967) found a positive relationship between the patients' education and intelligence and perceptions of the psychiatrist as helpful or not. Dumont (1968) concluded that psychotherapy, as generally practiced, "requires a patient who is verbal, insightful, and motivated, one who can delay gratification, and who more or less, shares the values of the therapist, thereby virtually excluding the lower-class person from treatment." Stoler (1963) had earlier observed that the likeability of the patient was associated with successful treatment. Carkhuff and Pierce (1967) have suggested that the patient's race and social class are important variables in successful treatment: when they coincided with the therapist's race and social class, there was a "greater depth of self-

exploration" by the patient, an indicator of effective treatment process. Whether an individual is even accepted for psychotherapy was found by Rosenthal and Frank (1958) to be related to such variables as the person's age, race, education, and income.

Garfield (1971) reviewed the research in this area and summarized it as follows:

"Lower-class, relatively non-verbal, and more severely disturbed clients are not well received by many therapists, and many clinics appear to reject the applications of such individuals for treatment. In contrast, verbal, intelligent, introspective, interested, and educated clients with relatively little disturbance are eagerly sought after by therapists."

In professions such as psychotherapy, guided by a strong ethical orientation, differential services are seen as a problem that must be dealt with, so that practice is more consistent with ethical and societal ideals. A particularistic or personal reaction to the client's characteristics is irrational, emphatically discouraged, and must be controlled. Garfield (1971) for example, argued:

"The more traditional model of long-term psychotherapy is clearly not a suitable nor realistic model for the great majority of our population and more efficient approaches or modifications must be sought... It seems decidedly unfair and socially inequitable to favor one small segment of the population and to ignore the rest because the former appear to accommodate more readily to our technique and our expectations."

Weiner (1975) cautions that the therapist



should be aware of his/her "real reactions" to the patient's characteristics or behavior so as to prevent the reactions from "diluting his commitment to the working alliance" with the patient.

"Whenever real reactions threaten to impair therapist effectiveness, or for example when the therapist finds it difficult to like or respect his patient as a person, serious consideration should be given to transferring the patient to another therapist."

Real reactions are not the same as counter-transference, defined as "inappropriate or irrational reactions" to the patient's behavior. A therapist "may realistically be annoyed at having ashes dropped on his floor; if he becomes furious, he is probably experiencing a counter-transference reaction."

Eberly, Eberly, and Wright (1981) found that rehabilitation counselors had a distinct preference for working with nonhandicapped clients.

"The results are interpreted as supporting the contention that ambivalence toward physically handicapped people extends beyond the social milieu and perhaps affects the vocational rehabilitation process."

Allen, Peterson, and Keating (1982) compared the attitudes of mental health and rehabilitation counselors toward alcoholics, homosexuals, public offenders, the mentally ill or retarded, and clients who were physically disabled. Although the effect on services was not analyzed, they reported that "attitudes toward the alcoholic were significantly lower than those toward each of the other groups," with implications for service

differentials.

Dailey's (1983) study of sex-role congruence between social workers and clients was influential in explaining the practitioner's preference for working with certain clients. Androgynous clients (those in which "the psychological traits characteristic of both sexes" were combined) were judged to be more emotionally mature and more intelligent. The social workers studied were "more enthusiastic" about having them as clients and had "significantly more positive" attitudes toward them; androgynous social workers were "more positive toward androgynous clients" than towards other clients. In general, the androgynous clients "were judged to have a significantly more favorable prognosis in treatment than either masculine or feminine clients."

Physicians also respond in a differential way to certain patients. Papper (1970) a physician himself, has described the undesirable patient as follows:

"--..the physically dirty patient is undesirable, and any other lofty qualities he may have will have little opportunity to penetrate the barrier established by the physician. The uneducated...may be patronized and denigrated by the physician...even when the physician has genuine concern for the economically disadvantaged he may, because of his own background, unwittingly regard the extremely poor as 'different', with a flavor of 'inferiority' included in the difference. We shall not mention further the generally recognized biases that can lead to a patient's undesirability - race, religion, region or country of origin."

The remedy, in Papper's view, is not to identify with the patient, but to develop "a sense of self-discipline that minimizes the numbers of patients who become undesirable."

However, in some counseling occupations, such as vocational counseling, it appears that a personal relationship -- even an identification with clients is more encouraged. Counselors are recruited from the same social strata as the clients, or they are in some sense "dedicated" to the clients and their welfare. Counselors and client are allied in a cause.

In this setting, differential service takes on a new meaning: it runs counter to the emphasis placed on identifying with clients and their "cause." It was this relationship with clients, rather than any professional orientation that gave direction to the work of the agency's counselors. In fact, there was virtually no professional orientation among YEA's counselors, when we assessed their professionalism using as criteria holding an appropriate advanced degree, membership in professional associations, use of professional journals, and familiarity with the contents of existing codes of ethics in the field of vocational counseling.

The service differential of interest here is not the exclusion of clients nor the outcome of the interaction between counselor and client. Exclusion of clients from service was indeed found at YEA in the form of weeding out certain hard-to-place clients. However, this appeared to be more related to new funding sources and contract requirements in the agency than to the counselor's reaction to client characteristics. This aspect of the research is described in an earlier (1979) article by the author. Rather, the quality of the relationship itself, and a quantitative measure of

it (time in session with clients) are of primary interest. And because the client-counselor relationship was an object of study, we were interested in obtaining some insight into the nature of that relationship.

The relationship itself was conceived of as an altruistic one. Halmos (1970) has argued that "love is expressed in all counseling" and that it is the most potent resource at the counselor's command, carrying "more therapeutic weight" than the counselor's theory and professional technology. Even when this involves playing a role, the "enactment of a role changes the personality of the role-player," and results in a "rare and impressive accumulation of a sympathetic and caring attitude towards others." Halmos, however, rejects professional role-playing as an explanation of concerned behavior: it is essentially a rationalization, a manifestation of misplaced professionalism, concealing "the aspiration to be the kind of person defined by the role."

He continues:

..The alibi of the worker, that he is only making himself instrumental to success by assuming a parental role, playing the role as an actor would, becomes suspect when the literature explicitly demands that the worker should enter into communion with the patient, that there should be empathy between worker and patient and that the worker should love the patient."

But which ones? The research at YEA suggests that there is some observable discrimination among possible beneficiaries i.e., clients.

To Sorokin (1954), love was the force behind altruistic behavior. He was oblivious

to the discrimination among objects but suggested that altruism was itself comprised of a number of variables which act as constraints on each other. Altruistic love can vary according to: (1) its intensity, (2) its extensity, (3) its duration, (4) its purity, and (5) the adequacy of its objective manifestation in relation to its subjective purpose. These factors interact. For example, the greater the extensity (number of objects loved), the lower the intensity or duration of love.

The extensity of love is a measure of how many one loves, ranging "from the zero point of love of oneself only, up to the love of all mankind, all living creatures, and the whole universe." In between these extremes "lies a vast scale of extensities: love of one's own family, of a few friends, or love of all the groups one belongs to -- one's clan, tribe, nationality, religious, occupational, political, and other groups and associations."

Socio-biologists offer an interesting explanation of altruistic behavior directed towards one's own kind. Barash (1977) for example, asserts that altruism is explained by the genetic closeness (or likeness) between the altruist and the beneficiary, with the beneficiary devalued in proportion as that relationship is genetically more distant." This principle is used to explain, for example, why bird "sentries" alert the flock to the presence of predators when, in so doing, they expose themselves and run the risk of self-sacrifice. In the study of YEA's counselors, however, we were at times dealing with altruism involving pronounced genetic differences, if we accept race as representing a genetic difference. That is, White and Puerto Rican counselors might have as intense concern for Black clients as Black counselors did. Thus, genetic likeness did not seem to cover all cases of intense empathic relationships.

Altruism, as viewed by Barash and others who accept the group-selection hypothesis, is both a bonding and a divisive force, reflecting in-group (species) bonding and inter-group divisions. In human relationships, however, altruism may have spiritual, moral, and experiential aspects, increasing the potential range of its bonding effect in some directions and diminishing it in others.

Other researchers, working in the social psychology of altruism, have focused on the developmental processes involved in the socialization of altruistic character. Here also, however, altruistic character is manifested in a more or less indiscriminating way. Aronfreed (1970), for example, has emphasized two preconditions for the emergence of altruistic behavior: a "capacity for empathic experience" and "establishment of the instrumental value of overt acts." Berkowitz (1970) and others draw our attention to the rewards involved in altruistic behavior: the approval of others is one motivating reward, but more consistently, action that is consistent with a certain self-image brings its own reward. Freedman (1970) utilizes the concept of character also, but with a twist: experimental subjects who transgressed moral codes (i.e., deviated from their usual character) by cheating, hurting someone or destroying their work were more likely to engage in helping behavior when requested even if it would not benefit the injured party. The reward involved in this compensatory behavior was relief from guilt. Rawlings (1970) has suggested that whether altruistic behavior is evoked by some internalized moral standard (anticipatory guilt) rather than by a desire to compensate others for harm done to them (reactive guilt) is influenced by parental punishment techniques. In all these studies, altruism is seen as something of a duty, of rather uniform intensity, arising from character. Rosehan's (1970) work also treats altruism as being

expressive of character, with character being shaped by parental socialization, and duty (more than desire) describes the motivation involved. Rosehan introduces a new dimension however: the degree or intensity of commitment of the altruists studied (civil rights workers) varied; some were "fully committed" while others were only "partially committed" to the cause of the beneficiaries. Moreover, by implication at least, there is some suggestion of discrimination among possible beneficiaries of altruistic acts: blacks are one but only one category of beneficiaries, and in this case they are preferred.

Yarrow and Zahn-Waxler (1977) used response to distress as an indicator of altruism. Their work with young children is seen as supporting Hoffman's (1975) hypothesis that altruism is based on a primitive involuntary feeling of distress in the presence of others' distress, one that appears to be inborn. Yarrow and Zahn-Waxler suggest that this response is given direction through parental socialization, although repression of the response is said to be the more usual outcome of socialization since parents believe altruistic behavior will not be helpful to their children in life. The model lacks an adequate "intensity" dimension, however; there is no allowance for the varying degree of commitment or concern observed in reality. This could be explained in part by parental socialization, but that would leave out any subsequent experiential factors. All the important events occur at about the age of 18 months, the "critical period." Then, too, altruism is seen by these researchers as a general character trait with no discrimination among possible beneficiaries: any distress situation involving any objects will evoke helping behavior (one of the same intensity, from one situation to the next).

Lerner's (1970) work adds another element

that increases our understanding of altruism: experiential factors, other than the parental relationship, may promote empathy. People tend to identify with and respond to victims of injustice when they have themselves been victims before.

"People are most likely to help someone who has been unjustly deprived and least likely to exert themselves for someone who already has more than he deserves. The underlying motivation seems to be a desire to arrange matters so that people have just what they deserve. Of most importance theoretically, was the finding that the experience of having been unjustly deprived themselves leads to even greater efforts on behalf of someone who has been treated in a similarly unfair fashion."

Lerner's findings imply that the altruist exercises some discrimination in the universe of possible beneficiaries: only those who have "been treated in a similarly unfair fashion" trigger empathic and helping responses.

### The Methods and the Findings

There are three principal questions to be considered here:

- (1) Were YEA's counselors in general "altruistic," and what variations were observed?
- (2) What was the quantitative dimension of differential service observed, and how was this related to "likeness"?
- (3) What was the underlying qualitative, affective, relational dimension of the problem, and how was this related to "likeness"?



The answer to the first question draws on data from counselor interviews. These interviews were structured and standardized for a given time during the course of the study, although the questions themselves changed in some cases as the findings became fairly clear and new questions presented themselves. Observations of the counselors at work and interview data are used to address the second question, while the interviews of counselors provide material for dealing with the last one.

### Altruism of the Counselors

The first task was to attempt to measure the level of altruism of the counselors relative to each other and to see if in general the counselors met some reasonable criteria of altruism.

Altruism is behavior that serves the welfare of others at some cost to oneself. The costs may be relative as well as absolute. The beneficiary of an altruistic act is, in the view of the altruist, in a lamentable situation. The enlargement of the modern welfare state can be said to have reduced the number and extent of lamentable situations in materialistic ways, however short of perfection the welfare state may be. At the same time, social welfare programs have created new occupations that afford to some the opportunity to be paid for helping others in distress. These occupations may be considered altruistic in the sense that the practitioners frequently enter the occupations because of a desire to help others, and they incur some sacrifices in taking on the cares and woes of clients, and in relative income and career security. Vocational counselors are one example of this type of occupation.

The altruism of the counselors was assessed by means of interviews. The interviews

attempted to measure (1) the counselors' attachment to their work by asking if progressively higher salary increases would induce them to accept jobs in private industry; (2) whether the counselor used expressions of client gratitude (written or oral) in an instrumental way by communicating them to supervisors or not; and (3) the worth of the client "as is," versus the client's need for improvement in order to be a worthy object of affection. It should be pointed out that not all counselors were asked this particular set of questions. Because of the duration of the study, the counseling staff changed over time. Later counselors were interviewed on other subjects (as were the holdovers) since, by then, the findings obtained here seemed clear (and not puzzling).

### Salaries as Work Incentive

The interviews suggest that money was not the overriding goal of the counselors. Although they were concerned about money and complained about being underpaid, yet when questioned as to whether they would accept a job in private industry paying more money, most counselors expressed a great reluctance, even though they were questioned about a salary increase of up to \$4,000 a year. When the hypothetical increase was greater than \$4,000, most began to waver; but all indicated a strong preference for a similar job.

Of the counselors on staff at the time this question was used, their responses to the money question may be summarized as below.

TABLE 1  
ACCEPTANCE OF A JOB IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY  
WHEN ANNUAL SALARY INCREASE AMOUNTED TO:

COUNSELOR	\$500	\$1000	\$2000	\$4000
A	NO	NO	NO	NO
B	PROBABLY	YES		
C	NO	NO	NO	"TEMPTED"
D	NO	NO	NO	NO
E	NO	NO	NO	"PROBABLY"

Thus only one would be tempted by a \$500 increase, and two more would be tempted by a \$4,000 increase. All felt that the kind of job offered would be an important factor in their decision.

#### The Response to Client's Gratitude

When asked how he would go about letting his supervisor know about thanks received from a client, Counselor A said he would "just let the supervisor judge me by how I produced." Then he added that "If I was working with the type of supervisor who needs this, I would have to find some way to let him know. Some way or another you have to let him know. It's good politics. He should know if he is a supervisor."

Other counselors were less "political" in their valuation of the client's expression of thanks. When asked the same question, Counselor D said: "I get that a lot. But I never say much about it unless it comes in a letter, which we might be able to use for fund raising. I don't go out of the way, though. I just don't feel it's necessary to mention it otherwise." The counselor felt that a call

from a client thanking him was "elevation enough - it's just a personal thing."

Counselor C said that she would record the information in the client's folder. She cited two instances of this sort. "I shared them with my supervisor," she added.

Counselor E responded to the same question by saying that he would bring the praise or thanks to the attention of the referring counselor, but not to his supervisor. His supervisor had put him down in the past. "I've gotten hundreds of those letters of thanks," he said, but refused for personal reasons to show them to his supervisor.

This question, though not conclusive, allows us to test in a simple (and admittedly inadequate) fashion the proposition that altruistic acts are their own reward. Assuming that the client's expression of praise or gratitude are unsolicited, we can consider what the counselors do with such unsolicited rewards. Is it sufficient and gratifying in itself? It appeared that in about half the cases it was not. Only two counselors of the five counselors on staff and interviewed at that stage of research indicated that the reward was sufficient and meaningful in itself. The other three show varying degrees of using the praise to (presumably) further their own interests.

### Accepting the Client "As Is"

Within the framework of altruism, we can see what appears to be two different aims. One aim, reflected in the work of most counselors, was to transform the object of altruism, to make it better and more acceptable. This aim may underlie much of philanthropy. The other aim was to accept the object as is and to bestow one's concern or love on it. In the

YEA study only one counselor appeared to accept the client as he was.

"I had one kid, he was making out all right on the street--he ran into his parole officer. The parole officer said, 'What are you doing these days?' The kid said 'Nothing.' He was happy. They (parole officer) sent him right here (to YEA). And the kid was hurt. I could never send him out to a job. He would never go. But he made the rounds."

When asked how he dealt with such clients, he replied:

"I tell him, 'If you don't want to work, and you just want to come here and fool your parole officer--fine! Come in and fool him! Let him (parole officer) come up with his own conclusions'."

Several similar stories were reported by this counselor. In part, this may have reflected a technique for transforming the client: letting him learn by experience. However, the overall observations led to the conclusion that he was not as insistent upon the client's transformation as a condition of a loving relationship as other counselors were, even though the pressures of the job made placements of clients an important goal.

To summarize, it appeared that all the counselors on staff at that time were minimally altruistic, as measured by the salary question; about half were moderately altruistic, based on responses to both the salary question and the use-of-gratitude item; and at least one was highly altruistic when responses to all these items were used.

#### The Quantitative Dimension of Service

The agency had no time-in-session standard comparable to the therapist's fifty-minute hour. Although counselors were under pressure to see as many clients as possible they were not told how much time they should spend with each client. For this reason, the time spent with clients can be used as a crude measure of some variable, rather than reflecting a norm.

The variable proposed here is the degree of likeness existing between counselor and client, as perceived by the counselor (who controls the time in session). When increased, likeness should result in a greater desire to help, it was thought, and this would be reflected in more time being spent with the client.

There is, of course, an alternative explanation for length of the sessions: the problem(s) presented. Some clients are more communicative than others; some are more job ready than others, and so forth. No attempt was made to evaluate this, in part because it was not clear at the time what would constitute a "difficult case" for each counselor. Moreover, in reviewing the cases, there appeared to be no pronounced and consistent relationship between difficulty and time spent, and in the two cases presented below, both appear to be "difficult," yet the time spent on each case varied significantly.

Ten counseling sessions were observed. This was done by sitting in a corner of the counselor's office behind the client and sideways to the counselor. This was intended to minimize the sense of presence to clients and to reduce the chance of eye contact with the counselor. The verbal content of the sessions was thus emphasized (and notes for a running account of the session were written at the time), yet the arrangement also allowed for periodic visual observations. Among other things, the length of each session was timed.

Given the time constraints, no attempt was made to observe all counselors. Instead it was decided to sample the counseling staff by selecting for sex and ethnic group. For the counselors observed, the average time for a session was 23 minutes. The sessions ranged from 12-45 minutes in length. From these observations the short and the long sessions, involving two different counselors, were selected for analysis. For analytical purposes, these were selected because they were extremely short or extremely long. It would have been preferable to analyze a short and a long session for each counselor. However, the observations did not result in such a package--i.e., each counselor did not oblige by providing a short and a long session. Thus, the observations of two different counselors are used here. Both, however, were ranked as moderate-to-high on level of altruism (see the indicators discussed earlier), their similarity in this respect suggesting that the general level of altruism toward the clientele did not account for the length of the session.

Then, the biographies of the clients and the counselors in each case were compared to see whether the client did or did not resemble the counselor in certain ways. The biographies of the counselors had been compiled previously and certain factors judged to be important in the counselor's experience and/or self-image were identified. Following the observations, then, the biographies of the clients, gained from case records and information disclosed during the observations were searched for similar elements.

It appears that there were few points of likeness between counselor and client in the short session, while in the long session, the counselor would likely have seen a number of similarities between himself and the client. A summary of each of these sessions follows:

## The Short Session

The counselor's biography included the following items: the counselor was a Puerto Rican male. When he was an adolescent, his mother was on welfare. He admired a social worker assigned to the case--a worker who also motivated him to think of going to college. It appeared that for this counselor, the critical factors were (1) having been on welfare, (2) lack of a father, (3) being inspired by a social worker, and (4) college aspirations. There is no way of knowing (at this time) which of these elements were most important. But any client failing to measure up on all four counts would be significantly unlike the counselor. We then elected the shortest session with this counselor observed and examined the biography of the client and the interaction between the two. The session lasted 12 minutes. Excerpts from the protocol follow.

The client was a young, black male, referred through the Crime-Prevention Program. The counselor began by obtaining the usual background information from the client, His father was a bricklayer. The client sat relaxed in his chair.

Counselor: "What are your interests?"

Client: "Basketball."

Counselor: "On employment applications. it is best to put down something like reading. And incidentally, never leave anything blank on employment applications...I see you worked at a hospital?"

Client: "It was a summer job."

Counselor: "How did you like that job?"

Client: "It was all right."

Counselor: "What do you want to be?"

Client: "I want to take up a trade."

Counselor: "What kind?"

Client: "A mechanic."

Counselor: "T\_\_\_\_, how do you think you did on the tests?"



Client: "I feel I did pretty good."

Counselor: "Do you think you could use help on math or reading?"

Client: "Reading, I guess."

Counselor: "I can't send you to skill training until you bring up those reading and math scores. If you want to do something with your life, you will have to do it that way. Bring up those educational skills to the necessary level. You also want to think about getting your GED, the base for your future...I'm not trying to hand you the story that just because you get your GED, carpets will roll out for you. But the GED will improve your chances. Also, you might find something interesting and go on to college...The lack of education is the main thing in your way right now...You have to pay dues. Before we can do anything, you have to want to do something for yourself."

We can only point out the obvious: this client was unlike the counselor on all four points. He was living in an intact family, his father was employed, his aspirations were focused on a manual job, and he was clearly not inspired by the counselor.

### The Long Session

This session involving a different counselor, lasted 45 minutes, about twice the average. He is the same counselor who is elsewhere described as preferring to work with "manipulative kids." Other elements of his biography included a father who owned a small grocery and sold numbers when the counselor was a child. His own occupational career had not been a career in the usual sense: he had tried many things, including acting, in various parts of the country. Consistent with this experience, he derided the notion of "careers" for the agency's clients. They would learn in their own time and in their own ways what they want.

"You are short-changing a kid unless you explain to him how you are short-changing him--by making a career so one-sided. It's mainly his responsibility--this career. When you're talking about a job, you've talking about a kid and a definite potential employer, and you're trying to set them up so these two can talk directly about a particular job. When you start talking about careers, the responsibility is placed totally on the client. It's too one-sided. College kids are always coming in here looking for careers. But they change their minds sometimes when I ask them: Are you ready for this? Do you know what it requires?"

The client observed in this case was a young man who the counselor said was a pimp. He had been picked up by the police six times since moving to the city and needed a "cover job." The counselor seemed to enjoy talking with the client in street language: "You're giving me that educated rap you learned on forty and deuce (42nd Street)." The client was up late the night before and did not feel like going on a job interview that day. "That's OK," the counselor replies. "Give me a call tomorrow between 10 and 10:30."

The likeness in this case appeared to be that the client and counselor were both familiar with illegal activities, were wanderers, were street-wise and resourceful, and were not intimidated by the system.

### The Qualitative Dimension of Service

The counselors at YEA did not respond to all clients in the same way and with equal feeling. Some clients were obviously more "likeable" to a particular counselor. This, of course, would be expected in everyday life.

in a human-service occupation. However, where there is a high degree of dedication to the clientele--such responses were not so expected. Yet they were in evidence during the observations of the counselors, and elsewhere in the agency. Besides spending more time with some clients, the counselors seemed to experience a different quality of relationship with certain ones (usually but not always the same ones they spent more time with). One counselor, a white male, worked for several years with a black client, placing him on one job after another as he lost the previous one--all the while, taking him fishing, to sports events and even taking him home for dinner occasionally. It was tempting to think of this as a fatherly or brotherly relationship. But we need not label it to see that it had a special quality about it, and to guess that it was highly gratifying for the counselor.

Confronted by these observations, we sought to understand what was plainly visible rather than measuring the qualitatively different relationships in some way.

We have suggested thus far that the counselors at YEA were altruistic in their orientation to the clientele (with some being more altruistic than others), and shown that the counselors spent more time with certain clients.

One counselor observed:

"Some kids come in and I can spend five minutes talking to a kid, and the kid is satisfied that I've done my job. And another kid can come in. I can spend an hour and a half--and it will take that long for both to be satisfied."

This is a task-oriented explanation: time

is allocated according to the problem at hand (and in this case, the client's sense of accomplishment). There is no need to question this as a factor, although as we noted earlier, the time spent with clients was not clearly and consistently related to problem difficulty. The same counselor went on to say, however, that despite the pressures to see as many clients as possible, the counselors could and did make time for certain clients as well as certain problems.

"The time can be made. I've made the time. Anybody can make the time. People around here say 'Well, we don't have the time for it.' But people do have time for certain people and problems."

We hope now to provide some better insight into why this was so. To do this, it will be helpful to first obtain a sense of meaning of the work to the counselors.

One counselor, a white female, was asked what she would miss the most about the job if she left it. She replied:

"The clients mostly. The new people coming in--it's quite an adventure, meeting new people, having the time to talk, etc. And then you'd miss the ones you're already working with, whether they're working on jobs or you're working on placing them. But the client is the main thing. There's an incredible feeling of accomplishment for me when something works."

The counselor cited a case where she had problems getting a Black client placed. She had to do some "special solicitation" for him--calling a number of employers to find a job for the one client.

"Finally he got the job. I was walking home after work and I discovered I was feeling very elated. For a second I couldn't think why. Then all of a sudden I zeroed in, I realized that I was ecstatic for Ted, the client. And when that happens, it's really powerful"

The counselors were also asked how they happened to get into counseling. Their responses are summarized below.

Counselor A (Black male) said that he became a counselor by "accident." He had worked as a computer operator and programmer, employed by a non-profit organization. Then he had a summer job with a large oil company. The job involved staging variety shows in various low-income areas of Center City. "We looked for talent in the communities," the counselor reported. "I enjoyed doing that, working with kids."

Counselor B (Black male) cited his experience as a camper as a youth. He "admired the counselors" and liked the idea of helping people. He later worked for a Mission Society, working with a youth marching band after school hours. Subsequent to that he was on the full-time staff of the Mission Society. Later, he worked in "counseling and group work" for a large anti-poverty organization. This was followed by a position in a federally-funded "industrial education" program. "I started at the age of eight dealing with people...it helped me through school by helping others with their school work...There is a feeling within me that wants to see an individual getting on his feet...Counseling is not just a job."

Counselor D (White male) said "I originally wanted to be a School Psychologist. But I had a lack of guidance in school. I did not

take certain courses required for a School Psychologist degree...But I wanted to work with people on a one-to-one basis. Vocational Counseling was the only course I could get into without going back too far. It was not my first choice. But I can save a lot of kids from making the same mistakes I made."

Counselor E (Puerto Rican male) worked as a salesman for a time, before going to work for a Puerto Rican anti-poverty organization. He reported that he used to make "informal placements" while employed as a salesman, and developed an interest in the work. "Many of my friends were in the placement profession." There was "an element of chance combined with interest" connected with his entry into counseling, he said. Later in the interview, the counselor expressed a "deep feeling" of satisfaction he gains from helping others. He said his father used to help others often. "He got kicked in the ass a lot, but he still helped people. I guess this was inculcated in me."

Counselor J (Puerto Rican male), whom we have earlier referred to recalled: "Years ago when I was growing up, there were a lot of people who helped me. If it hadn't been for those people helping me, I wouldn't be where I am--reciprocating what was given to me. The first time I was influenced was years ago. I was on welfare. And one of the turning points in my life was visiting a welfare office for the first time just listening to a person -his name was Bob, that was handling my particular case (I was under my mother's welfare thing). Just listening to him and in terms of what he was able to do - (he) gave me an idea of what I wanted to do. In other words, that's what started me." The welfare worker, he said, motivated him to think of going to college - "it became a very important thing in my life" and to want to "get off welfare."

However the evidence suggests that the

work is most gratifying only when working with certain clients. The clients themselves are a variable; they are not of a uniform quality.

The particular variables involved in "likeness" may be numerous. In some cases the perceived likenesses may be so numerous that the image of the client resembles the counselor's self-image. For example, one male counselor in the YEA study reported that his relationship with some clients was "like looking into a mirror and seeing yourself...You can see a large portion of yourself in them, and in some sense it brings you closer to yourself." In other cases, the likenesses reported were more specific: a female counselor reported that she sometimes had to "steal" jobs from other counselors so that she could place selected clients who were both desperate for a job and motivated to work:

"I've had to literally steal jobs from other counselors. People will say 'I'm not giving you this job if you're going to send so-and-so.' But there are times you have no choice--if the person is desperate and...still calling you for work."

One of the reasons that the satisfaction of placing a client on a job was so "powerful" was that she had been unemployed herself:

"It's just as if you had done it yourself. Just as if you had gone out and gotten the job. I've been through unemployment myself, had very hard times, and I know that feeling when you've had a good interview, or especially when you've been hired."

Still another counselor, a Black male, was asked what are some important qualities for a counselor to have. "You gotta like people; all kinds," he said. When asked if he ever

got any clients he did not like, he replied:

"Yea, yeah. But then a counselor has to realize there are people he can't like and there are people he can't work with. I find I can't work with subtle kids. Sometimes they have both drives. I find the manipulative kids have a goal, and if it's necessary to manipulate a bunch of bureaucrats to attain the goal, they go out and do it."

This counselor seemed to respond most to clients who were realistic, practical, and streetwise--a description in accord with statements made about himself, and consistent with his own background.

There is a narcissistic quality to all these accounts, if the interpretation here is correct. The objects of altruism may be loved because they are reflected images of oneself--either whole or fragmented, but significant reflections. We might note that the perceived resemblances were not based on social class per se: the clients were clients because of their lower-class status, but not all counselors were lower class in origin (using fathers' occupation as an indicator), and those who were did not respond in the same way to all the clients. The occupations of the counselors' fathers are shown below in Table 2. The counselors shown here include all those who were interviewed earlier in the research, plus a sample of those added to the staff later. The later interviews were limited by the investigator's other commitments and to some extent by the availability of individual counselors at the time. It was thought desirable, however, to obtain a sample of counselors from all programs, and this was done.



TABLE 2  
SEX, ETHNIC BACKGROUND, AND LEVEL OF ALTRUISM  
OF YEA'S COUNSELORS, BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

COUN- SELOR	SEX	ETHNIC GROUP	FATHERS OCCUPATION	LEVEL OF ALTRUISM
WELFARE				
J	Male	Puerto Rican	Lived with mother on welfare	High
UNSKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED LABOR				
A	Male	Black	Railroad Laborer	Medium
E	Male	Puerto Rican	Machine operator (factory)	Medium
SKILLED LABOR				
B	Male	Black	Mechanic	High
D	Male	White	Barber	High
WHITE-COLLAR				
C	Female	Black	Clerical (municipal transit system)	Low
OWNERS				
G	Male	Black	Grocery Store owner "numbers"	High
F	Female	White	Furniture store owner	High

## Discussion

The study of altruism is usually based on a version of "universal benevolence." That is, altruists are indiscriminating with respect to the beneficiaries. Altruism, like justice, is blind. Titmuss's (1971) study of blood donors illustrates that in the clearest way, granting that the anonymity of the blood business makes discrimination and preferences difficult if not impossible.

However, there seems to be a principle of "likeness" implied in Sorokin's work, referred to earlier. In some cases, affiliation or membership may lead to a perceived likeness: e.g., clan, occupation, nation. In other cases, perceived likeness leads to affiliation: e.g., friends, possibly religion, and political groups.

Dailey's (1933) study of social workers (referred to earlier) has a similar perspective.

"A positive response to the androgynous client does not seem at all unexpected or unusual...Social workers may see in such clients the qualities they are attempting develop and internalize for themselves and thus may value such expression in clients...A second possible explanation is suggested by the large proportion of androgynous social workers found in this sample. Social workers may be more comfortable dealing with clients who more clearly resemble themselves..."

Freud, in Civilization and its Discontents (1961), makes no reference to the role of likeness in altruism. All love is, for him, libidinal in nature. Altruism was merely one of the forms of sublimated or aim-inhibited

love induced by cultural constraints. Altruists "make themselves independent of their object's acquiescence by displacing what they mainly value from being loved on to loving." They avoid the "uncertainties and disappointments of genital love" by directing their love "not to single objects but to all men alike" and by transforming the sexual instinct into "an impulse with an inhibited aim." Elsewhere, Freud (1959) describes how even romantic love involves subjects taking the place of the original incestuous object. These substitute objects, whether in genital or altruistic love, are treated in an undifferentiated way: that is, it makes no difference whether the objects are like or unlike the subject. However, altruistic love in its highest form, as a "universal love of mankind" does not appear to rank as high in Freud's (1961) estimate as does genital love because it does not discriminate among its objects and thus forfeits a part of its value "by doing an injustice to its object" and because "not all men are worthy of love." The implication that we cannot love well or intensely when we love many is consistent with Sorokin's thesis that the intensity and duration of love varies with the extensity of love.

We may say that, using Sorokin's terms, what distinguishes genital or romantic love from altruistic love are the factors of extensity and purity. By definition, genital love is aimed at one object whereas altruism may be aimed at many. And although Freud (1961) speaks of the melting of the boundary between ego and object when one is in love, where "I and you" are one, it seems clear that the end desired is direct gratification for oneself. Purity of love, to Sorokin, refers to what one hopes to obtain from the altruistic act; the act is of the highest purity if one aims to obtain nothing from the other. There may be egoistic gratifications such as self-esteem but these gratifications do not appear to

represent the full measure of altruism.

In the study of YEA's counselors, there seemed to be in some counselors some deeper impulse, more akin in that respect to the genital impulse discussed by Freud. One counselor, for example, spoke of the necessity of not merely "liking what you are doing, but loving what you are doing" because of the problems inherent in the work. He continued to say that "The satisfaction of one kid calling back, ecstatic that he got a job" is sufficient to do the work and to make the failure to succeed in placing other clients on jobs tolerable.

Thus, it appears that genital and altruistic love differ with respect to extensity and purity, and that they may, in some cases, be similar with respect to intensity. In addition, both may depend upon a perceived likeness of some kind between subject and object.

The sociobiological perspective on altruism emphasizing genetic factors may be accepted as defining "genetic fields" within which there are other forces at work, manifesting themselves (in the human species, at least) as variable degrees of intensity, purity, etc. of altruism. We are more likely to be altruistic toward other humans than toward locusts, for example. The genetic argument was not completely satisfactory in its explanatory power, however. To take just one example, black counselors did not show a high level of empathy and concern for all black clients.

The sociobiological approach does, however, recall the work of Franklin Giddings (1907). for whom consciousness of kind was "the principal cause of social conduct." Consciousness of kind was defined as "a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes an-

other conscious being as of like kind with itself."

"In its widest extension the consciousness of kind marks off the animate from the inanimate. Within the wide class of the animate it next marks off species and races. Within racial lines the consciousness of kind underlies the more definite ethnical and political groupings; it is the basis of class distinctions, of innumerable forms of alliance, of rules of intercourse, and of peculiarities of policy. Our conduct towards those whom we feel to be most like ourselves is instinctively and rationally different from our conduct towards others, whom we believe to be less like ourselves."

Consciousness of kind was not merely a biological fact, he argued:

"Differences and likenesses of kind are legitimately facts of biology, but a consciousness of difference or of likeness must be called a fact of psychology or a fact of sociology."

The difference between these latter two sciences was that "a consciousness of difference between the self and the non-self" was a psychological phenomenon, while a "sympathetic consciousness of resemblance between the self and the non-self" was both a "fact" of psychology and a "datum" of sociology.

"In other words, the apprehension by the self of its own image in the not-self seems to me to be the natural point of departure of sociology from psychology."

The consciousness of kind involved both

perception and feeling:

"To deny that there is a reality corresponding to this conception is to deny such tremendous social facts as race hatreds and class prejudices."

However, this consciousness was neither fixed nor were the grounds of resemblance easily identified.

"The trouble is that the consciousness is an ever-changing state of mind. It is not to be once and for all identified with the consciousness of species, or of race, or of class, or of similarity of moral nature, although at any given moment it may, in fact, be identical with any one of these....An artistic temperament, for example, may be strongly attracted by like temperaments in another nation, or even race, than its own. A philanthropic enthusiast may be more strongly drawn to kindred natures among the destitute, than to acquaintances of his own social rank."

We are in no position to make the same sweeping claims for this as Giddings did, although it is obvious that we have attached some importance to it. While it is beyond the scope of this paper, we might even venture to guess that likeness is both an important factor in the formation of "self" and "community" and in generating conflict. To a great extent, we are formed by those who seek to make us move like them, even beyond the family setting. Our self is created in sensing who we are as a result and then seeking others who resemble us. We enter larger arenas, such as work, of necessity, "minding our manners" as required, but never at home there. In certain ways, we are like many others, while in other

ways we are like fewer others. Those ways in which we are like many may be the grounds of "nationalism" and other larger identities. Those ways in which we are like fewer others may be the basis of groupings, a setting within which we mentally construct the rest of the world. However, we must restrict ourselves to the observation that among the counselors at YEA the resemblances could be either biological (race), psychological (personality), or sociological in nature--i.e., socially structured experiences such as unemployment.

### Conclusions

We have attempted to show that a factor of "likeness" between subject and object may be important in understanding differential services in counseling and altruistic relationships in general. Despite the two different orientations discussed above--the professional one in psychotherapy and medicine and what we shall here call the altruistic orientation that seemed typical of YEA's vocational counselors--it appears that underlying the differential service in both psychotherapy and vocational counseling may be the common principle of likeness. That is, differential service may be based on the degree of likeness perceived by therapist-counselor, between himself and the patient-client, a degree of likeness that suggests narcissism. The likeness may reflect similar life experiences--including those associated with social class position, ethnic group membership, and sex--as well as personality traits.

Overall, the findings suggest that altruistic behavior may be seen in terms of a variable intensity which is, in turn, related to the existence of greater or lesser degrees of likeness between the altruist and beneficiary--in this case, counselor and client. Altruism may differ from libidinal love with respect to its "purity" or anticipated reward,

however, as likeness increases, altruism appears to resemble libidinal love in its intensity. If this should be so, we need to know more about the varied ways in which likeness is perceived.

Differential services follow the same path. That is, the better services are provided to those reflections of oneself--at least up to a point. We also noted that altruism may have as its aim the transformation or improvement of the object, or acceptance of the object "as is," and proposed that the latter represented a greater "purity" of altruism in that not even a change in the object is required for gratification. It may be that at this point, the "adequacy" or effectiveness of altruism becomes salient and the question of technique must be considered. From this perspective, there is no intent to provide better service, only an inclination to do so. Furthermore, whether a qualitatively or quantitatively better service is actually provided is problematic, although it is assumed that the inclination would call forth the best service the particular therapist or counselor could provide, as measured by his/her own criteria of service.

Nietzsche (1886) claimed that "every elevation of...man has hitherto been the work of an aristocratic society." The "distance" between classes induces some at the top to seek the "formation of ever higher, rarer, further, more extended, more comprehensive states" of culture and the "continued 'self-surmounting of man'." Philanthropy, broadly defined as assistance to less fortunate beings, is said to be associated with a "long scale of gradations of rank and differences of worth among human beings." The founder of YEA, still actively involved in the agency, is from a well-do-do and socially prominent family. The ideological identification with the clientele in general that we may attribute to



the founder was found among the counselors also. However, the counselors identified more closely with those clients who resembled themselves. Here, it is suggested that the altruism involved may be associated with "closeness" and "likeness" rather than the "distance" and "differences" proposed by Nietzsche as the basis of philanthropy. Closeness, as used here, refers to concrete interaction and relationships, whereas distance is used to describe abstract relationships.

One of the implications of these findings for the counseling profession is that the degree of likeness existing between counselor and client acts as a regulator on the services provided. Another, however, is that likeness based on life experience and personality may transcend likeness based on ethnic identity; i.e. the "indigenous" counselor does not necessarily possess greater empathy and concern for clients.

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RESTRAINT ECONOMICS AND THE NEW RIGHT:  
A Structural Analysis of the Political  
Economy of Social Services Cutbacks

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ABSTRACT

Restraint by government in the area of social service spending in the 1980's has become an issue of grave concern for social service practitioners, planners, and administrators. The emergence in North America of neo-conservative economic policies has engendered a body of critical and provocative literature which examines the effects of "restraint economics".

Recent work in geography has sought to locate the supply-side trend within a framework of macro-level processes. These suggest that a declining public commitment to maintaining the social safety net is linked to broader structural changes in the workplace and spatial shifts of capital and industry (Dear & Clark 1981, Peet 1983, Soja et al 1983, Ross R. 1983).

These trends have not been as well documented in Canada. Yet, there is much to suggest that policies introduced by the British Columbia government in 1983 reflect, on a regional scale, the same patterns and processes inferred by geographers in the U.S. context.

## Introduction

Fiscal restraint has, in recent years, become a fundament of the social policies of many Western Governments. This paper examines issues of restraint economics in a general way while making reference to political events experienced in British Columbia, Canada, from May 1983 to March, 1984. The intent is to derive, from the British Columbia (B.C.) situation, a framework for some generalizations about the emerging character of the Western capitalist state, the collectivist-conservative debate, and the political and ideological struggles which coalesce around the target of much restraint legislation - social services.

For heuristic purposes, the Marxist framework provides the most cogent analytical approach for the identification of the structure of social and political relations inherent in these issues. Current events in B.C. may be interpreted within the parameters of a political economy analysis which holds as a critical variable the tensions and contradictions which prevail between capital, the mode of production, and labour. In concert with this dialectic, the attendant consciousness which pertains to the right and left of the political spectrum are also considered. The following discussion does not attempt a chronology of the Social Credit government legislation and the consequent labour confrontation, rather, specific elements of the legislation are drawn to illustrate the structure and process of the political relations of capital as expressed in recent North American experience.

## Setting the Scene

On May 5, 1983, the incumbent Social Credit government of Premier William Bennett was returned for its third consecutive term at the helm of the province of British Columbia. The Social Credit Party has a long history in Western Canadian Politics and runs on a strong pro-business, "free enterprise" platform. Premier Bennett, armed with a considerable parliamentary majority in the legislature, began to act immediately to reduce public expenditures and raise provincial revenues as part of a restorative plan for the ailing provincial economy. The government intends to encourage increases in private sector investment, in part, by a downsizing of government bureaucracy and through deregulation in the market place and in the area of labour/human rights.

On July 7, 1983, the government brought down twenty-six new pieces of legislation along with a new provincial budget. Characterized by the government as a "restraint package", the scope of this set of policies constituted a radical departure from what had hitherto been a pattern of incremental growth in social programs and sought economic recovery through the provision of an environment attractive to private investors. Dubbed the "recovery program", the aim of this set of policies, in the words of Premier Bennett, is "to make B.C. a place in Canada and North America where business and industry will find it profitable to employ our people" (Vancouver Sun, Oct. 15, 1983).

In pursuit of this goal, the legislative agenda includes provisions such as property tax breaks; less commitment to protect the rights of unionized employees; less enforce-



ment of existing human rights provisions (and lower penalties for breaching them); the abolition of rent controls; and the elimination of the office of the Rentalsman, a body through which landlord-tenant disputes were mediated. The legislation package also includes a bill which restricts the power of regional districts by centralizing municipal planning function in the provincial capital, Victoria. This legislation gives the province greater control over the management of development and investment and will appeal to investors anxious to avoid costly delays caused by the adjudication process of municipal planning offices.

The tough new policies of the provincial government also saw reductions in monetary transfers to non-profit social service agencies; reductions in welfare payments to some classes of recipient; and the elimination of government-delivered services to certain groups, among them, women, children, and tenants. As such, these policies entailed a re-ordering of government priorities from the maintenance of the social safety net to removing the obstructions to investment. The government also put into motion a plan to reduce the provincial civil service by 25 percent, and imposed restrictions on public sector unions and salaries, thereby signalling to business that taxes would be kept down and the interests of the market place protected.

However, while in the government's view, the environment for capital investment thrives upon the removal of roadblocks such as intransigent unions and "excessive" social spending, their efforts backfired through the creation of an unstable political climate in the province, characterized by a labour-government antagonism which would have alarmed many investors. The traditionally militant public

sector unions, in a coalition with community, labour, and political groups, and with the endorsement of professional association and private sector unions, galvanized support for a province-wide general strike.

The strike, orchestrated under the banner, "Operation Solidarity", resulted in a political crisis for the government and threatened to escalate with private sector unions pulling their workers off the job, effectively shutting-down the entire province. While a chronicle of the strike is an interesting study of decision making and negotiation under siege, the intention of this paper is not to present a political diary of events. It is important to note, however, that in the legislative session preceding the strike, the government had attempted what many analysts regarded as "legislation by fiat". The government invoked "closure" on more than twenty occasions, thereby stifling all debate on the bills before the house - an unprecedented exertion of political will - and the sitting culminated in the physical ejection of the Leader of the Opposition on the directive of the Deputy Speaker. The Leader of the Opposition was subsequently banned from the Legislature.

The tone was set. Confrontation was to be the dominant mode of political action in the ensuing weeks and to the social and financial costs inherent in the re-ordering of government priorities was to be added the cost of two-week escalating public service strike. On November 13, 1983, relative clam was once again restored through concession and agreements by the government promising more open consultation not only on matters of wages and tenure, but upon the structure of the restraint package as a whole. The negotiations between "Operation Solidarity" leaders and the British Columbia Government included human

rights, tenant's issues and other service-related programs which were being reduced or eliminated by the legislation. Some of the content of the legislation so far mentioned has been altered. Much of it has already passed into law. While there was concession on both sides, the fundamental issues are far from resolved and, at this writing, the prospects for a labour peace in British Columbia seem tenuous at best.

### The Polemics of Restraint

The evolving political scene in B.C. has sparked a flurry of political analysis and prognosis, the retrenching of both reactionary and revolutionary sentiment, and has provoked the concern of academics and health and welfare professionals. The unemployed, students, women, children, the disabled and native Indians have felt the sting of restraint, as have unionized workers, provincial employees, and even university faculties faced with reduced budgets and a threatened repeal of the tenure system. The controversy has renewed discussion of the political philosophies of right and left, one aspect of which is a desire to infer from local and national events the structure, both existent and emergent, of national and global capitalist social relations.

It is relevant, here, to mention the "political psychology" of the restraint package, especially as the debate has polarized around the philosophical constructions of social provision and the role of the State. The provincial budget and the attendant legislation has been touted by the Social Credit Party as an effort to "get government off the backs of the people". While it is question-

able just which "people" are intended here, it is important to bear in mind that in the "new right" political view, typified by the governments of Regan and Thatcher, the unrestrained market offers the best potential for public security via "filter-down" effects flowing from an invigorated private sector. Of course, the strongest caveat which arises in opposition to such a view is that the free market model offers few incentives for the equitable redistribution of what Kirby (1982, 1983) refers to as the "public wage" - those benefits which derive from a pool of collective resources.

In a televised address to the province on October 20, 1983, Premier Bennett explained his governments plan for "renewed prosperity:

To reach beyond our border, for new investments, new industries and new technologies, requires a coordinated strategy. Because we cannot spend our way out of the recession, we will have to earn our way out of it... We must encourage investment, and must encourage risk-taking.

(Vancouver Sun, Oct. 21, 1983)

The Social Credit government, in a Party publication entitled "Recovery 83" (T. Segarty, M.L.A. 1983), perceives itself as responding to the "fierce competition for world markets" by long-term expansion of the "window of opportunity: for the province. In this same publication, a very telling assertion typifies the new-conservative leanings of the Social Credit Party vis-a-vis the collectivist stance of the opposition New Democratic Party (N.D.P). Regarding the elimination of "Child Abuse Teams" which operated under the auspices of the Ministry of Human Resources, this "information" publication says:

We know the N.D.P. thrives on human misery. They'd like everybody to be dependent on government because when people are dependent, they're more susceptible to their brand of fear tactics.

(T. Segarty, 1983:15)

On the other side of the debate, critics of the government have labelled its policies as "revenge", claiming that the legislation is, in part, an effort to punish public sector unions and dismantle programs introduced by the former N.D.P. government (Vancouver Sun, October 15, 1983). Dr Paul Tennant, professor of political science at the University of British Columbia, claims that "ideological vengeance" is a major motive behind the legislative package. Tennant refers to the legislation as a "reorganization of priorities", given an economic rationale, and notes that while money is being saved on programs the government does not like, "significantly more money is being directed into programs the government does like" (Vancouver Sun, October 25, 1983). Underlying the proposals, says Tennant, is the "centralization of power with the government itself, in the premier's office". Tennant further observes that the government has succeeded in "setting the vocabulary" and that "who ever sets the vocabulary wins the debate" (Vancouver Sun, October 25, 1983).

The rhetoric arising out of B.C.'s political turmoil has not lacked for its measure of vitriol. Still, for all the polemical excesses from left and right, the theatrics behind the debate serve to define the roles of the various actors. New Democratic Party M.L.A. (Member of the Legislative Assembly) Gordon Hanson referred to the Social Credit proposals

as "ideological provocations" which would have damaging repercussions for both the province and those disadvantaged sectors of the population who can least withstand the effects of cutbacks in services (Vancouver Sun, October 21, 1983). Professor T.T. Paterson of the School of Business Administration, Simon Fraser University, writes:

The government has turned to a procedure of eliminating several services...that would be regarded as of considerable public value: helping the poor, the infirm, the unfortunate. That method of reducing government, "cutting out unprofitable lines", is typical of business practice, where it is rightly applied. But the public service is not a business, and its "lines" shouldn't be measured in money terms. To that extent government is failing in its public duty and has failed to follow up its first approach on productivity.

(Letter to the Editor, Vancouver Sun, October 15, 1983).

N.D.P. Human Resources critic, Rosemary Brown, sees the restraint program as a sign of further moves against public sector workers in the rest of Canada:

My fear is that B.C. is not only an aberration but a hint of things to come... The B.C. government is clearly reactionary and anti-union, anti-elderly, anti-disabled, anti-women and anti-people in general.

(Vancouver Sun, October 27, 1983).

Federal Liberal Party President, Iona Campagnola also regards the "politics of the right" with some alarm:

B.C. is the political distant early warning line for Canada just as surely as California has been the birthing place for Reaganite extremism in the United States.

(Vancouver Sun, October 17, 1983).

On the other side, party supporters at the Social Credit annual convention in October labelled the persons behind "Operation Solidarity" as "communist infiltrators" (Vancouver Sun, October 15, 1983). In the same vein, an address by outgoing president of the Social Credit Women's Auxiliary, Barbara Foxwell, regarded opposition to the government's legislation as a "battle" which, if lost, "will mean the destruction of democracy as we know it." (Vancouver Sun, October 14, 1983).

#### Restraint: Economic Chimera or Political Red-Herring?

When public or private social service agencies are singled out for cutbacks in staff or funding, it becomes problematic to deliver social services and yet maintain an acceptable level of service quality. There are several measures of efficiency and effectiveness commonly employed in this regard, each with its own inherent difficulties of accuracy and depth. Although it is inappropriate here to examine the various of program efficiency, it is important to realize that the provincial government in B.C. is actively promoting a private market model of "productivity" when assessing the worth of programs.

Government cutbacks have proceeded on the assumption that churches, voluntary agencies, local governments and families are not only willing, but able to "pick up" services form-

erly offered by the province. The Social Credit Party seems to adhere to this assumption as an article of faith, ignoring the fact that current levels of voluntary sector provision have been achieved through increased dependency on government funding. Neither can local governments "step into the breach", constrained as they are by a limited tax base. Nor is it reasonable to expect lower levels of government or the private sector to assume responsibility for the accelerated breadth and severity of social problems in the province.

The second highest rate of unemployment in Canada (15.7 percent for April, 1983) coupled with overall reductions in public and private social service capability, and further restrictions on eligibility for social assistance have created a strain on the formal service network - evidenced by the proliferation of food banks in the urban areas of the province. Added to this are the apprehensions of clients and service professionals regarding the "privatization" of services formerly under provincial auspice. A range of services for women, children, and the mentally handicapped have been tendered for contract to the non-profit and the entrepreneurial sectors without the benefit of any rigorous criteria for standards of service.

In an analysis of the budget speech by the Minister of Finance, Dobell (1983) isolates two main concepts which are often repeated: 1) the government's ability to pay; and 2) the concept of productivity. Applied to public sector human services, Dobell asserts that neither concept can bear the weight put on them (Dobell 1983:7). In this regard, Doyle (1979) observes that economic analyses of social services or policies are inadequate to assess their worth and need - all benefits cannot be included in their calculation be-



cause in terms of effectiveness and organization, they are totally unlike any entrepreneurial activity (Doyle 1979:53). Rational budgeting approaches are based more on satisfying the needs of the system (supplier) than they are on the needs of the consumer (Doyle 1979:54). In fact, it is commonly remarked by voluntary sector workers that the accountability and monitoring structures imposed on them by government funding bodies often form the basis of the rationale for budgetary cuts, despite the ambiguities of the assessment system itself. The inference is, of course, that economic or productivity rationales may become convenient mechanisms to facilitate political as opposed to rational decisions.

What has been consistently ignored by the advocates of recession economics are the costs - personal, social and monetary - of cutbacks in publicly mandated services. A report prepared by the B.C. Association of Social Workers entitled Loosening the Fabric (1983) examines the public and private costs inherent in the termination of a Family Support Worker Program. The report notes that, while the program, designed to avoid the removal of children from their families, represented only 0.49 percent of the total Ministry of Human Resources (M.H.R.) budget, the costs of replacement services such as special care foster homes, alternative schools, house arrest, detention and court appearances are vastly in excess of the current expenditures for a preventive program (Currie and Pishalski, 1983). Subsidized Legal Aid has also been drastically reduced in B.C., which, when combined with the loss of the office of the Rentalsman, the Human Rights Branch and Budget cutbacks in the office of the provincial Ombudsman, severely limits the accessibility of the poor or the near poor to avenues of appeal or redress.

There is a widely held view among social service professionals in B.C. that the devolution of public responsibility for social services will have several negative effects: 1) privatization will lead to an overall reduction in the quality of service; 2) services will become increasingly residual and remedial; 3) agencies will respond increasingly to political rather than social contingencies; 4) patterns of social inequity will broaden and deepen; 5) the availability of adequate service will constrict while the net costs of social problems to the province and the federal government will rise as a result of individual problem regression and problem diversion. Jack MacDonald, of the University of British Columbia School of Social Work, has addressed this set of effects with regard to family-oriented programs in the province:

In July of this year, it was announced by the Minister of Human Resources that these various Ministry programs of family support would be discontinued as part of the Government's program of fiscal restraint. Our Association has protested this initiative on the basis that it will place more children in jeopardy in the short run and be more costly to society in the longer term. However, we also wish to draw to public attention that the discontinuation of these programs reflects an abandonment of public responsibility for needed child welfare services at a critical period in the history of the province (MacDonald "Child Protection Services and Privatization: A Proposed Position Statement for B.C.A.S.W.", 1983 unpublished).

These concerns hint strongly at many of

the problems of the market place model of social service delivery. While Governments who espouse the free-market ethic continually exhort the private sector to assume responsibility for service "gaps", they do not provide a framework to facilitate the process. There has, in British Columbia, been a paucity of rational planning by government and little, if any, research exploring the possible hidden costs of the cessation of programs. The devolution of mandated services and public responsibility has not been accompanied by a decentralization of decision making authority and while the government claims that privatization will enhance the power of the consumer of services, there has been no effort at consultation with client or community groups.

As one begins to look beyond the philosophical rhetoric and beyond the appeals to restraint, one begins to form an impression that the fiscal policy of government is something more than a response to issues of dollars and cents. While there are serious problems with revenue and administration in all government departments, those programs targeted for restraint seem to be assessed more on the basis of philosophical criteria than the imperatives of rational management. There appears to be a pervasive notion among proponents of the "right" that dollars spent on social welfare are lost to the economy. The social returns, for example, of preventive programs for juvenile offenders, seem not to enter into the political or economic accounting of government ministers. Certainly, not all of the organizational or management alternatives for a more rational social service have been explored - many, one might postulate, have not been considered simply because they are ideologically untenable.

In a perceptive analysis of the B.C. ex-

perience, Dobell (1983) asserts that restraint is not really the issue. Government rhetoric notwithstanding, the July 7th budget, with a nominal growth of 12.3 percent (well over twice the rate of inflation) represented a real growth in excess of all other provincial governments and in excess of B.C.'s own record for the past 30 years (Dobell 1983:4). In fact, Dobell projects the net savings as a result of the cutbacks will fall short of the figures projected by the government. He goes further in saying that both the use of revenues and the size of revenues are products of political judgements which reflect government perceptions of community preferences - these are, in fact, discretionary choices:

A Government which elects to continue work on a domed stadium or Expo 86 or subsidized coal exports and to save a few thousand dollars by cutting income support to the handicapped is making a statement about priorities, not accepting the dictates of some mythical resource constraint. (Dobell 1983:7).

He extrapolates beyond the realm of government in his critique when he includes public sentiments or consumer patterns as contributing agents in the ethic of restraint:

A community which supports government action to chop support for activity centers for seniors while enjoying the second lowest income tax rates in Canada, and one of the lowest in the Western industrialized world, is not responding to economic realities, but reflecting political preferences. (Dobell 1983:8).

In Dobell's view, the provincial govern-

ment reflects an "authoritarian centralist fervour" in which the power of the legislature is reduced through appeal to increased government by bureaucracy, reduced expert staff for legislative committees and reduced access to information (Dobell 1983:11-19). Such measures, says Dobell, amount to an entrenchment of capital interests at the expense of any observance of social or political pluralism. To remove impediments to executive action and remove barriers to the exploitation of resource or land use necessitates the weakening of "countervailing mechanisms for expressions of other individual or collective interests" (Dobell 1983:19).

Through the public statements of elected officials and the apparent lack of willingness on the part of the B.C. government to engage in consultation or conciliation on contentious issues, Premier Bennett and his cabinet have assumed an adversarial stance vis-a-vis unionists, social service advocates, and those endorsing collectivistic principles. In a climate where there is a wide-spread belief that dissent may incur the wrath of the Minister (or that of traumatized administrators fearful for their own positions), the public service and private agencies dependent on public funding may become more responsive to the political values of the Cabinet than to the professional mandates of planners and management personnel. According to Dobell, the social and political fact in British Columbia, assured through the legitimating power of the government, is that:

the only legitimate social interaction occurs through market transaction, and the only legitimate power is the power of property (Dobell 1983:20).

## Restraint and the New Right - A Case for State Managed Capitalism

There is a pivotal contradiction inherent in government policies which advocate the "privatization of services", the "filter-down" of the public wage or "service for fee". The contradiction lies in the fact that government, while divesting itself of the responsibility for welfare security, nevertheless seeks to perpetuate the kinds of economic and political relations which contribute to social crisis and economic dysfunction. Governments of the "right" hold that the onus for the maintenance of social services should devolve onto the private sector or the individual and yet, as a body which actively seeks to legitimate social and economic relation, the State assumes no part in fostering a social milieu in which the private sector can develop, or is inclined to develop this role.

In British Columbia, we see a State which selectively "disgoverns" certain sectors of society while actively promoting or abetting others sectors which embody most of the redistributive injustices endemic to the polity. In concert with these strategies, the State which decries "big government" and bemoans bureaucratic incursions into the private sector is actively engaged in consolidating and centralizing its decision-making functions and subverting normal consultative mechanisms. Governments, such as that in B.C., are ever more engaged in the effort to restructure the capital dynamics of the local or national economy. This may occur as a result of explicit policy, through tax breaks or even the manipulation of interest rates. Governments may even turn "state capitalist" and seek to employ public entrepreneurial structures to fulfill redistributive aims. This may take the form of state monopolies (in Canada, crown

corporations), mega-projects, or re-development schemes. All of these have an incarnation in B.C. However, while state investment in "profit-making" sectors continues unabated, social welfare expenditures decrease and a reduced level of services contributes to a broadening and deepening of dependency and personal or familial crisis - clearly a contradictory consequence.

Cox (1977) makes it clear that in a capitalist state, the social welfare of the worker depends upon the investment of capital by capitalists. At the same time, he argues, the investment of capital is contingent upon the provision by the State of conditions amenable to investment. Therefore, the social welfare or the worker is dependent upon the provision by the State of conditions suitable for capital investment (Cox 1977:10-11). Taking this analysis a step further, Broadbent (1977) holds that the mandate of the State to maintain profits and accumulation and at the same time manage a welfare economy often translates into a tendency to spend more tax dollars on the work force and less on industry. This leads to a dilemma in which industry and the population each require increasing state intervention, each on their own and often contradictory terms: one to maintain profits and reduce costs and the other to improve living standards and hence increase private sector costs (Broadbent, 1977:30).

For the Social Credit government, the dilemma is less clear. Harkening to the advice of monetarist and supply-side mentors such as Milton Friedman and the Fraser Institute (a Vancouver based conservative economic "think-tank"), those in government believe that the "market" will respond to individual needs. Others, however, regard the ideal of a self-regulating economic system as fundament-

ally incorrect. Gunton, for example, contends that monetarist or supply-side approaches represent a conservative mythology (Niell 1983:2). For Gunton, monetarist policy is one which routes money from lower socio-economic status (SES) groups who do not save and re-directs it to those who do save (Neill 1983:2). This contributes to disinvestment and increased economic marginality among the lower SES groups and an increased polarization of economic power in favour of capital interests.

This observation is reaffirmed by Doyle (1979), who questions government belt-tightening measures imposed upon persons who are least able to bear the hardships incurred through a shrinking pool of public resources. These persons he identifies as:

The poor, senior citizens, natives, the unemployed, citizens in rural, northern communities and decaying urban areas (Doyle 1979:53).

For Doyle, many of the trends so far mentioned signal a diminishing role of the State in the area of social policy. The concern is that such an abdication means that, where incongruencies arise, political interests outweighs social need in the government's scale of priorities (Doyle 1979:53). He suggests that restraint economics is simply a perpetuation of the old theme that the poor have moral defect and that the social system is sound (Doyle 1979:54).

The neo-conservative view holds that the welfare state retains a monopoly on welfare services and that such a monopoly impairs the accountability of the State to consumers (Stoesz 1981:399). Yet the argument for privatization, as a means to reduce expenditures



and enhance consumer control over services, illustrates yet another set of contradictions inherent in the neo-conservative ethic. The "new right" often claims that they wish to "empower people" by removing the totalitarian constraints of government or they wish to make services more accountable to people or make delivery more innovative through competition. Yet in all the rhetoric, the point has been lost that the broadening of political awareness and the ability to articulate social concerns now enjoyed by formerly (and recently) powerless groups has been a direct result of the enabling and redistributive legislation of the welfare state.

The neo-conservatives do not reveal in their rhetoric (but, one suspects are keenly aware of) the basic postulates about the nature of power and privilege in our society. In whose interests do recession economics act? In the interests of those sectors of the population who receive the larger share of the public wage - those sectors who already enjoy positions of power and advantage.

### Social Services, the State and the Imperatives of Capital Accumulation

Throughout this discussion, we have ranged over a number of questions and issues regarding restraint economics and social services. We have alluded to the State and have inferred some of its motives but to this point, we have not addressed the State in a theoretical sense, nor have we examined some of the broader structural forces which impel it. In Canada, a number of recent measures by both the federal and provincial governments are indicative of a concern for fiscal restraint and government downsizing. Most have, to some degree, involved limitations on public sector

wage increases and tighter controls on collective bargaining and public sector job action.

Such measures, says Gordon Pape (1983), are, in part, a response to a two decade long period of public sector union militancy which has won generous wage and benefit concessions from governments (Pape 1983:88-80). Pape cites two precipitating events which spurred confrontation between government and the public sector unions, both occurring in 1981. The first was U.S. President Ronald Reagan's firing of all U.S. Air Traffic Controllers who refused to end an illegal strike. The second was the beginning of the Canadian recession. The former was suggestive of the possible future of federal and provincial policies, while the latter brought the social and economic problems of the nation into a much sharper political focus. British Columbia introduced Canada's first public sector restraint program in 1982, signalling many provinces to follow suit (Pape 1983:89). The emasculation of public sector unions (long the harbingers of union militancy) which has ensued has become a warning to the trade unions that the State is prepared to take direct and assertive action to achieve its goals.

How can one analyze the State as a legitimating, enabling or coercive structure? How and why does it act? In their essay, "The State In Capitalism And The Capitalist State", Dear and Clark (1981) attempt to focus not solely upon the functions of the State in a given society (the State in capitalism) but also upon the form of the capitalist State, in other words, how a given social organization gives rise to a particular structure or apparatus (Dear and Scott 1981:43). In so doing, the authors refer to the "central epistemological distinction in Marxist theory" - that between the "level of appearances" and the

underlying social reality which gives rise to those appearances (Dear and Clark 1981:47).

The authors outline a theory of the State as an input-output mechanism which assumes the role of a political entity which may at once act in favour of crisis-free stabilization and integration while, at the same time, "the extended functions of the State may themselves be a source of dysfunction and crisis" (Dear and Clark 1981:55). In this model, the State may assume many, often contradictory roles: it may act in the interests of all classes of capitalist society with many policies which do not directly serve the interests of the capitalist class. The State, therefore, acts continually in the interests of crisis avoidance. Crises result from class antagonisms and may be regarded as crises of "output and input":

Output crises, relating to the State's administrative decisions, take the form of crises of rationality. Input crises take the form of crises in legitimation - the system simply does not succeed in maintaining the necessary level of mass loyalty (Dear and Clark 1981:56).

Current fiscal crises are intimately linked with such crises of legitimacy and rationality which are manifest as the contradiction between the maintenance of conditions suitable for profitable capital accumulation while at the same time seeking to maintain social harmony (Dear and Clark 1981:56). In this light, the situation in B.C. may be seen in terms of the government's restraint program as precipitating a crisis of rationality and the subsequent public protest and strike action forming the core of a crisis in legitimacy, for as Dear and Clark observe:

...the capitalist State which openly uses its coercive power to enable one class to profit at the expense of others loses its legitimacy and risks undermining the basis of mass support. This structural contradiction is compounded during inflationary periods when rising costs and public expenditure cutbacks cause state output to fall below expectations. A crisis in legitimacy is thus initiated which imposes increased pressure upon the rationality crisis, and so on (Dear and Clark 1981:56).

Richard Peet, as special guest editor of *Economic Geography* (Vol. 59, No. 2, April 1983), writes in "Introduction: The Global Geography of Contemporary Capitalism":

The movement of capitalism into a new phase creates crises which interact with old crises versions of the same contradiction, create wholly new sequences of crisis, and intersect and interact in the ever-changing pattern of historical events (Peet 1983:110).

Chauncey A. Alexander (summer 1982), too, relates the effects of the recession to "re-runs of the periodic crises of a capitalist economy" (Alexander 1982:63).

Alexander regards the market-place mentality as a threat to the value system of social welfare and, ultimately, to participatory democracy whose goal is that of the common good. Accountability has shifted from the addressing of human needs to the standards of fiscal restraint (Alexander 1982:64). In Alexander's analysis, restraint emerges as a

concise political strategem in which:

...the reduction of social services serves several ends simultaneously. It shrinks the sharing requirement on private and corporate wealth; it adds to the marginal labour pool for combatting labour demands, and it opens the door to private exploitation of social needs (Alexander 1982:64).

Soja, Morales and Wolff (1983) contend that structural changes in the social and economic geography of regions has affected the organization of the labour process, the composition of the work force, the location of industry and the sectoral distribution of employment (Soja et al 1983:195).

In a system which the authors typify as "State-managed capitalism", the State facilitates the increased flexibility of capital, allowing it to more easily mobilize cheap labour supplies and avoid labour militancy and organization. Commenting on the global system of capital organization, Robert J.S. Ross (1983) observes that the current economic decline results from capital outflow which is the aggregate effect of the locational decisions of firms and investors (Ross, R. 1983: 144). Such locative decisions are influenced by a consideration of 1) wages; 2) the discipline of the labour force; and 3) public policy perceived to be favourable to capital (Ross, R. 1983:144).

The State reacts to the discretionary power of capital with strategic policy designed to attract and keep investment. Ross identifies three broad policy areas where decisions are made which affect the positions of labour and capital: 1) policies which

affect the reproduction of labour through wages and the social wage (i.e., benefits, worker protection, legal rights - all that comprises the social security of labour); 2) policies intended to attract capital by the provision of subsidies or through the provision of infrastructure; 3) tax policies and incentives (Ross. R. 1983:146).

Ross also speculates that there is a linkage between anti-union legislation and social service policy for:

Higher rates of unionization are associated with public policies which contribute to the social wage (Ross, R. 1983:146).

Examples of this are workmens' compensation awards, employer borne insurance costs, welfare benefits, or unemployment compensation (Ross, R. 1983:147). He notes also that higher levels of social benefits contribute indirectly to labour's ability to bargain by providing a "social safety net". Also, such policies contribute to a set of perceptions which define what may be loosely called the "business climate". In the eyes of capital, States whose policies reflect a higher social wage are often considered to have poor business climates. Ross observes that nations perceived by capital as favourable "enterprise zones" are characterized by authoritarian governments whose policies maintain strict wage and labour control while offering "tax forgiveness" and "permissive regulation" (Ross, R. 1983:154-155).

On both the local and the national scale in Canada, these patterns of capital mobility and labour restructuring are evidenced in the spatial reorganization of economic functions in the urban, national and the supra-national

context. Restructuring is also evidenced in the shifting occupational hierarchy, the "flight" of capital and the efforts of the State to respond to capital imperatives through legislation designed to reduce the social wage and detract from the power base of labour. In this light, one may appreciate Ross's observation that reductions in both the personal and the social wage in the West are induced by the control of labour in newer industrial areas such as Singapore or Taiwan (Ross, R. 1983:155). It is interesting to note, against the backdrop of restraint legislation in British Columbia, Ministers for the government have publicly speculated about the creation of "special enterprize zones" which would be exempt from many restrictions on trade as well as freedom from the strictures of labour legislation. Whether or not the province has jurisdiction in this regard remains to be seen.

### Conclusion: The Problem Restated

Bruce Walker (1981) regards "welfare economics" as the study of the way in which the economic processes of production, consumption and exchange affect the well-being of society (1981:13). The aim of welfare economics is to be able to recommend courses of action which will enhance or improve the well-being of the members of the society and to provide criteria by which that well-being can be judged. Walker here draws a distinction between "positive economics", which is essentially descriptive, and "welfare economics", which is prescriptive (Walker 1981:13).

There is, however, a semantic problem which Walker identifies and that is the meaning of "social welfare" for, as he says, "social welfare may be related to the welfare of

individuals in a variety of ways" (Walker 1981:13-14). In other words, in whose interests, or according to what standards is social welfare to be ascertained? Do we adopt a utilitarian or a humanistic view - individualist or collectivist? The problem is compounded when we consider that both the collectivists and the anti-collectivists believe that they are acting in the interests of the common good. However, their philosophical and theoretical constructions of such values as freedom, liberty, production and well-being may often be diametrically opposed (for a discussion of this, see George and Wilding 1976). It is clear, then, that political expressions in policy and political reaction to contingency, while they may be painted by the State with a patina of rationality, are at base, statements of, or judgements of values.

Commenting on what they view as the failure of the welfare state, George and Wilding (1976) remark:

If it is to flourish, any economic system both requires and generates a particular value system. Capitalism is no exception. It depends on and fosters the development of an ethic of self-help, freedom, individualism, competition and achievement - the classic liberal values.

Such a value system, which is required for the successful operation of a capitalist economy, is in clear opposition to the values needed to underpin a successful public welfare system (George and Wilding, 1976:118).

The authors assert that neither govern-



ments nor trade unions have made the improvement of the conditions of the low-paid a top priority of their activities (George and Wilding 1976:113). This is because each has inculcated a set of values which flow from the capitalist ethic; values which are exclusive, acquisitive and concerned with relative power. It is for this reason that the public service strike in B.C., and the legislation which preceded it, acquire special significance.

According to George and Wilding:

...the framing and implementation of social policy are often subordinated to residual liberal ideas about freedom as the absence of restraint (George and Wilding 1976:119).

There is an abundance of prognosis about the emerging character of post-industrial society (Bell 1976; Trist 1968; Unger 1976) and, while the details of these separate visions may differ, most agree that the degree of change in our modes of socialization, political responsiveness, and the shape of our expectations will have a resonance and a power that will seriously shake our individual and collective conceptions of political and social reality. Lasch (1972) predicts that the rationalization of industry and changes in the entrepreneurial order may give rise to a sizable class of "new poor" who exist on the margins of the industrial system (Lasch 1972:37). Lasch says of this group:

The new poor are not a proletariat in the strict sense because they are not engaged in industrial production: instead, they constitute a new kind of lumpenproletariate, alienated and resentful (Lasch

If this analysis is correct, then it follows that elements of society which are becoming increasingly marginal to the productive core of the system and the State are those who will be most often placed in circumstances of "social risk". It also follows that, if the State is to be at all responsive to the needs of its citizens, not only for the present but for the future, social monitoring and planning structures must undergo some radicalization which accommodates a concern for social well-being as well as some latitude for structural and systemic malleability. Post-industrial society is inherently unstable; it proceeds on the basis of contradictions between goals and processes whose resolution, if left unaddressed, at once suppresses political expression and deepens the lines of potential conflict with a polity. Recession economics, as we have seen, does not seek the resolution of societal contradictions. Rather, it is the vehicle through which the State, as the agent of capital, seeks to suppress conflict and perpetuate existing inequities and, as such, sets a dangerous and turbulent course for our public services.

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A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF DAY CARE  
ON THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD AND THE FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

Maternal employment has increased dramatically over the last two decades. The result of this increase in the number of working mothers is the expanded use of day care programs for children. Examined in this paper are research findings on the impact of day-care on the child and the family. The implications of these findings for policy development are discussed.

Currently in the United States, over 50 percent of mothers work outside the home; this figure is expected to rise to 75 percent by 1990. The fastest growing segment of the working mother population is among those with children under two (Zigler and Gordon, 1982). This increasing rate of maternal employment of the last two decades has created the need for alternative arrangements for infants and young children. There is some concern among child development specialists that these alternative arrangements of care may have detrimental effects on a child's social and psychological development.

Much of the concern about substitute care

is based on the theory and research related to the negative effects of institutionalization on young children, (Bowlby, 1951; Spitz, 1945). This body of literature, however, tells one little about the typical forms of substitute care experienced by most children. Obviously, children generally do not experience the extreme physical and social deprivation reported on in the institutional literature (Advisory Committee on Child Development, 1976:117). Consequently, the quality of substitute care received by the majority of children is not comparable to the type of care studied in the institutional literature.

Still, the possibility remains that even with high quality care, differences may be found in the behavior and development of children as a function of the type of substitute care received. The literature reports numerous studies on the impact of various forms of substitute care; however, most of these studies are not well designed (Advisory Committee on Child Development, 1976:118). The typical form of substitute care focused on in the literature has been high quality, university based day-care settings, a form of substitute care most children do not have access to (Santrock, 1983:159). Even though the majority of these studies have weak methodological designs and are based on day-care settings not experienced by most children, some meaningful findings have emerged in the literature. This paper will focus on those relevant studies reporting on the impact of one very common form of substitute care, day-care for the pre-school child. The major emphasis of the review will be on how day-care impacts the pre-school child's intellectual development, emotional development, social development, and the child's family system. The authors will draw from these findings several major policy implications.

### Review of Major Findings



Keeping in mind the limitations concerning the current research on day-care for pre-school children, this section of the paper will focus on four major areas: effects of day-care on the child's intellectual development, emotional development, social development, and on the child's family.

### Intellectual Development.

Studies on intellectual development generally conclude that advantaged children are not impacted positively or negatively by the day-care experience. However, those children coming from economically disadvantaged backgrounds often show positive gains. It must be kept in mind, however, that the vast majority of these studies were conducted in high quality, university based day-care settings.

Among those studies focusing on advantaged children, the majority conclude that these children differ little in intellectual development from those not experiencing day-care (Caldwell, Wright, Honig, and Tannenbaum, 1970; and More, 1975). Fowler and Khan (1975) did find some initial gains in intellectual development among advantaged children experiencing day-care versus matched controls; these gains, however, gradually disappeared over time.

Herber, Garber, Harrington, Hoffman, and Falender (1972) and Robinson and Robinson (1971) report that children from disadvantaged backgrounds made significant gains on standardized tests after experiencing enriched day-care programs. Ramey and Smith (1976) found that disadvantaged pre-school children not only improved their intellectual development through enriched day-care, but also their motor development. The major limitation of these studies is that they tell little about the typical forms of substitute care experien-

ced by the vast majority of disadvantaged children.

One significant exception to these studies is research by Golden, Rosenbluth, Grossi, Policare, Freeman, and Brownlee (1978). These researchers report that disadvantaged children in non-university based day-care settings were found to make significant intellectual gains when compared with children experiencing other forms of care. The importance of this research is that it provides evidence about the possible intellectual benefits of day-care for children from disadvantaged populations who are enrolled in modal (rather than model) care programs (Pardeck and Pardeck, in press).

#### Emotional Development.

Researchers concerned about the impact of substitute care on children's emotional development have primarily focused on the mother-child bond. Research by Baer (1954), Bowlby (1951), Goldfarb (1943), and Spitz (1945) suggests that any arrangement that deprives the child of continuous access to his or her mother impairs the child's emotional development. Since day-care by its very nature entails the daily separation of mother from child, researchers have investigated the influence this separation has on the child's emotional bond with the mother.

A research strategy that has helped to explore the impact of mother-child separation is the "strange situation" experiment (Stroufe and Waters, 1977). This experiment involves separating the child from the mother, thus creating a stressful situation, then introducing a strange adult. The key assumption is that the child's approach-avoidance response to the stranger and the child's exploration of the environment during the "strange situation" will be an index of the mother-child relationship. There are some limitations to the use

of this research strategy.

Blehar (1974) presents evidence supporting the disruption of the mother-child relationship in a study of 40 children ranging from two to four years of age. Blehar's research found that the "strange situation" produced increased anxiety, less exploratory behavior, and increased crying among day-care reared children versus those children reared at home. Cochran (1977) and Ricciuti (1974) also report similar results in their studies.

Even though these studies support the differences between home care and day-care children in their attachments to their mothers during the "strange situation" experiment, several basic concerns must be raised: 1) does the "strange situation" reflect a situation likely to be experienced by a child in everyday life? 2) does the "strange situation" really assess the quality of the child's enduring relationship with the mother? and 3) does the "strange situation" give insight into how the child might act in other situations? (Belsky and Steinberg, 1978). These limitations must be kept in mind when viewing the evidence reported on the reactions of children to the "strange situation" experiment.

Moskowitz, Schwarz, and Corsini (1977) found little difference in children having the day-care experience versus home reared children when confronted with a "strange situation." Brookhart and Hock (1976), Doyle (1975), Roopnarine and Lamb (1978), Portnoy and Simmons (1978), and Kagan, Kearsley, and Zelalzo (1976), in their investigations employing the "strange situation," also report little difference between home and day-care reared children. Therefore, a number of studies have conversely found the "strange situation" to have little impact on either population of children.

As another way of measuring emotional development, Caldwell, Wright, Honig, and Tannenbaum (1970) used an assessment instrument rating mother-child attachment. They reported no significant difference between home and day-care reared children as measured by the scale. These findings imply that the child's emotional well-being is not adversely impacted by the day-care experience.

Ricciuti (1976) and Farran and Ramey (1977) have attempted to explore the emotional attachments that day-care reared children develop for their substitute caretakers. The core issue studied by these researchers was to uncover whether children develop a greater attachment to the caretaker at the expense of the attachment to the parents. No evidence found to support a change in emotional attachment in these studies.

In summary, most studies do not report a decline in a child's emotional development because of the day-care experience. Obviously, more research needs to be done on using other types of measurements assessing the impact of substitute care on the emotional development of children reared in day-care. As mentioned earlier, research on day-care has been typically conducted in university based day-care settings -- much research on other forms of substitute care should be conducted to explore how these modal forms impact the child's emotional development and well-being.

### Social Development.

The main thrust of the research dealing with the social development of day-care reared children concerns the impact of such care on peer group relations and on behaviors toward adults (Belsky and Steinberg, 1978).

Research has suggested that day-care and

non day-care children appear to differ in their peer group relations. Ricciuti (1976) found day-care children were more oriented toward other children, less toward their mothers, and engaged in less physical contact with their mothers than their home reared counterparts. Kagan, Kearsley, and Zelazo (1976) also found results similar to those reported by Ricciuti. Lay and Meyer (1974) concluded in their research that day-care children interacted more with age-mates than adults as a general category. McCutcheon and Calhoun (1976) also found that day-care children interacted more with peers than home reared children and were less likely to interact with adults.

Caldwell, Wright, Honig, and Tannenbaum (1970), Lay and Meyer (1974), and Schwarz, Krolick, and Strickland (1973) in a series of important studies on the day-care on impact of day-care on children's social development reported significant differences between day-care and home reared children in three areas. Day-care children were found to be more aggressive, both physically and verbally, than home reared children toward peers and adults. The day-care children were also found to be less cooperative in their relations with adults. Finally, the day-care children appeared to have less tolerance for frustration than home reared children.

Moore (1975) found similar findings to those reported above concerning daycare and home reared children plus several other significant differences between these two populations. These additional differences are that day-care children versus home reared were found to be more assertive, less conforming, less impressed by punishment, less averse to dirt, and more prone to toilet lapses. Lippman and Grote (1974) also found day-care children exhibited less cooperative behavior in several game situations that demanded cooperation for

participants to be successful.

The findings concerning social development suggest that several significant differences have been found between day-care and home reared children. The key differences between the two populations of children appear to be in the area of peer relations, in behavior toward adults, and in behavior toward other children.

### Impact on the Family

Only a limited number of studies have focused on the impact of the day-care experience on the family. Several important findings have emerged from these studies concerning this critical issue.

Falender and Heber (1976) and Ramey and Mills (1975) report that mothers with children in day-care interacted more with their children once they were home than mothers of home reared children. These findings obviously imply that day-care may positively impact the family through increased mother-child interaction.

Lally (1973) reports findings concerning the wider effects of day-care on the family. Lally found mothers of children in day-care were twice as likely to earn high school diplomas as mothers with children in the control group, home reared children. Peters and Elliot (1973) also reported that those families with employed mothers and children in day-care had higher median incomes than families with children waiting to get into care. Other researchers reporting on the same data used by Peters and Elliot looked at the spousal relationship. They found that as satisfaction with day-care increased, so did marital satisfaction and maternal employment satisfaction. This clearly suggests that the effects of day-care could possibly be far reaching for

the family.

One research study mentioned earlier by Golden, Rosenbluth, Grossi, Policare, Freeman, and Brownlee (1978) concluded that day-care had little or no impact on the family. The factors they examined were related to family income, family structure, and family functioning. Golden's findings are inconsistent with the other studies reviewed on day-care and the family. Considering the other studies reporting a positive impact of day-care on the family, it appears further research is needed in this area.

### Summary

Rising rates of maternal employment have resulted in a dramatic increase in the use of out-of-home care, particularly day-care settings, for infants and young children. Whether one sees this trend as positive or negative, potentially reversible or here to stay, it is a demographic reality of tremendous import (Zigler and Gordon, 1982).

During the last decade or so, there has been an outpouring of empirical studies exploring the effects of day-care on the child and a limited number concerning the child's family. Much of this research has been conducted in high quality, often university based, day-care settings and may therefore not be representative of the day-care the majority of pre-school children receive. However, despite this limitation, some important conclusions can be drawn concerning the findings of these studies:

1. For children of advantaged backgrounds, studies have found no differences in intellectual development, as measured mainly by standardized tests, between home reared children and those experiencing day-care. For high-risk chil-

dren (i.e., those from low income families), day-care appears to have a positive impact on their intellectual development.

2. With a few exceptions, studies have not found major differences in mother-child attachment between children reared at home and those reared in day-care. This suggests that day-care does not have a negative impact on a child's emotional development.

3. Day-care appears to impact a child's social development. Compared to home reared children, those children experiencing day-care seem to be more peer oriented and less likely to interact with adults. Behavioral differences related to aggression, assertiveness, and cooperation were also found between home reared and day-care children.

4. A few studies suggest that day-care may have a positive impact on the family system in terms of family income and several other significant areas.

### Policy Implications

It must be remembered that research findings do not exist in vacuo, but have social implications. Underpinning the studies just cited is a distinction that must be made between custodial and developmental day-care. Specifically, the benefits that accrue to those who are enrolled in day-care are available only in high quality programs. For if programs only offer minimal activities, they are nothing more than glorified babysitting services. As noted by the authors of a Women's Liberation document, these types of day-care centers instruct children to be passive through routinizing their curriculum (Steinfels, 1973:29). True education, in-



stead, requires that a challenging and enriched environment be provided for children on a regular basis.

In order to insure excellence among day-care facilities, however, adequate funding must be available for these programs. Throughout the history of day-care, this has not been the case. Many writers blame this situation on the sexist charter of society (Ellis and Petchesky, 1977:101-110; Feinstein, 1979:177-193; Steinfels, 1973:224-244). That is, if women are conceived to be merely secondary workers, then the need for expanded day-care services is by definition marginal. Clearly this sentiment was centrally important to Nixon's veto of the Comprehensive Child Development Act in 1972.

Conservative economists have a penchant for believing that persons do not choose to work out of economic necessity. Instead, they contend that workforce participation is the result of persons freely choosing among numerous alternatives, one of which is to work. In this case, it is no wonder that the presence of women at the workplace is considered to be temporary, and therefore does not necessitate any serious policy changes with respect to family life. Contrary to this misconception, the majority of women who work outside of the home do so to assure the economic survival of their families (Roby, 1973:3-9). Thus, serious decisions are going to have to be made about future childrearing practices. Particularly, significant improvements will have to be made in terms of funding day-care or many of the current problems such as sexual abuse of children in day-care centers will become commonplace.

Day-care, in short, can no longer be viewed as a luxury. Since many mothers of young children must now seek work, overall shifts in our social priorities must be under-

taken. As Steinfelds puts it, day-care is no longer a personal but a political issue, What she means by this is that social decisions about women working must be made on the basis of social values. The fact is that an economic "reality" is shaping attitudes toward work, and thus their changing views toward economic survival must be given appropriate political consideration. Unfortunately the current Reagan administration, along with its conservative economic attitudes, is out of touch with the economic state of American families,

Short of a complete restructuring of society, the following policy considerations must be implemented or quality day-care will not be available to family systems where both parents work.

### Funding

The recent Reagan budget cuts have decimated the budgets of most social service programs, and day-care is no exception. Therefore, money for salary increases and the training of day-care workers is no longer available. The annual wages of day-care workers during the last decade ranged from \$3500 to \$6000 per year (Steinfelds, 1973:107). While not diminishing the importance of para-professionals, such low salaries tend to attract only marginal workers. And without the funds necessary to provide these individuals with on-going training, children may be placed in jeopardy. All that may be hired are persons who are concerned with their own survival, as opposed to the welfare of children.

Increased taxes for the general public, however, is not necessarily the only remedy for this situation. Quite frankly, there is only a limited amount of resources that are available, which suggests that current fiscal priorities may have to be re-examined. Al-

though many persons have an aversion to real-locating the funds that are earmarked for the military, the present economic "reality" dictates that this is imperative. That is, if economic reasons mandate that most family members must work, then social solutions to the resulting problems must be sought. Consequently, in order to avoid cutting further social services which are already inadequate, non-social programs might have to be trimmed. This is essential if daycare workers are to receive proper training and wages, so that children are placed in comprehensive programs (Hoffman, 1978:111-112).

Additionally, giving tax rebates to those who can afford to pay for day-care is not an appropriate method for funding this service. Stated simply, this is because it assumes that everyone has the ability to pay their children's matriculation fees. Policies which are based on this assumption are ineffective for two reasons. First, low income persons are not assisted by this procedure, while secondly, the rebate that is received by moderate income families is not sufficient by itself to fund day-care at a proper level. Only through a social, as opposed to an individual, funding strategy can day-care be extended throughout our society. However, taxation and budget reallocations are not the only sources of funding for day-care.

### The Workplace

Employers must become increasingly involved in offering day-care facilities. In order for this to take place, however, this service must be viewed as more than merely a fringe benefit, which employers may or may not elect to provide. Instead, workers must be understood as creating social wealth which can be utilized in any manner they desire. Following this shift in thinking about work, both male and female employees have the right to demand

day-care services as part of the remuneration which they receive for their labor. For if an economic "reality" determines the rate of participation in the labor force, then the products of work should be channelled toward meeting the needs of workers. Most important, this approach to funding social services is predicated upon socially created wealth, as opposed to private philanthropy. This allows women, along with workers in general, to have more control over their lives.

In terms of a family policy, this approach to organizing day-care allows fathers and mothers to remain in close proximity to their children. This does not, however, imply that the traditional images of the family and the female worker are being surreptitiously resurrected, thus requiring that women fill their traditional roles. Because work and the process of allocating the fruits of labor are democratized, women are able to participate fully at the workplace and in any family arrangement that may be chosen. Yet without democratizing work, day-care will only be implemented as part of a policy of securing cheap female labor through tethering women to roles which underutilize their talents (Kanter, 1977). A clear example of this was witnessed during World War II when most factories had day-care services, yet neither women's roles nor their social position improved appreciably. In short, if women are viewed as creating a country's wealth through their labor, then it only makes sense that they must share equally in terms of how these products are distributed. This is possible, however, only when when social wealth is used to facilitate personal growth such as allowing parents to work knowing that quality day-care is available. When conceived in this way day-care is "normalized," or understood to be a legitimate right of every worker (Steinfels, 1973:247).

## Labor Unions

Labor unions must also become more seriously involved in procuring this service for workers than in the past. Labor leaders, consequently, must change their current approach to contract negotiations. Specifically, they must begin to see themselves as caring for the social well-being of workers, instead of merely securing higher salaries for union members. In other words, workers must be able to control the wealth which they generate, thereby enabling social institutions to reflect their needs. As noted in the past, salary increases may not be translated readily into improving the total quality of life for workers. This is because their wages only represent a small portion of the wealth which they actually produce. Unions, therefore, must demand that workers receive all the services which their labor is able to support, which requires that organized labor alter its perception of the purpose of work. If work is understood to further a person's well-being, as opposed to generating only wages, then the outcome of this activity must be used to support workers' claims.

Bronfenbrenner (1970) notes that such an expanded conception of work begins to break down the distinctions which are typically made between play, education, productive work, and the roles traditionally assigned to men and women. Additionally, when persons begin to recognize that their work roles are intimately related to how they interact with their children and other family members, increased social integration is possible. Individuals are able to realize that any personal problem requires a global solution, one which promotes social solidarity. By promoting the idea that work is related closely to family life, unions may inadvertently correct the social fragmentation that is threatening the family system. This type of social unity, moreover, enriches

both family and community existence.

### Community Control

Local control of day-care must be instituted, This means that those who use these services must be directly involved in their planning and organization. In the mid-sixties this type of proposal was quite common, yet community control of day-care was a dismal failure. These programs failed, not because community members were disinterested, but because their efforts were constantly frustrated by both local and federal bureaucrats. Community persons were invited to participate in organizational meetings until they began to take their newly discovered power seriously. Once they became too aggressive, they were hurriedly dismissed from their positions and excluded from any further involvement in community planning (Steinfels, 1973:207-247).

Many social activists argue that community members were easily intimidated simply because their initiatives were not sufficiently politicized. This approach to community activism can be successful only if it is understood against the backdrop of political disenfranchisement in the United States of low and moderate income persons. Individuals must be made aware that they have the right to be self-determining, while also recognizing that this ambition may be blocked by those who hold power. Community control, in other words, must be accompanied by a policy of social democratization, or local control of services will not be achieved. Because day-care in general demands many social reforms, direct community participation in planning various approaches to this issue may stimulate the political awakening that is necessary for these changes to be inaugurated.

### Changes For The Future

Changes must be forthcoming with respect to what is believed to be the functions of the family. Specifically, the family cannot be portrayed in the usual functionalist manner if day-care is to flourish. According to functionalists, the family is supposed to be a microcosm of the larger society and reproduce its goals in children. And as functionalists note, the nuclear family is most appropriate for this undertaking. Yet overwhelmingly it has been documented that children who are enrolled in high quality day-care programs are more peer oriented, less fearful of authority, and more aggressive than is normally expected. In terms of the functionalist ideology, these are undesirable characteristics for families to be instilling in children.

Nonetheless, day-care introduces an entirely new, democratic, or as Habermas suggests, dialogical approach to socialization. The impact of this will certainly be experienced socially. This shift in socialization is commensurate with the general theme which underpins day-care, the need to break with traditional role imagery. Accordingly, day-care is a sort of double-edged sword, as it simultaneously opens society and makes new demands on the citizenry. Persons must be able to meet these challenges to traditional societal imagery for day-care to survive.

In sum, day-care raises many political issues which must be addressed in novel ways. The success of day-care depends upon a correct apprehension of its political implications, so that appropriate supportive policies are formulated. Without such an understanding, this social program will be instituted without the necessary accompanying changes in social values, only to be undercut by traditional social structures.

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## CHILDREN'S VIOLENCE TO SINGLE MOTHERS

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### ABSTRACT

A survey of 151 mothers to determine characteristics of violence experienced from their children. The survey assessed the length of time they had been single parents, the age and sex of their children, the frequency and types of violence they experienced, and the influence of violent adult modeling upon the children's violence.

Findings indicate that 29% of the mothers had been assaulted by their children. The violent families contained more children than the nonviolent families, and the violent children's ages were more closely-spaced. Battered mothers also reported greater modeling of violence (the children seeing an adult striking their mother) than did mothers reporting no children's violence. Results indicate that children who witnessed modeled violence displayed more frequent and severe violence (more hits and kicks, rather than pushes or slaps) toward their mother. The implications of these findings for clinical practice are discussed.

While issues concerning domestic violence have gained great attention during the past few years, little research has been conducted on children's violence to their parents. This is surprising in light of the fact that this aspect of domestic violence was first identified and studied over 25 years ago (Sears, 1957). While a few researchers (Harbin and Maddin, 1979; Warren, 1978) have published the results of studies gathered from very small samples, and others have gathered massive

quantitative data on very large samples Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, 1980; Cornell and Gelles, 1982), none have adequately addressed characteristics of children's violence in families headed by single mothers.

An estimated 15.4% of U.S. families are now headed by single females (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982). How frequently do children in these families strike their mothers? How severe are these assaults? Are these mothers ever injured or hospitalized? Was violent behavior modeled to these children? What is the age and sex of children most prone to assault their mothers? These questions occurred to me when I was working as a clinician in a residential adolescent treatment facility. Several teens placed in our unit had become violent at home before being placed in our care. This type of placement seemed to happen more frequently following divorces. It occurred to me that if a violent husband left the family, a large teenager might imitate that violence with the mother, in order to secure money and other desired resources. As divorces are commonplace, I began to wonder how frequently single mothers experience violence from their children. A search of the literature provided no answers regarding children's violence to single mothers. This study represents an initial effort to secure data about this growing population.

## METHOD

### Instrument

The instrument employed for this research took the form of a one-page questionnaire, mailed to single mothers. It was composed of nine questions, four of which contained two parts. Questions about actual violence were based upon items from the Conflict Tactics scales (Straus, 1979); greatly simplified to accommodate mail sampling of subjects, rather



than lengthy direct interviewing. While this simplification sacrifices many of the statistical inferences that can be drawn from the Conflict Tactics Scales, the data gained does form an adequate initial base for the study of violence in families headed by single mothers.

### Survey

1. How long have you been a single parent?  
\_\_\_\_\_years      \_\_\_\_\_months

2. How many children (ages 1-19) currently live with you?      \_\_\_\_\_children

3. Please list the sex and age of each child (Example: Male 17, Female 8).

4. Have any of your children ever pushed you?  
\_\_\_\_\_Yes      \_\_\_\_\_No

5. How many times during the past year?  
\_\_\_\_\_Times

6. Have any of your children ever slapped you, or hit you with an open hand?

\_\_\_\_\_Yes      \_\_\_\_\_No

How many times during the past year?

\_\_\_\_\_Times

7. Have you ever been injured by these behaviors?

\_\_\_\_\_Yes      \_\_\_\_\_No

8. Have you ever been hospitalized, resulting from one of these incidents?

\_\_\_\_\_Yes      \_\_\_\_\_No

9. Has another adult ever punched you, struck you, kicked you, etc., in front of your children?

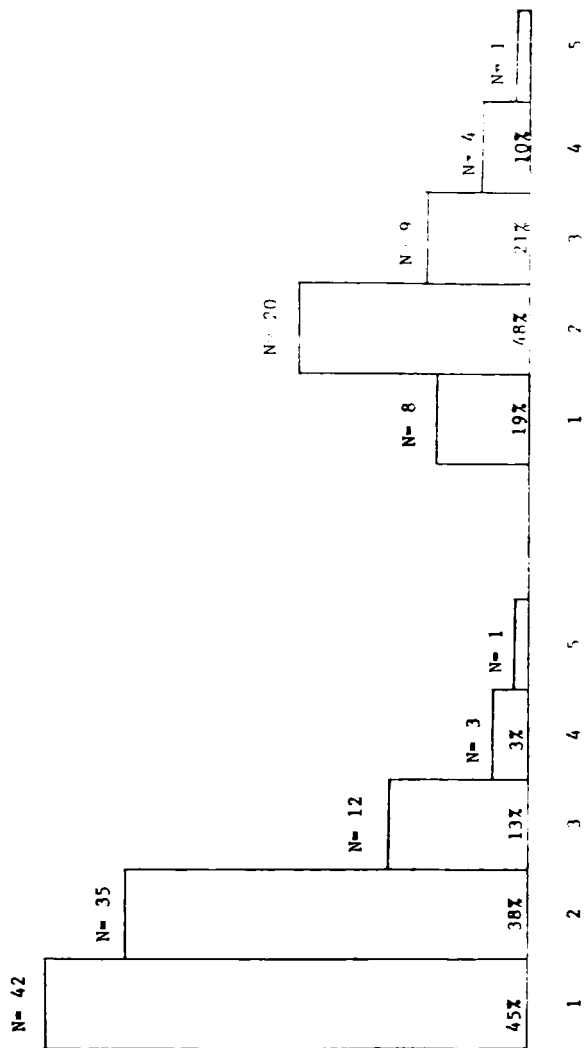
\_\_\_\_\_Yes      \_\_\_\_\_No

If yes, was this adult a male?

\_\_\_\_\_Yes      \_\_\_\_\_No

CHART 1

CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD



NONVIOLENT GROUP  $\bar{x} = 1.77$

VIOLENT GROUP  $\bar{x} = 2.20$

## Subjects

Surveys were mailed to 669 single mothers of whom 151 (22.6%) responded. The subjects were obtained from the membership list of an organization operating in Central Illinois. This organization, which asked to remain anonymous; is strictly of a fraternal/social nature. It has no connections whatever with domestic violence, nor do members receive any professional therapy or social services. Such an organization was chosen for this research in order to avoid the bias which would be introduced by sampling mental health service recipients. My familiarity with this organization leads me to believe that this sample is representative of the organizations membership. These women are predominantly caucasian, "middle class", and employed outside the home.

## RESULTS

Surveys returned were sorted into two groups to facilitate comparison. The "Violent Child Group" consisted of surveys reporting that the children had committed violent acts against their mothers. The "Nonviolent Child Group" mothers reported no violence from their children. Forty-four of the 151 respondents (29%) reported suffering violence at the hands of their children.

It was important to determine how long the mothers had been a single parent. Survey responses revealed the mean length of time single for the Violent Child Group was 60.5 months; the Nonviolent Child Group's mean was 65.7 months. The difference of 5.2 months was not found to be significant (T-test,  $p < 0.05$ ), nor was the variance between groups significantly

different ( $\chi^2 = 31.64$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Thus, these two groups can be considered samples from the same population (i.e., single mothers) rather than two distinct populations (i.e., mothers recently divorced compared to mothers single for five years or more).

I also wished to know how many children were living with their mother. The Violent Group's mean was 2.29 children per family, while the Nonviolent Group's mean was 1.77 children per family. Chart 1 illustrates the differing frequency distributions of the Violent and Nonviolent Groups.

Thus, the Violent Child families reported a significantly greater number of children per family than did the Nonviolent families (T-test,  $p < 0.05$ ). This suggests a correlation between larger families and at least one child behaving violently toward the mother, which may reflect the greater stress present in households with more children (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, 1980, 174-181). These stresses could take the form of increased financial pressures, greater crowding, or children's competition for their mother's attention.

The age and sex of each child was next determined. Among the Violent children ( $N = 96$ ), the males (44%) averaged 14.4 years; females (56%) averaged 14.9 years. The family mean for children's age was 14.6 years. Among the Nonviolent Children ( $N = 165$ ), the males (51%) averaged 13.7 years, while the females (49%) averaged 15.4 years. The family mean for children in this group also averaged 14.6 years. While no significant differences between the Violent and Nonviolent groups emerged, the males within the Nonviolent Group were significantly younger than the females at the 0.05 level of significance. This suggests a correlation between closely-spaced children's ages and violent acting-out. Again, children born in relatively rapid succession

are thought to increase stress within the family (Elmer, 1967; 75-78). This is attributed to the relatively brief time family members have to adjust to the new child before another is born.

Questions #4 through #8, which asked mothers about the violence experienced from their children during the past year, are presented in the following table:

In the last year were you	mothers responding yes %	(N)	total # of acts past year	average acts per family in past year
(#4) pushed?	79.5	(35)	110	3.14
(#5) slapped or hit with an open hand	59	(26)	77	2.96
(#6) punched, kicked, or object thrown at your	66	(29)	83	2.86
(#7) injured during these attacks	41	(18)	--	--
(#8) hospitalized resulting from these attacks	9	(4)	--	--

Question #9 attempted to assess the role of adult modeling of violence within the household. Fifty-five percent (24) of the Violent Child mothers responded "yes" to this question, compared to 32% (34) of the Nonviolent Child mothers. A contingency table employing the Chi-square test ( $\chi^2 = 6.83$ ,  $P < 0.05$ ) revealed that the factors of adult

modeled violence and children's violence were dependent. This strongly suggests that an adult striking the mother in the children's presence does significantly increase the probability that a child will also strike mother. This conclusion is supported by the work of Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980, p.122). Of the mothers reporting violence from another adult, 96% (23 of 24) indicated this adult was male.

To determine if modeling had any effect upon the severity (punches and kicks were judged to be more severely violent than pushes or slaps) or the frequency of the children's violence, mothers within the Violent Child Group were divided into two groups. Mothers abused by another adult in the presence of their children were assigned to the "Modeled Violence" group, mothers not abused within their children's presence were assigned to the "Violence Not Modeled" group. A chart was then constructed to compare the effect of adult modeling upon the severity and frequency of children's violence to their mothers.

# TYPE OF CHILDREN'S VIOLENCE BY MODELED VIOLENCE

Type of violence			
	pushed	slapped	hit or kicked or object thrown
Modeled Violence (N=24)	N families = 20 (83%)	N=16 (67%)	N=19 (79%)
	Violent Acts = 78	46	49
Violence not Modeled (N=20)	N Families = 15 (75%)	N=10 (50%)	N=10 (50%)
	Violent Acts = 32	31	34

One notes that the Modeled Violence mothers report 78% more total acts of violence (173 versus 97) than do mothers in families where violence was not modeled. This suggests that adult modeling of violence toward the mother tends to increase both the frequency and the severity of violence which children inflict upon their mother.

## DISCUSSION

The results of this survey suggest several conclusions about children's violence to sin-

gle mothers. A relatively large minority (29%) of the mothers surveyed reported experiencing violence from their children. This is in contrast to previous findings by Sears (1957) and Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980), both of whom studied only intact families (both mother and father present). The Sears study found 17% of the parents reporting violence from their children. Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz found 18% of the parents in their study reporting similar violence from their children.

One explanation for the more frequent violence reported in this study relates to possible effects of family stress. Households headed by single mothers generally face greater economic and social pressures than do households with both parents present. One potential response available to children in highly stressful circumstances is to act out violently.

Another explanation may be the inhibiting force exerted by an adult male in the family. In many instances, a male would not tolerate children repeatedly being violent with their mother, even if the adult male is himself violent with her. With this inhibiting force absent, many children feel freer to be violent with their mother, because of the diminished threat of retaliation.

Another finding was that larger families and families with closely-spaced children appear to have a greater likelihood of experiencing violence from their children. This may also be related to the greater financial, social, and emotional pressures experienced within these families. These findings are supported by previous work pertaining to family size (Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, 1980) and closely-spaced children's ages (Elmer, 1967).



Casual observers might downplay the significance of children's violence, contending that little actual damage is done. This survey suggests children's violence is a serious problem; an astounding 41% of the mothers reporting violence also reported being injured during a child's assault. When this figure is compared to the total survey, one finds that 12% of the mothers sampled were injured through their children's violence (18 of 151). Nine percent of the mothers of violent children reported receiving injuries serious enough to merit hospitalization.

Finally, modeling of violence by an adult to the mother appears to strongly influence the children's violent tendencies. Mothers who had been physically abused in their children's presence reported both more frequent and more severe acts of violence from these children. This finding is consistent with earlier studies supporting the transmission of family violence across generations (Carroll, 1980; Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz, 1980; Steinmetz, 1977).

### CONCLUSION

Single mothers head an increasingly substantial number of families within this country. When a child becomes physically abusive toward his or her mother, each member of that family suffers the effects of that violence. Their plight merits our attention. As many clinicians working in the field of domestic violence believe that violent families beget the next generation of violent families, services directed to these families would appear to be both a logical and necessary intervention. Clinicians should ask single mothers if violence from their children is a problem for them. Since almost one-third of this study did report problems with children's violence, this appears to be a relatively common pheno-

menon.

If a female client bears bruises, cuts, etc., one might gently inquire how these happened. In my practice, I have often received answers such as "My little girl hit me with the car door, after I spanked her". Many mothers already realize these are deliberate acts, not "accidents". Knowing that some children do injure their mothers can help the clinician explore these injuries as therapeutic issues. Realize that many mothers will attempt to minimize the importance of these attacks. This minimizing is to be expected, since mothers often feel responsible for their children's behavior, and feel somehow guilty about these attacks (Finkelhor, et. al., 1983). These women may fear the possibility of having their children taken from them, yet lack alternatives for dealing with the violence. Many mothers will simply endure the violence, hoping "it is just a phase" which will be "outgrown". Current knowledge of family violence suggests that these attacks will occur with increasing frequency and severity over time, in a spiral known as "the cycle of violence" (Walker, 1979).

Clinicians can do much to alleviate problems within these families, utilizing existing services. Individual counseling with the mother and child (Bern, 1982), family therapy (Wells, 1981), and securing support services (Bern, 1982) such as a homemaker, day care, or babysitting services can effectively reduce stress within these families. I feel counseling the violent child offers great promise. My experience in working with violent men leads me to believe that similar groups and educational materials could easily be adapted for use with violent children. As much of my work centers around developing emotional awareness, building a vocabulary for accurately expressing one's feelings, and altering beliefs about sex roles, I would see efforts

directed to children's violence as ultimately preventing many problems which will otherwise be experienced during adolescence or adulthood. Our attention to these violent children today may prove effective in eliminating violent households in future generations.

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## MEASURING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN AN ALCOHOLIC POPULATION

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### ABSTRACT

A survey of 107 adults receiving residential treatment for substance abuse was conducted, to determine characteristics of domestic violence in relationships. The survey incorporated instruments to measure the degree of substance abuse (the Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test or MAST) as well as types and frequencies of domestic violence (the Conflict Tactics Scale or CTS-N). Findings are then compared to a national study of 2143 normals (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980) to ascertain differences in domestic violence.

Findings indicate that 83% of alcoholic subjects behaved violently in past relationships, compared to 28% of the normal population. Fifty-five percent of the alcoholics had been violent in a relationship during the past year, compared to 16% of the normals who were violent during that time. The findings also indicate that violence in alcoholic relationships is far more frequent and severe than in nonalcoholic relationships. The implications of these findings for clinical practice are discussed.

Several researchers have noted a high correlation between alcohol abuse and domestic violence (Fojtik, 1977; Forrest, 1980; Gayford, 1975; Rosenbaum, 1981; Roy, 1977; Snell et. al, 1964; Walker, 1979). While the correlation has been estimated (Black, 1981; Kinney & Leaton, 1983), researchers have not quantified the violence exhibited in alcoholic

relationships. Without this knowledge, it is difficult to draw genuine conclusions when comparing the frequency and severity of domestic violence in alcoholic and nonalcoholic families.

To produce a comparison, three components must exist: an instrument to measure violent behavior; a sample of normal families; and a sample of alcoholic families. A major task in producing this comparison was accomplished in 1979, when Murray Straus published the Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS). With the CTS, violence can be precisely measured in behavioral terms. Shortly after publication of the CTS, the first national study of domestic violence in America was published, based upon these scales (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). That study, based upon 2,143 interviews, established norms for each item on the CTS.

The goals of the present study were:

A) Gather data on domestic violence in alcoholic relationships; and B) Compare alcoholic violence to that found in normal families.

## METHOD

### Instruments

Two instruments were utilized in this study: the Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test (MAST) and the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS), form "N". Both instruments are included in the appendix.

#### MAST

The MAST (Selzer, 1971) was chosen for this study due to its proven reliability in identifying alcoholism in clients (Gibbs, 1983; McAuley, Longabaugh, & Gross, 1978; Selzer, 1971; Skinner & Sheu, 1982). The MAST

was employed to verify that the subject studied were actually alcoholic. The full length MAST was administered, due to its superior reliability over shortened MAST version (Zung, 1979).

Most practitioners using the MAST advocate a minimal score of either 5 or 7 points as the threshold for diagnosing alcoholism (Friedric & Loftsgard, 1978; McAuley, Longabaugh & Gross, 1978). The lowest score obtained from any subject in the present study was 14. As each subject had also completed a structured diagnostic interview and a written drinking history, this study sample can be classified as alcoholic with relative certainty, per DSM III criteria.

#### CTS

The CTS-Form "N" (Straus, 1979) asks highly structured questions about behaviors perpetrated by the respondent and his/her partner during "conflicts" (spats, disputes, fights, etc.). These behaviors are then quantified for each partner, based upon the frequency of occurrence during the past year. If a person denied performing a particular behavior during the past year, they were asked if this behavior had ever occurred. . In this way, the CTS measures conflict behaviors. Actual violence is measured by CTS questions K through R (see appendix). While the entire CTS was administered to each subject, for the purposes of this study only responses to questions K through R were considered in tabulating the data.

Upon inspection, the CTS appears to be a complicated instrument. Improperly supervised subjects would undoubtedly make many errors completing the form. To ensure accuracy, both the MAST and CTS were group administered, with careful instructions explaining steps in the completion of each instrument. A chalkboard

was employed for visual assistance with instructions. Any questions which arose were answered. As some subjects were unable to read well enough to complete the instruments, the researcher administered questions orally for these individuals. Using these techniques, consistently reliable results were obtained.

An added benefit of group administration was the anonymity afforded each subject. It had been anticipated that some subjects would be reluctant to admit past violence. To encourage participation, subjects were directed not to put their names on the survey. They were also advised that if they feared identification through questions about their sex or age, not to supply that information, but simply answer questions about past behaviors. Subjects were assured that no information gathered through this research would be placed in their client records.

In one final appeal for accuracy, subjects were directly asked only for honest responses. They were told that if they did not wish to answer these questions, simply to turn in their blank survey. The researcher made it clear that blank surveys were preferable to inaccurate "garbage". Only three subjects chose to turn in blank surveys. Responses gathered were judged to be accurate. Finally, the researcher (who was also a counselor at the facility) offered to discuss any personal issues or problems raised by the survey. Several subjects chose to accept this assistance.

### Subjects

The final subject pool consisted of 107 adults receiving residential treatment for alcoholism and substance abuse in Springfield, Illinois. Other data included:

### RACE



Caucasian	87%	(N= P3)
Negro	11%	(N= 12)
American Indian	2%	(N= 2)

#### SEX

Male	90%	(N= 96)
Female	10%	(N= 1)

#### AGE

Mean	31.7 years
Range	18 to 63 years

#### MAST RESULTS

Mean Score	36.7 points
Range	14 to 52 points

#### RESULTS

Upon analyzing the survey results, three distinct groups emerged. These were the Nonviolent group (N= 18), which reported no violence in past relationships; the Violence During Past Year Group (N= 59), reporting violence recently; and the Ever Only Group (N= 30), which denied recent violence but did admit to past violence.

##### Nonviolent Group

Only 18 of the 107 respondents (17%) reported never behaving violently during any relationship. Of these, 75% were male. With an average age of 31, and an average MAST score of 32.6, it would appear this group was indeed alcoholic. Despite the opportunity to behave violently in relationships, subjects in this group did not behave violently. That only 17% of the subjects in this study displayed no violence in relationships is a surprising statistic, when one considers that the

1980 study showed that 72% of normal subjects fall into the nonviolent category.

### Violence During Past Year Group

Fifty-nine (55%) of those surveyed reported being violent in a relationship during the past year. This group included 52 males (88%) and 7 females (12%). The average age of this group was 29.8 years, and their average MAST score was 3)78 points. These results are virtually identical to the age and MAST results from the Nonviolent Group. The Violence During Past Year Group reported:

CTS QUESTION	AVERAGE ACTS PER SUBJECT DURING THE PAST YEAR (N=59)
K. Threw something at the other one .....	6.5 acts (N=28)
L. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other one .....	7.9 acts (N=54)
M. Slapped the other one .....	5.4 acts (N=38)
N. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist .....	5.1 acts (N=27)
O. Hit or tried to hit with something .....	5.7 acts (N=22)
P. Beat up the other one .....	4.1 acts (N=20)
Q. Threatened with a knife or gun .....	3.5 acts (N=18)

R. Used a knife or gun ..... 5.5 acts  
(N= 6)

#### Ever Only Group

Some of the subjects admitted to past violence, but had no relationships with anyone during the previous year. Reasons for this included advanced age, total preoccupation with alcohol, and incarceration. Subjects having no relationships during the past year were instructed to complete the "Ever Happened?" section of the CTS (see appendix). This section consists of yes/no responses, and therefore the number of past episodes of violence per subject cannot be quantified.

Thirty subjects (28%) fell into The Ever Only Group. Of these, 97% (29 of 30) were male. The average age for this group was 35.6 years, and their average MAST score was 38.6 points. The following represents responses from the Ever Only Group:

CTS QUESTION	PERCENTAGE OF EVER ONLY GROUP COMMITTING THIS VIOLENCE IN A RELATIONSHIP (N= 30)
K. Threw something at the other one .....	36.6% (N=11)
L. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other one ...	83.3% (N=25)
M. Slapped the other one .....	70.0% (N=21)
N. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist .....	53.3% (N=16)
O. Hit or tried to hit with something .....	50.0% (N=15)
P. Beat up the other one ....	26.6% (N= 8)

Q. Threatened with a knife  
or gun ..... 30.0% (N= 9)

R. Used a knife or gun ..... 26.6% (N= 8)

### Spousal Violence

In addition to asking questions about the respondent's behavior, the CTS also seeks information about behaviors perpetrated by the significant other (boyfriend or girlfriend) or spouse. Forty-nine subjects indicated that their spouse had been violent during the previous year; this constitutes 62% of those who had a relationship during the past year. Data reported was divided into that reported by females (N= 8) and that reported by males (N= 41):

CTS Question	Females Average acts perpetrated by "husband" during previous year	Males Average acts perpetrated by "wife" during previous year
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K. Threw something at the other one .....	8.8 (N= 5)	6.5 (N=22)
--	------------	------------

L. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other one .....	8.8 (N= 8)	6.0 (N=33)
--	------------	------------

M. Slapped the other one....	6.6 (N= 8)	5.4 (N= 28)
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N. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist .....	6.5 (N= 6)	5.8 (N=21)
---	------------	------------

O. Hit or tried to hit with something .....	7.0 (N= 6)	5.2 (N=23)
--	------------	------------

P. Beat up the other one .....	5.6 (N= 7)	3.3 (N=12)
Q. Threatened with a knife or gun .....	6.3 (N= 4)	2.2 (N=13)
R. Used a knife or gun .....	11.0 (N= 2)	2.3 (N= 6)

### Comparison

#### Percent Committing Specific Acts of Violence

CTS Question	National Survey Normals	Alcoholic Subjects
K. Threw something at the other one ....		
Last year	7%	26%
Ever	16%	34%
L. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other one .....		
Last year	13%	50%
Ever	24%	74%
M. Slapped the other one .....		
Last year	7%	36%
Ever	18%	55%
N. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist .....		
Last year	5%	25%
Ever	9%	40%
O. Hit or tried to hit with something .....		
Last year	5%	25%
Ever	10%	40%

P. Beat up the other one .....		
Last year	1.5%	19%
Ever	5%	26%
Q. Threatened with a knife or gun .....		
Last year	1%	17%
Ever	4%	25%
R. Used a knife or gun .....		
Last year	.5%	6%
Ever	3%	13%

### Comparison

#### Overall

Percent Engaging In At Least 1 Act of Violence...	During Previous Year	Ever
National Survey "Normals" (1980 Behind Closed Doors Study pages 32 to 33) N= 2143	16%	28%
Alcoholic Sample N= 107	55%	83%

### DISCUSSION

The results of this study strongly support the clinical observation that domestic violence is often present with substance abuse. When considering the data reported by this sample, one becomes amazed by the levels of violence. The major conclusion may be stated quite simply: Domestic violence in alcoholic relationships is far more prevalent, frequent, and severe than violence in nonalcoholic relationships. Interestingly, few clients ini-

tiate discussions about their violence. When asked direct questions, however, they respond with surprising honesty. While the amounts of violence surprised this researcher, these results were not totally unexpected; several counselors who are recovering alcoholics accurately predicted results of this magnitude.

A clinician should not underestimate the amount of guilt clients experience after a violent episode. This is a sensitive issue which needs to be addressed therapeutically during treatment for substance abuse. Likewise, any family reporting problems with domestic violence should be carefully assessed for substance abuse. Several excellent instruments are available to assist in this assessment, including the MAST and CTS-N.

Substance abusers need the support of significant others in order to remain abstinent; yet domestic violence forces many partners to flee the relationship. Children are also effected by these problems. Many clinicians now realize the continuing problems experienced by adult children of alcoholic parents (Ackerman, 1978; Black, 1981; Forrest, 1983; Kinney & Leaton, 1983; Woititz, 1983). In a similar manner, children witnessing domestic violence are far more likely to later imitate these violent behaviors as adolescents and adults (Livingston, 1984; Steinmetz, 1977; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980).

The basic inability to cope effectively with stress and frustration is a common dynamic in both substance abuse and domestic violence. In these cases, a therapeutic program which addresses both substance abuse and domestic violence appears highly logical. Sobriety and effective, nonviolent conflict resolution have been found to be mutually complimentary processes (Meskenas, 1983).

One must note that some people become violent after drinking, supposedly due to diminished judgement and impulse control. Others drink in order to give themselves an excuse for violent behavior. Thus, a reduction in alcohol consumption alone will not eliminate violent behaviors by these individuals (Meskenas, 1983). However, continued violence may lead to a renewal of substance abuse, to numb the ensuing guilt and confusion. To be truly effective, treatment for substance abuse and domestic violence must work in concert to break these mutually reinforcing, disasterous cycles.

### Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test

1. Do you feel you are a normal drinker? (By normal we mean you drink less than or as much as most other people).

yes \_\_\_\_

no \_\_\_\_

2. Have you ever awakened the morning after some drinking the night before and found that you could not remember a part of the evening?

yes \_\_\_\_

no \_\_\_\_

3. Does your wife, husband, a parent, or other near relative ever worry or complain about your drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_

no \_\_\_\_

4. Can you stop drinking without a struggle after one or two drinks?

yes \_\_\_\_

no \_\_\_\_

5. Do you feel guilty about your drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_

no \_\_\_\_

6. Do friends or relatives think you are a normal drinker?

yes \_\_\_\_

no \_\_\_\_



7. Are you able to stop drinking when you want to?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

8. Have you ever attended a meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

9. Have you gotten into physical fights when drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

10. Has your drinking ever created problems between you and your wife, husband, a parent, or other relative?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

11. Has your wife, husband (or other family member) ever gone to anyone for help about your drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

12. Have you ever lost friends because of your drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

13. Have you ever gotten into trouble at work or school because of drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

14. Have you ever lost a job because of drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

15. Have you ever neglected your obligations, your family, or your work for two or more days in a row because you were drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

16. Do you drink before noon fairly often?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

17. Have you ever been told you have liver trouble? Cirrhosis?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

18. After heavy drinking have you ever had Delirium Tremens (D.T.'s) or severe shaking, or heard voices or seen things that really weren't there?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

19. Have you ever gone to anyone for help about your drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

20. Have you ever been in a hospital because of drinking?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

21. Have you ever been a patient in a psychiatric hospital or on a psychiatric ward of a general hospital where drinking was part of the problem that resulted in hospitalization?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

22. Have you ever been seen at a psychiatric or mental health clinic or gone to any doctor, social worker or clergyman for help with any emotional problem, where drinking was part of the problem?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

23. Have you ever been arrested for drunk driving, driving while intoxicated, or driving under the influence of alcoholic beverages?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

(IF YES, How many times \_\_\_\_)

24. Have you ever been arrested, or taken into custody, even for a few hours, because of other drunken behavior?

yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_

(IF YES, How many times \_\_\_\_)

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No matter how well a couple gets along, there are times when they disagree on major decisions, get annoyed about something the other person does, or just have spats or fights because they're in a bad mood or tired or for some other reason. They also use many different ways of trying to settle their differences. I'm going to read a list of some things that you and your partner might have done when you had a dispute, and would first like you to tell me for each one how often you did it in the past year.

	Respondent - In Past Year								Husband/Partner - In Past Year								Ever Happened		
	Never	Once	Twice	3-5 Times	6-10 Times	11-20 Times	More than 20 Times	Don't Know	Never	Once	Twice	3-5 Times	6-10 Times	11-20 Times	More than 20 Times	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know
a. Discussed the issue calmly	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
b. Got information to back up your first side of things	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
c. Brought in or tried to bring in someone to help settle things	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
d. Insulted or swore at the other one	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
e. Sulked and/or refused to talk about it	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
f. Stomped out of the room or house (or yard)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
g. Cried	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
h. Did or said something to spite the other one	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
i. Threatened to hit or throw some- thing at the other one	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
j. Threw or smashed or hit or kicked something	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
k. Threw something at the other one	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
l. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other one	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
m. Slapped the other one	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
n. Kicked, bit, or hit with a fist	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
o. Hit or tried to hit with something	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
p. Beat up the other one	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
q. Threatened with a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
r. Used a knife or gun	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X
s. Other (PROBE): _____	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	1	2	X

And what about you (husband/partner)? Tell me how often he (ITEM) in the past year.

For each item checked either "Never" or "Don't Know" on BOTH respondent and partner.

Did you or your husband/partner ever (ITEM)?

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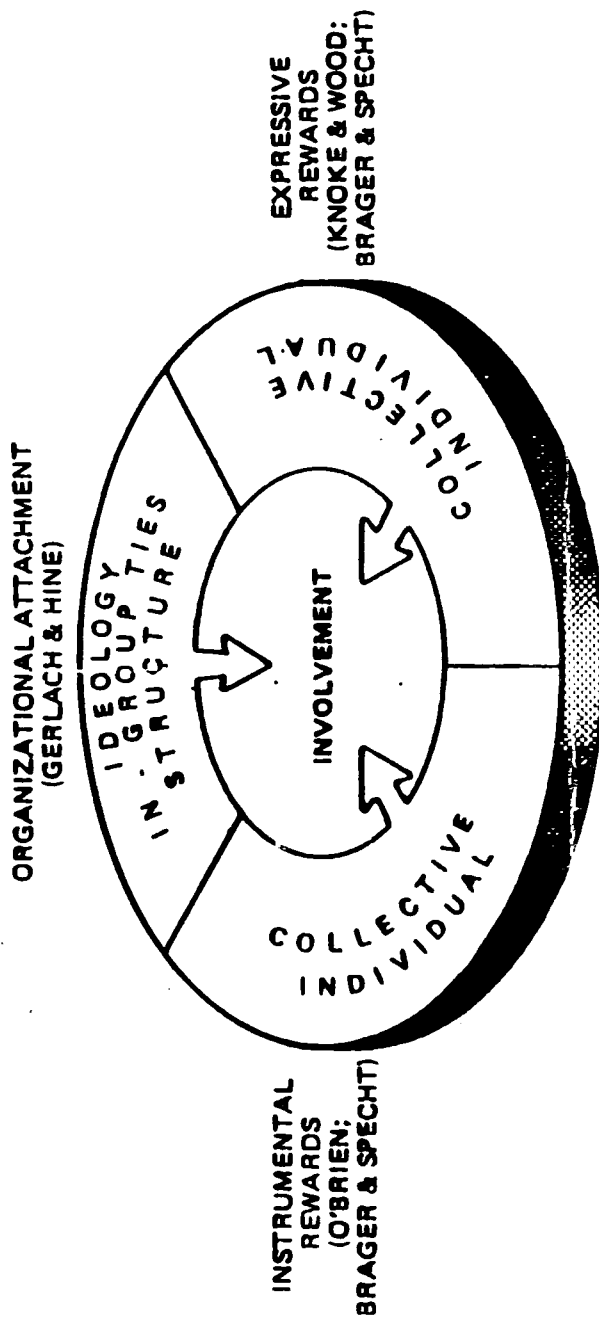
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**FIGURE 1: LEVELS OF INVOLVEMENT OF VOLUNTARY LEADERS  
AND MEMBERS BY PHASES AND ORGANIZING APPROACH**

PHASES	GRASSROOTS APPROACH		MOBILIZATION APPROACH	
	LEADERS	MEMBERS	LEADERS	MEMBERS
ISSUE SELECTION	HIGH	HIGH	LOW	LOW
STRATEGY & TACTIC SELECTION	HIGH	LOW	LOW	LOW
ACTION IMPLEMENTATION	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH	HIGH

**FIGURE 2: INTEGRATIVE MODEL OF REASONS FOR PARTICIPANT INVOLVEMENT**





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