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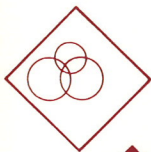
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PRIVATIZATION: REFORMING THE WELFARE STATE

DAVID STOESZ

policyAmerica
Washington, D.C.

The American social welfare institution is in transition. Constituencies of the welfare state—the public, clients, and professionals—have registered dissatisfaction with traditional methods of providing services. Analysts from liberal and conservative think tanks have proposed relying less on government and more on the private sector to provide for welfare. To a substantial degree privatization is already evident in several areas: the expansion of for-profit health and welfare corporations, the application of entrepreneurial methods in community development, and the encouragement of private retirement plans. The liberal response to privatization is poorly developed, and could benefit from insights by welfare professionals who seek to make privatization consistent with a progressive welfare agenda.

Social welfare in the United States is on the brink of substantial reform through privatization. For some welfare advocates the use of the private sector to provide for the needy is not particularly noteworthy. After all, private non-profit agencies of the voluntary sector have been a part of American social welfare for over a century. The importance of privatization is its use by conservative ideologues to regressively reform welfare. As a consequence of the indictment against the welfare state, two principles have come to serve as benchmarks for welfare reform. First, government should divest itself of its welfare responsibility to the extent possible. Second, private sector substitutes should be sought as a basis for welfare provision.

Together these principles represent a powerful strategy for altering the welfare state.

Without a concomitant transfer of resources from government to the private sector, however, privatization is unlikely to promote the general welfare. Instead, it is more likely to be a ploy to strip government of its mandated responsibility to care for the needy. Perhaps the best testimony on the welfare reform ruse comes from David Stockman, former Director of the Office of Management and Budget, who recently admitted that a 1981 administration vow to protect welfare programs from budget cuts could not possibly have been kept (Hoffman 1986, p. A3). Complementing the deep cuts in federal welfare programs have been a host of private sector initiatives in welfare. Significantly, relatively few of these have involved the welfare agencies of the voluntary sector. As a result, privatization of welfare has come to represent diminishing the welfare state and relying on nonwelfare structures in its stead. This, of course, has grave consequences for social welfare as it has come to be understood in the United States. Fifty years after its inception, the welfare state is being reformed through "privatization."

AMBIVALENT CONSTITUENTS

A fundamental problem of the welfare state has been the loss of support by constituencies essential to its survival: the public, human service professionals, and beneficiaries. The erosion of public support has been documented by Philip AuClaire who examined National Opinion Research Center (NORC) polls from 1976 to 1982, concluding that "the findings accurately reflect the ambivalence of public attitudes toward the welfare state." In 1976 the overwhelming sentiment (regardless of age, education, sex, income, and political party affiliation of respondents) was that too much was spent on social welfare. Only nonwhite respondents thought too little was spent on social welfare. Surprisingly, 51 percent of low-income respondents, those making less than \$10,000, opposed social welfare spending. While the number of respondents who thought too much was spent on social welfare had dropped from 60 percent in 1976

to 48 percent in 1982, opposition to social welfare spending was second only to opposition to foreign aid spending. Thus while public attitudes toward the welfare state improved relatively, in an absolute sense perceptions that welfare programs were still too expensive remained strong (AuClaire 1984). In analyzing data from a 1983 NORC survey, Ben Wattenberg noted that only 34 percent of respondents said they thought the government should be more active in solving problems, and 43 percent thought we were "*spending too much on welfare*," (Wattenberg 1983, p. A17). In a longitudinal assessment of the conservative ideological tilt, John Robinson noted that, while the change seemed slight, it had been consistent across polls taken by major public opinion surveyors. Significantly, perceptions about government response to the needy have changed. "The 1983 [NORC] study repeated four questions about an expanded role for federal government (versus more individual responsibility) in social programs that had been asked only once before (1975); support was down about 10 percentage points for each item (Robinson 1984, p. 15).

Compounding public ambivalence has been the defection of many professionals from the welfare state. For many professionals—even those committed to the principles and values of the welfare state—the situation has become untenable. Trapped in agencies where professional values are often compromised by bureaucratic norms and where resources allocated for client care are secondary to those required for organizational maintenance, many human service personnel have surrendered their idealism and quit. Until recently, this professional migration has been relatively limited. Disenchanted with governmental agencies, some professionals returned to private nonprofit agencies of the voluntary sector. Professionals seeking even more independence than that allowed by the voluntary sector have established private practices, rejecting the traditional forms of service delivery altogether. In 1975, the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) estimated that from 10,000 to 20,000 social workers were engaged in private practice (Gabriel 1977, p. 1056). By 1983, Dr. Robert Barker, author of *Social Work in Private Practice*, speculated that about 30,000 social workers, or 32 per-

cent of all social workers, engaged in private practice on a full- or part-time basis (Barker 1983, p. 13). Another example of professional defection from the welfare state appears with the evolution of industrial social work in the private sector. "Social work practice that is emerging in industry," proclaimed a study in the new field, "is on the cutting edge of change in the profession" (Skiomore 1974, p. 280). The first North American conference on social work practice in labor and industrial settings, held in 1978, "concluded that the future is promising for the growth and expansion of industrial social work practice (Akabas, Kurzman, and Kolben 1979, p. 34).

Finally, the experience of many clients of welfare state programs has been unsatisfactory. One study found that many prospective clients fail to get past the waiting room of the typical agency. As a rule about 30 percent of the public seeking assistance from an agency are referred to another agency, and less than one-half of these prospective clients actually receive substantive service from the agency to which they are referred (Kirk and Greenley 1974, p. 441). For those who do become consumers of program services, the experience is less than uniform. In another study, researchers found that one-fourth of all clients made no use of services offered, one-third used services well, and 40 percent used them partially. At best, fewer than one-third of the clients could be considered to have received all of the service they required (Hill 1971, p. 40). These findings are similar to those of a client study concluding that 31 percent of clients considered their "problem solved or less stressful," and 31 percent of staff terminated clients feeling services were "completed." Forty-four percent of clients dropped out prematurely, and 34 percent terminated for negative reasons (Bech and Jones 1973, pp. 80–81).

CRITICAL THINK TANKS

Subsequently, influential policy institutes, or "think tanks," began to reconsider the welfare state as the primary institution for social welfare provision in the society. By the mid-1970s, the correct role of government in social welfare engaged the interest of liberal analysts. In 1977 Charles Schultze,

having been Director of the Bureau of the Budget in the Johnson administration and Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisors under President Carter, wrote *The Public Use of Private Interest* as a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. In it, he argued that government intervention, through higher expenditures and increased regulation, was inferior to market strategies in dealing with social problems (Schultze, 1977). In 1978, the Urban Institute published *Private Provision of Public Services*, a programmatic evaluation of non-governmental activity in several areas including social welfare (Risk, Kiesling, and Muller 1978).

While liberal think tanks sought to elaborate and innovate welfare policies and programs, conservative think tanks capitalized on this with other objectives in mind. Leading the assault on the welfare state has been William J. Baroody, Jr., President of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI). Citing the need to diminish the influence of "the New Deal public philosophy" in national affairs, Baroody commissioned several projects which proved highly critical of governmental welfare efforts (Baroody 1985, p. 4). Within the framework of the "mediating structures project," Michael Balzano argued that the Older Americans Act diminished the voluntary impulses of church and community groups by subsidizing nutritional programs for the elderly. "In most cases, common sense and the desire to help one's neighbor are all that are necessary," Balzano concluded; "One does not need a masters degree in social work or gerontology to dish out chow at a nutrition center." As director of the "project on democratic capitalism," Michael Novak has argued that government income redistribution policies, designed to aid the poor, are "naïve" and inferior to market mechanisms for distribution of wealth (Novak 1981, p. 9).

Complementing AEI, the Heritage Foundation has taken a more militant position regarding reforming social welfare by advocating the transfer of responsibility for welfare from government to business. Implicit in this is an unqualified antagonism toward government intrusion in social affairs. Government programs are faulted for a breakdown in the mutual

obligations between groups, the lack of attention to efficiencies and incentives in the way programs are operated and benefits awarded, the induced dependency of beneficiaries on programs, and the growth of the welfare industry and its special interest groups, particularly professional associations (Butler, 1984). In addition to proposing private sector analogues to governmental programs—the substitution of urban enterprise zones for urban development grants, and individual retirement accounts for social security, as examples—Heritage has courted the traditionalist movement. In *Back to Basics*, Heritage vice-president Burton Pines applauded local conservative activists for their challenge to liberal values and chronicled the offensive launched against programs of the welfare state (Pines 1982).

The loss of constituencies left the welfare state exceedingly vulnerable to the conservative critique. For their part, the conservative think tanks went beyond the antipathy of traditional conservatism for the welfare state, fashioning a more proactive response—reform through privatization. To be sure, some of the proposals waved about under the banner of privatization suffer from implausibility. Heritage's director of domestic policy studies, Stuart Butler, for example, has suggested selling public housing to tenants in order to raise money without considering how much, if anything, public housing tenants could afford if they wished to buy into a project (Butler 1986). This makes as much sense as trying to sell welfare departments to relief recipients!

THE PRIVATIZATION OF WELFARE

Quite apart from conservative rhetoric, privatization has emerged as a significant phenomenon in social welfare. Its clearest manifestation appears in the dramatic growth of health and welfare corporations. This development represents the realization on the part of the business community that profits can be made in a growing human services market. The increased demand for human services can be attributed largely to the evolution of the service sector of the economy. Eventually, the

growing human services market presented promising investment opportunities for proprietary firms.

Government's use of the proprietary sector to provide services is not a new feature of the welfare state. Jeffry Galper, for example, suggested that government welfare programs actually "served the needs of private capital . . ." (Galper 1975, p. 27) over and above the needs of the disadvantaged. Notably, corporate initiatives have attracted the attention of health policy analysts. Arnold Relman, editor of the *New England Journal of Medicine*, has described the relationship between health care corporations and government as "the new medical-industrial complex" (Relman 1980). Following the theme, Paul Starr has expressed concern about the growing influence of the "new health care conglomerates" in defining the nation's health care (Starr 1982, p. 448). In social welfare, Kurt Reichert has hypothesized the emergence of "national corporations in social welfare" (Reichert 1983, p. 413). In the most thorough analysis of the subject to date, Neil Gilbert has considered the effect of "welfare capitalism" on social welfare policy (Gilbert 1983). Common to these works is the observation that the corporate sector is assuming a larger, and somewhat different, role than in the past.

As the proprietary sector expands to dominate select parts of the human services market, a fundamental change occurs. No longer passively dependent on government appropriations, proprietary firms are in a strong position to shape the very markets that they serve, influencing not only consumer demand but also government policy. It is this capacity to determine, or control, a market that qualitatively distinguishes the "new corporate welfare" from the earlier forms of business involvement in social welfare.

Analyses of health and welfare corporations conducted by the author reveal spectacular growth among most firms in this sector. In 1983 thirty-seven for-profit health and welfare corporations were listed by *Standard and Poor's* as reporting annual revenues above \$10 million/year. During the most recent four-year period for which revenues were reported, only two of the

thirty-seven lost money. Of the remaining thirty-five, thirteen more than doubled their revenues, and eleven more than quadrupled their revenues *each year!* While most of the companies focus on health-related services, many are diversifying into other service areas; and, in some instances non-health and welfare corporations are getting into corporate welfare to balance their operations. Typically, corporate activity in the new human service markets is characterized by rapid expansion and consolidation (Stoesz Forthcoming). By 1984, the number of health and welfare corporations with annual revenues exceeding \$10 million increased to forty-six; and, the revenues of the largest proprietary provider, the Hospital Corporation of America exceeded the total contributions to the United Way of America. For-profit corporations are actively exploiting several markets: nursing homes, hospital management, health maintenance organizations, child care, home care, and life care. More recently, proprietary firms have entered the correction and education markets.

A second example of privatization appears in marketing community development. Here, governmental programs—such as Urban Development and Action Grants and the Appalachian Regional Commission—are faced with several competitors which emphasize market strategies for development. Of these, the most well-known is the Urban Enterprise Zone (UEZ) concept. The origins of UEZs can be traced to the Adam Smith Institute of England where an enterprising researcher, Stuart Butler, elaborated the work of others who promoted market strategies to community development. According to Butler, economically disadvantaged areas would attract industry by reducing taxes, employee expenses, and health and safety regulations (Steinlieb 1981). Imported to the United States by the conservative Heritage Foundation, Butler came to the attention of Congressman Jack Kemp who convinced the Reagan administration to make it the centerpiece of its urban policy. As a replacement for Economic Development Administration and Urban Development Action Grant initiatives, UEZ legislation ran into opposition and is stalled in Congress at the time of this writing. Consequently, the Heritage Foundation changed tac-

tics and promoted UEZs in states and localities. By late 1984, Butler noted that 30 states and cities have created over 300 UEZs (Lewthaite 1984).

Other, less-publicized, initiatives have made important contributions to community development. In the early 1970s an increasing number of workers used the employee stock-ownership plan (ESOP) to purchase companies threatening to close down or transfer operations. The ESOP allows workers and employers to make tax-deductible contributions to a trust fund which can then be used to purchase stock for the employees. In this manner workers have been able to keep some plants such as the Weirton Steel Corporation of Weirton, West Virginia, in their home communities (Latta 1979).¹

Recognizing the tendency of community institutions in poor areas to become dependent on government or philanthropy for continuing operations, the Ford Foundation sought contributions from corporations to apply business principles to social problems. By 1979, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) had received \$9,350,000 from corporations and foundations, and had committed funds to sixty-two demonstration projects, including a fish processing and freezing plant in Maine, a for-profit construction company in Chicago, and a revolving loan fund to construct low- and moderate-income housing in Philadelphia. If successful, these "entrepreneurial community projects" will attract "social investments" from public and private sources that will allow the project to take on additional problems so long as it selects its investors carefully, applies sound business practices to operations, and remains solvent (Local Initiatives Support Corporation 1980, p. 2).

Another example of private sector interest in community development is the Enterprise Foundation. Begun in 1981 by James Rouse, the Enterprise Foundation is designed to "help the very poor help themselves to decent, livable housing, and out of poverty and dependence into self-sufficiency." By 1984 Enterprise developed projects in twelve cities and had targeted 50 cities for intervention by 1987. What makes Enterprise unusual is that *it* is designed for self-sufficiency. Within the foun-

dation is the Enterprise Development Company, a wholly-owned, tax-paying subsidiary. Profits from the Development Company, projected at \$10 million to \$20 million by 1990, are transferred to the foundation to fund projects (Enterprise Foundation 1983, p. 1).

An important example of the privatization phenomenon is the promotion of private pensions to assure income security while containing the social security program. A justification for emphasizing private pensions is the fear that social security will not be solvent when the "baby boom" seeks benefits. "While the working age population will increase at a rate of only 0.4 percent between 2000 and 2025, the sixty-five and over age group will grow at a rate of 1.85 percent," concluded AEI researcher Norman Ture. "The ratio of persons sixty-five and over to those in the twenty to sixty-four age group will have increased by 50 percent, to 28.6 percent, in 2025 (Ture 1976, p. 6). Soon thereafter, Ture, as undersecretary of the Treasury for the tax and economic affairs, observed, "We have assigned too much responsibility to social security. It is time to examine the prospects in the next 50 years or so of setting up a system in which people are able and willing to provide more on their own for retirement" (Ross 1981, p. G1).

The privatization of income security proceeded along two fronts. First, social security growth was contained through the selective trimming of benefits. Consistent with conservative principles of welfare reform, Mickey Levy of AEI concluded that "currently scheduled benefits should no longer be considered sacrosanct" and that "benefits [could] be trimmed selectively so that truly needy recipients [were] not affected (Levy 1981, pp. 1-2). Modifications in social security pursued by the Reagan administration followed Levy's retrenchment strategy with several of these appearing in the final report of the National Commission on Social Security Reform (Nordlinger 1983). Second, dependence on social security was diverted to private pensions with the passage of the Economic Recovery and Tax Act of 1981 which encouraged workers to invest in individual retirement accounts (IRAs). Investors' response to IRAs was swift. In December, 1981, *Newsweek* expected twenty-

five billion dollars to be invested in IRAs before the end of that year, with another fifty billion dollars to be added during 1982 (Pauly 1981, p. 69). By June 1985 assets in individual retirement plans exceeded \$200 billion, approximately the amount expended in Social Security payments for the year (Poe and Seliger 1985).

While the diversion of capital to IRAs failed to reach a level high enough to pull the economy out of the recession of the early 1980s, the interest in IRAs vis-a-vis social security has remained high among conservative privatization proponents. Here, the Heritage Foundation has prepared an oblique assault on social security. Under "The Family Security Plan," prepared by Peter J. Ferrara, a senior staff member of the White House Office of Policy Development, the initial IRA provisions of the 1981 Economic Recovery and Tax Act would be expanded to allow individuals "to deduct their annual contributions to . . . IRAs from their social security payroll taxes" (Ferrara 1982, p. 51). While substituting IRA investments for social security contributions has not been well received by liberal politicians, Heritage is banking on future support from egoistic workers of the baby boom generation. "If today's young workers could use their social security taxes to make . . . investments through an IRA," wrote Ferrara, "then, assuming a 6 percent real return, most would receive three to six times the retirement benefits promised them under social security" (Ferrara 1984, p. 7). According to this calculus, the interaction of demographic and economic variables will result in increasing numbers of young workers salting away funds for themselves because of high investment returns as well as a fear that social security will provide only minimal benefits on retirement. If Ferrara is correct, the result is a sure-fire formula for eroding the popular and financial support for social security, transferring dependence to the market solution to income security.

ZEROING OUT THE WELFARE STATE

Given the trend toward privatization, what are the prospects for social welfare in the United States? By most accounts, they are not good. With the exception of Robert Kuttner who

believes that more governmental spending for welfare is desirable and that privatization is a flawed method for distributing commodities to which citizens are entitled (Kuttner 1984), most analysts would, for all practical purposes eliminate social welfare as it has been known for the past half-century. Under various ideological labels, these suggestions lead to similar solutions—*zeroing out the welfare state*. The sharpest attack on the welfare state has been launched by Charles Murray. In *Losing Ground*, an immensely popular book in conservative circles, Murray advocates a “zero-transfer system” which “consists of scrapping the entire federal welfare and income support structure for working-age persons” (Murray 1984, pp. 226–27). Significantly, many traditional liberals have taken a careful look at welfare programs, declared them counterproductive, and proposed wholesale reform. Unfortunately, some of the prescriptions have been carelessly conceived, despite the best of intentions. Charles Peters, the quixotic editor of the *Washington Monthly* and professor of neo-liberalism, advocates means-testing welfare programs. “We still believe in liberty and justice and a fair chance for all, in mercy for the afflicted, and help for the down and out,” explained Peters. “But we no longer automatically favor unions and big government or oppose the military and big business.” In reviewing “income maintenance programs like social security, welfare, veterans’ pensions, and unemployment compensation,” Peters outlined the neo-liberal position: “We want to eliminate duplication and apply a means test to these programs. They would all become one insurance program against need” (Peters 1983, pp. 247–248).

Robert Reich, a Harvard professor and advisor to the Democratic party, defends investments in “human capital,” but thinks these should be tied to productivity. Restructuring human capital investment, in other words reforming the current welfare apparatus, involves a thorough retooling of virtually every program.

For example, we can expect that a significant part of the present welfare system will be replaced by government grants to businesses that agree to hire the chronically unemployed. . . .

Other social services—health care, social security, day care, disability benefits, unemployment benefits, relocation assistance—will become part of the process of structural adjustment. Public funds now spent directly on these services will instead be made available to businesses, according to the number of people they agree to hire. *Government bureaucracies that now administer these programs to individuals will be supplanted, to a large extent, by companies that administer them to their employees.*

Companies, rather than state and local governments, will be the agents and intermediaries through which such assistance is provided (emphasis added) (Reich 1983, pp. 247–248).

AN AGENDA FOR WELFARE PROFESSIONALS

If privatization is to be more than a misguided notion that worsens the already fragile circumstances of those dependent on welfare programs, welfare advocates need to do several things.

First, human service professionals must develop a body of critical theory. In part the lack of popular support for social welfare can be attributed to the inability of professional groups to develop a capacity for rigorous self-examination which could be a basis for corrective action. Part of the “welfare mess” is due to the inaction of welfare professionals who, seeing problems in welfare programs first-hand, failed to take effective action to clean them up. If the welfare-related professions are to maintain their viability in light of privatization, they must be willing to generate an internal debate about their purpose. For welfare professionals, the failure to do so will leave the intellectual base of their activity anchored to an arrangement of welfare provision that is obsolete. Can welfare advocates identify and cultivate the progressive potential in privatization (Donnison 1984)? To do so requires a reassessment of the role of government, and other institutions, in caring for the needy. Critical theory is a part of law and psychiatry (Barrett 1986; Ingleby 1980);² it should be a part of social work and public administration as well.

Second, welfare advocates must reinsert themselves in the social policy process. To an alarming extent, welfare profes-

sionals have lost control over the legislation that defines their work. Such has not always been the case. Human service professionals were architects of New Deal legislation and were instrumental in fashioning legislation of the War on Poverty. It is by default, then, that social welfare policies and procedures are now defined by attorneys and economists who have little appreciation for the circumstances of clients dependent on welfare programs and professionals trying to serve them. Welfare professionals and academics have been conspicuously absent from the emergence of the privatization movement. Unless they become engaged in the policy process, welfare professionals are likely to find themselves having to apply the contradictory and counterproductive rules established through privatization legislation. The recently-announced Center for Social Policy, established by the National Association of Social Workers, is welcome in this regard, but its staff will have much to do before it is able to compete on a par with the institutes serving conservative interests.

Finally, welfare professionals need to modernize program administration. The expansion of the service sector in the post-industrial sectors of American society has been accompanied by a revolution in how commodities are distributed to consumers. Organizations that use communications technology, task-group structures, and hybrid organizational forms are more viable than those clogged with paper work, burdened by bureaucratic super-structure, and legally restricted in operations (Gartner and Riessman 1974). Too much welfare programming and administration is of the latter type, exemplified by the public welfare department and the social casework agency. Welfare professionals would be prudent to modernize the means of administration if they expect to obtain funding for program expansion.

If welfare professionals are to regain their former status as leaders in welfare reform, they must acknowledge the inadequacies of the liberally-inspired welfare state and propose practical alternatives to the conservative version of privatization. In this regard privatization may prove less a threat and more an opportunity for creating a more adequate social welfare institution.

NOTES

1. Yet, the experience of these plants is different. In eight years of employee ownership, Rath lost \$23 million (William Serrin, "Employee Ownership Dream Turns Bitter at Plant in Iowa," *New York Times* [June 17, 1984]). Meanwhile, Weirton reported profits of \$22.8 million six months after employees purchased the plan ("Employee-owned Weirton Steel Has 2d-Quarter Profit," [Baltimore] *Sun* [July 18, 1984]).
2. With reference to American social welfare, Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven have developed a radical critique of welfare policies but have not addressed the welfare professions *per se*, perhaps because they are not trained as such. See also, David Stoesz, "A Structural Interest Theory of Social Welfare," *Social Development Issues* (Winter, 1985).

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REGISTERING THE POOR TO VOTE: LESSONS FROM THE 1984 GENERAL ELECTION

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Voter registration and educational programs for the poor and moderate income groups were a dominant political strategy embraced by a number of social welfare organizations during the 1984 general election. This article reviews one such project that registered 4,124 individuals and implemented a follow-up survey of 500 new registrants. Based on the survey, the author identifies a number of voting and nonvoting behaviors that should be considered in future voter registration and education projects. The author also identifies critical policy issues that impede voter participation among the poor.

INTRODUCTION

Voter registration and education is a political strategy whose goal is to broaden the electoral support for particular issues and candidates. Piven and Cloward challenged the social welfare community to adopt voter registration in the 1984 Presidential primaries and general election as a mechanism to empower the poor in the political process (Piven and Cloward, 1983, 3–14). A number of human service organizations including the National Association of Social Workers, the Council on Social Work Education, the American Public Health Association, and the American Public Welfare Association, responded to Piven's and Cloward's call by making voter registration a high priority during the election year (Livingston, 1–3; Piven and Cloward, 1985, 583).

This paper, based on the results of a low-income voter

registration project conducted by undergraduate social work students from the University of Texas-Arlington, examines voting beliefs among new registrants, identifies their voting and nonvoting trends, and concludes with recommendations to strengthen the political impact of the poor and near poor.¹

METHODOLOGY

BSW students in two community organization classes developed a series of voter registration projects that registered 4,124 individuals. Utilizing 1980 census tract data, low-to-moderate income neighborhoods were identified and targeted for registration. Project registrants were asked to complete a follow-up information sheet of which 3,696 (89.62 percent) were returned.² Of this number, 756 (20.46 percent) were deleted from further study due to a lack of phone numbers or illegible handwriting, leaving 2,940 individuals for follow-up purposes.

The students conceptualized voter education as a significant political activity to increase voting rates. An "Adopt-A-Registrant" program was proposed to and implemented by the Tarrant County League of Women Voters, Fort Worth, Texas, which met the educational goals of the project. Each League volunteer was provided names of five or six registrants to contact. Couples, who registered at the same time, were telephoned by two different League members to ensure that each person was contacted by the project rather than through a spouse, friend, or significant other. The purposes of the League's calls were to (a) encourage individuals to vote, (b) provide names, phone numbers, and/or addresses of local registrar offices for particular problems (i.e., lost voting card), (c) provide addresses of the polling place, and, finally, (d) share League information, if requested, concerning candidates and referenda items. Prior to the phone calls, the new registrants were randomly placed into one of three groups: Control Group A and Experimental Groups B and C. Members of Group A were not telephoned by League members; Group B was contacted once while Group C was telephoned on two separate occasions. Initial contact with Groups B and C was made two to three weeks prior to the election with the second call to Group

C placed the evening immediately preceding the Presidential election.

A random sample without replacement of 500 registrants was selected and a telephone call survey administered during a three day period following the November election.³ The survey, modeled on the instrument utilized by the Texas Secretary of State's office, was pretested in the 1984 Texas May Primary with a sample of 156 voters (Peterson). The final data were coded and analyzed through a Statistical Analysis computer format.

FINDINGS

Voter Participation

Of those registered, 72.65 percent were female and 27.35 percent were male. The predominance of women was anticipated given that the the majority of the poor and near-poor are female. The percentage of those who voted was below the county's (73.92 percent) and national (87.75 percent) figures: 73.50 percent of the new registrants voted in the November election (U.S. Bureau of the Census). Women voted more frequently than men - 76.08 percent compared to 66.67 percent.

Of those voting, 34.50 percent labeled themselves as "liberal" while 30.23 percent felt they were "conservative" (See Table 1). Among nonvoters, the percentage of those classifying themselves as liberal or conservative was lower, while the "moderate" rating received the highest ranking (54.84 percent).

Women viewed themselves as being more liberal than did men - 34.51 percent compared to 22.91 percent. Conversely, males tended to be more conservative than women - 37.50 percent to 24.70 percent (See Table 1).

Registrant Education

The project hypothesized that contact with new registrants would increase voter turnout and as the number of contacts increased there would be a rise in voter participation. The independent variable, the number of phone contacts, increased

TABLE 1

POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION BY SEX AND VOTING STATUS

MALE	Liberal %	Moderate %	Conservative %
Vote	15.62	22.92	28.12
No Vote	7.29	16.67	9.38
TOTAL	22.91	39.59	37.50
FEMALE	Liberal %	Moderate %	Conservative %
Vote	29.02	27.06	20.00
No Vote	5.49	13.73	4.70
TOTAL	34.51	40.79	24.70

with each experimental group to determine what changes, if any, occurred with the dependent variable, voter participation rates.

Group A, which received no phone contacts, voted 57.02 percent while the voting rates of those groups contacted were both approximately 1.4 times as large as the noncontact group: Group B, which was phoned once, reported that 83.61 percent voted while group C's voting rate, with two phone contacts, was 81.66 percent (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF TELEPHONE
CONTACTS AND VOTING RATES

Contacts	Voted For President	
	Yes %	No %
0	57.02	42.98
1	83.61	16.39
2	81.66	18.34

Mobility Among New Registrants

An unexpectedly large percentage of new registrants, 24.20 percent, had changed their residences or were unable to be contacted at the time of the survey: 7.8 percent had moved, 14.0 percent of the phones were disconnected, and 2.4 percent were wrong numbers. The May 1984 pretest was unable to reach 14.70 percent of the registrants for similar reasons. Between May and November, those unable to be contacted increased by 9.50 percent.

A total of 70 phones were disconnected and a random telephone contact of 30 names through the telephone company's information service was made to determine if the missing registrants remained in the geographic area. However, none of the individuals were located using the telephone area code as the contact boundary.

Why Not Vote?

Those voting were asked to identify strategies they felt would increase the voting percentage while nonvoters were asked why they didn't vote. Responses were categorized into two groups - internal (items the individual has control over) and external (items beyond the control of the individual).

A contrast emerged between the two groups: the nonvoter identified internal variables for not participating in the election while voters perceived external issues as the primary barrier to increased voter participation. Nonvoters identified internal variables 60.87 percent compared to 39.12 percent for external reasons (See Table 3). The internal statement I DIDN'T WANT TO VOTE was the most frequently identified item among nonvoters, 22.83 percent, while the external statement I WAS UNABLE TO FIND THE POLLS was the least frequent response, 2.18 percent.

Those not contacted also identified I DIDN'T WANT TO VOTE as the primary reason for not voting, though the internal statement I COULDN'T DECIDE ON THE ISSUES was the second most frequently rated answer, 19.23 percent.

Nonvoting women in general identified internal reasons but they rated the external variable I WAS WORKING much

TABLE 3
WHY PEOPLE DON'T VOTE BY SEX

Reason	Male %	Female %
<i>Internal</i>		
Didn't want to	14.13	8.70
Was too busy	4.35	9.78
Forgot	3.26	6.52
Issues not important	0.00	14.13
<i>External</i>		
Was working	5.43	13.04
Medical reasons	2.17	7.61
Out of town	3.26	2.17
Couldn't find the polls	1.09	1.09
Couldn't get a ride	1.09	2.17

higher than nonvoting males - 13.04 percent to 5.43 percent. Nonvoting males, on the other hand, claimed their decision was by personal choice. Approximately 14 percent of the non-voting males "Didn't want to vote," which is more than three times the rate of any other variable for this cohort.

Voters rated the external statement PROVIDE TRANSPORTATION TO THE POLLS highest at 27.91 percent. Transportation, however, was the least important issue to the non-voter - only 2.18 percent reported this as a problem area (See Table 4).

IMPLICATIONS FOR REGISTRATION/EDUCATION PROJECTS

The social welfare community embraced voter registration/education as a vehicle to involve society's historically politically disenfranchised members in reshaping the nation's social agenda. It is impossible to determine the exact number of persons who were registered and voted as a result of these national efforts.⁴ Further, it is equally as difficult to substantiate the impact made by these new voters in the 1984 general

TABLE 4

WHAT WILL GENERATE HIGHER VOTER RATES BY SEX AND
THOSE WHO VOTED

Reason	Male %	Female %
<i>Internal</i>		
Need better issues	1.94	7.75
Find better candidates	1.16	5.81
Have fewer elections	3.10	4.26
Have the candidate meet the voter more often	.78	4.26
<i>External</i>		
More Advertising	2.71	13.71
Better publicity of the polling locations	1.16	5.81
Provide Transportation	5.43	22.48
Make voting mandatory	1.16	1.16
No idea	1.94	7.75
Other ideas	1.94	2.71

election. If the sole criterion for success was the repudiation of the Reagan administration then the registration projects were a failure; however, if these projects were to broaden the political sphere among the poor and near-poor, then the projects were a partial success.

What are the lessons of the 1984 registration/education projects? There are a number of key points this study supports for future efforts: (1) the poor tend to be more liberal than the general population with women less conservative than men; (2) contact increases voter turnout; (3) transportation to the polls is not a significant dilemma for the nonvoter; and (4) some individuals will, as a personal conviction, chose not to vote.

The study also raises important questions which require further research and collective action. First, mobility by the poor and near-poor indicates that registration strategies must contend with voter movement as a barrier that keeps people from voting. In the 1984 Presidential election only five states, Maine, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, and Wisconsin, al-

lowed election day registration. Conversely, citizens in 35 states and territories were faced with a registration deadline of at least 28 days prior to the election.⁵ Such laws clearly limit electoral participation by the poor, a highly mobile population group, and penalize their political status due to their economic circumstances.

This high mobility also mandates that low-to-moderate income neighborhoods must be recanvassed to register new residents - an area once covered will need to be reworked within a short period of time.

An equally important issue revolves around working women's access to the polls. This research found that indiscriminate use of employer compensation policy created an obstacle to the polls. In effect, low-income women were placed in a double-bind situation: on the one hand, the women's liberal identification implies support for realigning the nation's conservative social goals, but if they did vote, they feared not being paid at work. The choice of not voting is understandable and clear in the face of a low income and the threat of lost wages. Effective public policy must be developed to protect the workers' incomes when exercising their political rights.

This study verified that voter contact increases the likelihood that an individual will vote. However, this research does not show a significant difference between voting rates and the number of contacts, a finding contrary to traditional political thinking. This lack of difference is attributable to a number of external variables (such as the preponderance of political advertising, issue/candidate mailings, telephoning conducted by various interest groups) not controlled for in this study. This is a critical area for political groups: if it is determined, for instance, that one contact is sufficient then needless redundancy may be eliminated and volunteer energies can be utilized more effectively.

Finally, evaluative research is required to determine the effectiveness of a number of voter education strategies. This project utilized a telephone strategy, but alternative models exist: do literature mailings accelerate voter rates; would personal contact by candidates or their supporters increase voter

participation; what is the impact of combining literature mailings, telephoning, and personal visits in an election?

The lessons of 1984 provide an excellent opportunity to plan for future elections. The social welfare community must rethink its strategies for voter registration and education projects - the goals set forth by Piven and Cloward may be achieved if there are significant modifications in strategies and related public policies.

NOTES

1. The American Political Science Foundation provides a brief analysis of voting patterns for each of the national elections from 1972 thru 1980. For example, see C. Anthony Broh and Charles L. Prysby, *Voting Behavior: The 1980 Election*, (1981); also, Democratic National Committee, *Voter Registration Manual*, Washington, DC: Democratic National Committee.
2. It is a violation of Texas law to take any information directly from a voter application, thus the need for a separate sign-up sheet.
3. A limitation to the telephone survey is that information is often impossible to verify and cannot be taken at face value. As a result, analysis, interpretation, and generalizability of data should integrate these design limitations. See, D.W. Fiske, "When Are Verbal Reports Veridical?" in R.A. Shweder (ed.), "Fallible Judgement in Behavioral Research," *New Directions for Methodology of Social and Behavioral Science*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980; Claire Selltitz, Lawrence S. Wrightsman, and Stuart W. Cook, *Research Methods in Social Relations*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 3rd edition, 1976, pp. 292-293.
4. Human SERVE, a national organization based on the principles of Piven and Cloward, reportedly registered 275,000 people by October, 1984.
5. States and territories requiring 28 or more days as a registration deadline include Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

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REFEMINIZATION OF CHILD CARE: CAUSATION, COSTS AND CURES

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Recent media attention to sexual abuse in various child care settings appears to have created an exodus of males. Refeminization has the potential to support sex roles stereotypes and to result in loss to all concerned. Strategies for combatting this phenomenon and its effects are proposed.

In a recent article in a popular magazine titled "Day Care: Men Need Not Apply," the author decries the recent exodus of men from the field of child care. He observes that "even the most fundamental day-to-day relationships between parent, child and teacher are tainted with mistrust, and the specter looms larger over men" (Richardson 1985, 60). A former mayor who was accused and subsequently vindicated of charges of sexual abuse expresses a similar sentiment. His comment in response to a reporter: "there are a tremendous number of men now involved (in schools and day-care centers), and my advice to them is to get out and get out in a hurry" (Paschal 1986, C1).

The climate of suspicion that currently confronts males working in child care facilities did not evolve without a basis in reality. The problem of sexual abuse perpetrated by caregivers is *real*. "Increasingly, we hear reports of sexual abuse of very young children occurring in daycare centers and nursery schools" (Borkin and Frank 1986, 76). "Parents, teachers and law-enforcement officials all across the country are waking up to what experts describe as an epidemic of reported sex-abuse

cases" (Beck and Namuth 1984, 44). It was reported that "during 1984 approximately 30 day-care employees nationwide were charged with the sexual abuse of preschool children" (Lindner 1985, 271). The widely-publicized case of the Virginia McMartin preschool in California is by no means an isolated event. Accusations of sexual abuse have been lodged against child care facilities across the country, e.g., South Carolina, New Hampshire and Texas.

The pattern of abuse in child care seems to parallel that observed elsewhere (James, Womack and Strauss 1978). Men are more likely to engage in child sexual abuse; when they do, the victim is most likely to be female.

The public policy response is aimed primarily at males who are viewed as the most likely potential perpetrators. The strategies, when implemented, can be perceived by men as harassment. The combination of suspicion and perceived harassment may be resulting in an environment in which many male caregivers are saying "it just isn't worth it." The tenuous foothold of men in child care services appears to be in danger.

THE HISTORICAL PLACE OF MEN IN CHILD CARE

In 1974, government sources reported that only 4% of all child care workers were men (*U. S. News and World Report* 1974, 69-70). By 1979, an increase in the percentage of males was described (Robinson 1979, 474). The increase apparently continued until the mid 1980's.

Traditionally, our society has taken sex-role stereotypes regarding the interaction of men with children in the home and extended them into the work setting. Child care has been viewed as "women's work" in either environment. Activities of child care and "mothering" have often been linked. While a decline in the segregation index was observed between 1960 and 1970 "as men moved into traditionally female professions and women entered typically male sales and clerical jobs" (Blau and Hendricks 1979, 209), the societal pressures for men to avoid extensive interaction with children continued. A recent article reported that "our current social milieu continues to encourage females, and to discourage males, to expect to have significant interaction with children" (Ebina 1984, 809).

For those males who may have wished to disregard society's sex role stereotypes to enter the field of child care, tangible rewards have been few. Child care has always been low in status and pay. "Tuition costs typically are kept low by paying staff a minimum or less than minimum wage, with few if any job benefits" (Lindner). Whether the rewards were low because of sexist attitudes toward a female-dominated area of work or whether the work itself was deemed of little importance (because it could be performed by women?!) is not the issue here. For whatever reason, perhaps a vicious circle, men entering child care have had to be strongly motivated by factors other than tangible rewards. Those who sought child care jobs seeking financial gain, tended not to stay very long (Robinson 1979, 474).

Poor remuneration of child care work may explain in part the staffing problems encountered in child care agencies. When staff can be found, their motivation may be suspect. It has been suggested in a popular magazine that "the low salaries. . . are bringing unqualified, and perhaps even dangerous people into the field" (Rowan and Mazie 1985, 105). While the relationship between rewards and problems of sexual abuse may not be one of direct cause and effect, staffing difficulties may at least contribute to dangerous conditions. "The problem of limited professional rewards for child care workers is a situation that constantly courts disaster, sometimes making the need to secure adequate staff outweigh due caution in hiring" (Lindner). The reward structure in child care services may have discouraged both male and female potential employees, appropriately motivated to work with children, who might have made important contributions to the field. It may also have allowed other persons who possessed dubious qualifications and questionable motivation to gain employment.

THE CURRENT SITUATION

If an uproar over problems of sexual abuse has helped to identify child abusers and resulted in safeguards to protect children from them, this can only be viewed as a positive step. If only perpetrators of sex abuse were to be harassed and, in some cases, driven out of child care work, we could only ap-

plaud. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Guilty and innocent have both suffered. Why?

Sensationalistic accounts of sexual abuse investigations have unfortunately furthered . . . public mistrust. For those unfamiliar with high quality programs for young children, the repeated juxtaposition of child care and sexual abuse give the inaccurate impression that these two entities are necessarily linked (Mazur and Pekor 1985, 10).

The resultant suspicion has been generalized to all facilities. For obvious reason, men have been most suspect. They have begun to leave. There is evidence that the percentage of men in daycare is declining noticeably (Gardner 1986, 29). A director of a daycare center recently reported to the author that she has tried for six months to hire a male employee to replace one who recently left. No applicant has gone beyond an initial inquiry into the nature of the work. Another administrator is not actively seeking males because she was reportedly told that malpractice insurance rates would be higher if men were employed. A refeminization of the field appears imminent.

COSTS OF REFEMINIZATION

The exodus of a subgroup of care providers that has always represented only a relatively small minority of persons would seem, on the surface, to be of little import to the child care field. Our attitude might be that if they prefer to leave because of their dislike of policies or rules designed to protect children, let them go. Who needs them?! They will likely be replaced by others who find such controls less oppressive. Their replacements are likely to be women who, statistically, are less likely to be child abusers anyway. Their leaving may even open up higher level positions to women who have traditionally been denied access to them. Why is this bad? Except on a short term basis, the specter of refeminization of child care services is potentially costly to *all* parties involved.

1. *Men*: Men who feel compelled to leave child care because of society's stereotypes are denied work that is especially meaningful for them. Research has indicated that they are

among the most altruistic of employees (Robinson and Canada 1977, 113). They may also be those males who are the most comfortable with themselves, less likely to have been socialized into activities of sex role stereotyping than other men. Their recognition of the gratification that they receive in their work with children may identify them as among the least sexist of males. If they no longer find employment in child care tolerable, they will need to seek employment in other areas less likely to provide the gratification that child care services can offer. Healthy, productive interaction with children in other than a parenting role may be denied to them.

2. *Children*: The absence of men will have a cost for children. Even if the frustrated response of men currently employed is ultimately considered to be little more than of a temporary nature and if some re-enter the field later, the likelihood of today's male children being influenced by their temporary absence is still great.

There was a time when it was believed that the presence of males in child care settings provided a needed male identity figure, particularly for boys who might lack the presence of a father in the home. However, research studies have demonstrated that men in child care differed little from women in their behaviors (Etaugh and Hughes 1975, 394). In fact, as one author points out, "men in child care must be nurturant, sensitive and yielding" (Robinson 1979, 475). Their primary contribution to children may be as androgynous role models for all children who need to see men who do *not* conform to masculine macho stereotypes.

The disappearance of significant reduction in the number of men in child care is likely to result in a serious problem of continued sex role stereotyping. This society can ill-afford another generation of males (and sometimes females!) who routinely type work as male or female. Yet, the absence of males in child care could contribute to this result.

Authors propose that "an occupational position which is perceived as being exclusively comprised of or performed by women becomes 'typed' as being a proper role for women and an inappropriate role for men" (Shepelak, Ogden and Tobin-

Bennett 1984, 995). Children come to believe at an early age that some jobs and activities are associated with one or the other gender. Occupational segregation is believed to be a major contributor to the dichotomous labeling of children that perceives certain occupations as being "for women" or "for men." A dual result may be young male adults who dare not enter a field where they have much to offer for fear of social stigma and who also guard from women their own domain of what society views as male-appropriate occupations. In short, perpetuation of sexist behaviors can result.

The absence of sufficient males also can create a related problem for both boys and girls in child care. Historically, young children have encountered few males as elementary school teachers. Their experiences with adult males often have been limited to interaction with parents or a few significant others. Men working in child care have offered a unique form of interaction for young children that is informal and that involves a male who is neither a parent or other authority figure. This affords an opportunity for preparation for later inevitable relationships, an opportunity that can be lost if the male exodus continues.

3. *Women:* Women will also pay the costs of refeminization. A Nineteenth Century committee in search of a school superintendent recorded its opinion about who might be appropriate to fill it. They stated, "as there is neither honor nor profit connected with this position, we see no reason why it should not be filled by a woman" (Stock 1978, 188). The prevalence of this attitude to the present day has resulted in a concentration of women in a relatively small number of professions which "just happen" to be poorly paid. "Sex-stereotyped female occupations. . . . are notoriously low in pay and prestige" (Vogel 1985, 16). The specter of a vicious circle emerges. The low pay and status of child care has attracted few men. Some of them undoubtedly entered the field for the wrong reasons. Media attention to their behavior has resulted in safeguards that may be driving others away, reversing the minor gains in de-feminization that were made. Will the increased predominance of women result in more status and better pay to attract better

people? Not likely. The continued prevalence of sexist attitudes in our society may further devalue child care services. This will result in fewer rewards for those dedicated persons who remain, most of whom will be women. Attracting good co-workers of either sex will become increasingly harder, making their jobs even more difficult.

RESPONSES: SAFEGUARDS OR HARASSMENT?

Of course, incidents of sexual abuse in child care must not be allowed to reoccur. Abuse currently undetected must be stopped. But how? To date, the outraged reaction of public officials, law enforcement and administrators has been one of frustration followed by action. In some cases, the responses have been a "package" of safeguards that may translate into harassment from the perception of male employees. It has been suggested that "the pendulum . . . has swung too far . . . to a presumption today that men who show an interest in children are potential abusers" (Paschal 1986, C1).

Public policy has reflected one type of response. *Time* magazine recently reported on demands for the state to monitor day-care and youth programs to "comb the the pedophiles drawn to such employment" (Leo 1984, 73). *Newsweek* noted that recently Mayor Koch of New York City announced that the city would begin regular on-site inspections of day care centers and that a model code for screening day-care workers was being drafted by the United States Department of Health and Human Services (Beck and Namuth).

Reported local (agency) responses have included policies forbidding male employees to talk with a child in private behind closed doors, to accompany them to the bathroom or to change a child's diapers. Others include blood testing all workers for venereal disease, finger printing of workers and precise guidelines for physical contact with children (Lindner, 270-272) (the latter was requested by workers for their own protection against false accusation).

Other safeguards undoubtedly now exist within informal but equally restrictive guidelines relating to staff contact with children, the need for presence of female staff when certain

activities are performed, etc. Any one of these and other new measures to safeguard children may not be oppressive in themselves. One would be hard pressed to oppose them, as they seem to represent a small constraint on staff freedom given the potential danger to children. Viewed *in toto*, however, they can start to look like harassment, especially to men who are most subject to suspicion anyway. These measures may well reduce incidences of child abuse, but at what costs to children and others? This question must be addressed by the responsible practitioner.

FIGHTING REFEMINIZATION

If we can accept the assumption that refeminization of child care is an imminent danger and that, in the long run, it would be costly for child care workers and the children they serve, what can be done? A start can be made if we acknowledge that even judicious and well intended protection measures *can* sometimes be excessive.

Much of the impetus for safeguards comes from concerned parents. Social workers can perform a valuable educational function and prevent excessive measures if they will help to provide parents with a realistic perspective on the risks inherent in child care. Certainly, parents need to know what they can and should expect from child care workers and what should not be tolerated. But they also need to know that most responsible agencies are adequately concerned about their children's safety. There is no reason why the employees of the many good child care facilities that exist should have to work under the watchful eye of the suspicious consumer who assumes that abuse is an imminent danger. Parents especially need to know that there is nothing inherently "strange" about men who choose to work with children, and that their presence is an advantage in the socialization of their children. Assurances of this and efforts to correct misconceptions that currently exist would be appropriate responses by the social worker. Parents should also be encouraged to avoid supporting a common belief among children (Seifert 1973, 168) that men who work in child care are somehow "odd."

Social workers (including, but not limited to those who work in child care) need to critically examine rules, policies and procedures that can be viewed as harassment, especially those seemingly directed at male employees. Certain questions should be asked. Are they within the area of what is reasonable, given what we know of child sexual abuse and of the dynamics that surround it? If so, combined with other safeguards, do they begin to constitute "overkill"? Are there other ways of accomplishing the same objectives without humiliating or casting aspersions on employees?

When safeguards are identified that appear excessive, social workers should oppose them. After all, if they represent unjustified harassment to any worker, male or female, all will ultimately lose.

Recent media attention to sexual abuse has brought about a perfectly logical response that, nevertheless, threatens the place of men in child care work. While some short-term re-feminization of the field may be inevitable, long-term effects can be minimized if social workers acknowledge the danger and act.

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STABILITY AND FLUCTUATION IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN ISRAEL*

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A review of the literature indicates two major approaches in official crime rate analysis. The first approach postulates a positive correlation between recorded crime rates and a number of factors including police strength, organizational structure of social control agencies, opportunity, and social pathologies. The second postulate is based on Erikson's hypothesis of stability of deviance over time, namely that recorded crime rates in a given society will remain comparatively stable over time. We tested these approaches based on 15 years of juvenile delinquency statistics in Israel. Official statistics on both recorded juvenile delinquents and their recorded crimes were tested through time-series analysis. Results indicate significant yearly fluctuations in recorded crime rates and in the percent of juvenile delinquents. However, a constant rate of delinquency was found among 8 Israeli birth cohorts between 1952–1959. Theoretical and practical implications of these findings are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

In the late 19th century, Enrico Ferri (1884) claimed that fluctuations in crime rates could be explained by the "law of criminal saturation" and by the "law of criminal supra-saturation." These laws state that, in a given social environment with stable social, economic, and physical conditions, a constant

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given number of crimes will be committed (saturation). However, if change occurs in the above mentioned conditions, such as famine, war, political turnover, and economic growth, the number of crimes will fluctuate (supra-saturation).

These laws, derived from biology, have much in common with the functionalist approach to criminology which emphasizes society's pivotal role in regard to crime. Representing the functionalist position, Erikson (1966), in accord with Durkheim's theories, argues that crime "may actually perform a needed service to society by drawing people together in a common posture of anger and indignation." Every existing social problem has some positive functions for the wider society whereas crime and deviance is only one example. Erikson (1966) shows that crime creates automatic solidarity, provides an educational tool by indicating what is forbidden, and enables dissatisfied segments to act out aggression and frustration.

Erikson further claims that "any system as boundary maintaining . . . controls the fluctuation of its constituent parts so that the whole retains a limited range of activity, a given pattern of constancy and stability, within the larger environment". This concept is closely aligned with Ferri's theory on crime rates. In effect, Erikson states that all types of deviance, including juvenile delinquency, are promoted and regulated by and for the benefit of the majority of society; therefore, delinquency will remain constant as long as society does not undergo major changes, and perhaps even then. This stability is predicted to continue as long as cohort sizes remain relatively similar (East-erlin, 1980; Maxim, 1985). Dramatic changes in cohort sizes bring about new life opportunities and new social developments which, in turn, will create new situations for the cohort with the different size.

It is our opinion that the functionalist approach should focus on recorded statistics of crime since they measure the manifest aspect of crimes. It is known that recorded statistics of crime are biased when compared to the actual occurrences and may reflect biases of enforcement agencies rather than the behavior of offenders (Empey, 1978). It is only when deviance is

made manifest and dealt with that it can gain sufficient attention to function as an integrative and educational mechanism for society. Furthermore, societal policies with regard to deviance in general, and delinquency in particular, are more the outcome of the formal recorded statistics of deviance than of actual overt occurrences. We therefore, reformulate Erikson's hypothesis in the following terms: "the officially recorded number of crimes performed by adolescents and the recorded juvenile delinquents will remain constant as long as society does not undergo major changes or develop new needs."

In direct contradiction of Erikson's theory of stability of deviance over time, (assuming no major societal changes occur) a second approach postulates that criminal statistics are subject to fluctuation as a result of certain forces within the society. For example, various institutions such as the police, probation services, the court system, and prisons have been created by society to enforce social norms. These control agencies have the overt goal of maintaining order and unity. It is possible that these agencies contribute to the creation of recorded deviance through their covert struggle for survival and power over the environment. It can be argued that these control agencies are able to change their definition of what constitutes a crime to accord with changing societal values and with their own interests. Thus, through artificial manipulations, they could cause delinquency rates to fluctuate. Recent studies in the field of criminology have focussed on an apparent correlation between organizational structure and strength of law enforcement agencies and the measured (official) crime rates (McCleary et al., 1982; Loftin and McDowell, 1982). If the law enforcement agencies do influence the criminal statistics, then the recorded juvenile delinquency rates should not be constant as is in the above hypothesis based on Erikson, but instead should fluctuate as suggested by Kitsuse and Cicourel (1963), Becker (1968), and Ehrlich (1973).

Three other explanations offered for the fluctuations in crime rates over time in a given society are: changing opportunities (Cohen and Felson, 1974), industrial and urban growth (Rahav, 1982), and situational pathology (Erez and Hakim,

1979). All three factors are highly relevant to the Israeli society—the setting of this study.

The theoretical question raised by discussion of the two contradictory approaches concerning recorded crime rates obviously pertains to the robustness of recorded crime rates over time in a given society despite major societal and organizational changes. The one approach, based on Erikson, predicts stability; while the other, based on various institutional and organizational changes, claims the rates are subject to high levels of fluctuation. This study is intended to provide a partial answer to this question through an analysis of the recorded juvenile delinquency statistics over time and by age cohorts in Israel. If Erikson's modified theory is correct, then most recorded crime statistics should remain constant over time unless it can be proven that they are a response to major new societal needs. If the other approach is correct, then recorded crime statistics should fluctuate according to either organizational changes within the controlling agencies or other structural changes.

Israel presents an interesting field for social research. It is a young country with a re-established Jewish society which, in many senses, has started its social life from the beginning (Matras, 1965 and Cnaan, 1982). Among other impossible goals, the first waves of immigration to Israel aimed at creating a normal society with all typical social institutions (and there are still people alive who remember the quest for the first local Jewish thief). In the reality of the last thirty years, most forms of social institutions, including all types of social deviance, have been found in Israel. The relevant control agencies have been established, and they have been busy ever since (Horowitz and Lissak, 1972). Certain factors such as a rapid rate of urban growth and industrialization, and a difficult military and political situation make Israel of particular interest for criminological studies. Friday and Hage (1976), among others, suggest an association between certain social trends, such as those mentioned above, and crime rates which would lend support to a prediction of fluctuation in Israeli crime rates. In other

words Israel's enormous changes in its first 30 years of existence should be associated with fluctuations in official recorded crime rates.

Reliable data are available in Israel concerning adolescents (males, age 9–16; females, age 9–18). These data can help determine whether juvenile delinquency rates in Israel are constant or fluctuate yearly in response to changing environmental circumstances. One of the most reliable sources of criminal statistics in Israel is the National Probation Services (Hoeherman, 1985). This agency has statistics for the last twenty-five years in a uniform manner. These data are stored in the computer of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs. It should be noted that in Israel there are no "status" offenses and that all juveniles who appear in court are charged with criminal offenses.

Seidman and Couzens (1974) argued that crime statistics are basically non-comparable over jurisdictions. In this respect, Israeli police and youth probation services can be regarded as one uniform jurisdiction. Both of these control agencies are centralized government organizations which operate according to national laws and are governed by uniform regulations and forms. Almost all probation officers are social workers and their first probation function is to help the court reach a verdict. All juveniles who may appear before the court must undergo a social investigation by the probation services. The agency also makes recommendations to the court as to needed social treatment to be incorporated in the verdict.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the two theoretical approaches presented above as to the stability/fluctuation of officially measured crime rates and the available data in the Israeli Juvenile Probation Services, the following research questions were postulated:

- a. That the percent of crimes committed by adolescents every year as part of the total crimes recorded in this year will be constant/fluctuate over time.
- b. That the rate of yearly referrals to Juvenile Probation

(i.e. every adolescent who in one calendar year committed at least one crime) will be constant/fluctuate over time.

- c. That the percent of adolescents from each birth cohort referred to Juvenile Probation Services at least once in their lives will be constant/fluctuate over time.
- d. That the average number of crimes performed by adolescents in each cohort will be constant/fluctuate over time.

To test the two hypotheses, we used the series of data from the Israeli Juvenile Probation Services. In all four research questions, our null hypothesis is that the relevant rates will not be significantly different from the empirical mean and that only a small variation will exist, the alternative being fluctuation, i.e. highs and lows along the axis of time.

The first two research questions relate to changes from one calendar year to the next. The first question examines recorded acts; the second, recorded individuals. The third research question similar to the second, studies individuals though not on a yearly basis. The fourth research question examines recorded acts (as in the first) but on a cohort level (as in the third).

STUDY DESIGN AND METHOD

Israeli standards define juvenile delinquents (at the time of the study) as males aged 9–16 or as females aged 9–18, who break the law. When an adolescent is caught in, or is suspected of, committing a criminal act, the police have two options: 1) to refer the case to the youth probation services as a preliminary step before it is brought to court, or 2) to drop charges (no legal complaint and no criminal file). The latter action may be taken as a result of insufficient evidence, lack of public interest, or in consideration of the best interests of the adolescent. A study carried out by the Israeli Police (Israel Police, 1981) found that 33 percent of the adolescents dealt with through police channels *were not* referred to youth probation services. Another study (Israel Police, 1980) has shown that 95 percent of all minors in this category against whom no charges had been filed committed no further offenses during the subsequent two

years. This group was not included in the study population since its contribution to official juvenile delinquency rates was negligible.

Since 1962, two methods of data collection have been utilized by the Israeli youth probation services. One method consists of administrative reports which are prepared by probation officers for new cases (including recidivists) and cases in which treatment was terminated. The second method consists of statistical reports concerning adolescents about whom decisions have been reached. Decision by a probation officer means either to close the case (not to press charges but to keep the criminal file) or to send the case to court and follow up the case thereafter. The statistical report includes demographical data and information regarding the individual criminal acts. This computerized data set has been recorded and maintained in a uniform manner from 1962 to the present.

These data are the basis for our analysis. Parts of these data have been published in an annual series by the Israeli Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (Hocherman, 1985). The remaining data presented here were obtained from the data bank exclusively for this study.

To test the first research question—fluctuation of recorded crime rates by juvenile delinquents (males, aged 9–16 and females, aged 9–18)—we used the data regarding new referrals, i.e., the administrative reports. The probation officers reported their new or recidivist cases as well as the number of recorded criminal activities per each adolescent. We did not know the number of adolescent criminal offenses in which the police decided not to press charges nor the actual number of crimes committed by any adolescent (Skogan 1976; Weagel, 1981). It is clear that, in this case, each recorded juvenile delinquent could have committed any number of crimes in each relevant year. The statistics relevant to adolescent offenses and their rates are presented on the left side of Table 1. To obtain the yearly rates of crimes committed by adolescents, the yearly total was calculated as a percentage of all recorded crimes in the same year (See Table 1 - Column 2).

To test the second research question—yearly level of refer-

TABLE 1
YEARLY STATISTICS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN ISRAEL *

Year	Number of crimes performed by adolescents in each year	% of Crimes performed by adolescents	Number of juvenile delinquents	Rate of juvenile delinquents (out of all adolescents at risk)
1962	No data	No data	7,825	16.5
1963	16,276	3.39	7,448	14.9
1964	18,355	3.63	8,506	16.3
1965	19,812	3.87	8,848	16.6
1966	20,978	4.01	9,544	17.3
1967	21,060	4.00	8,152	14.5
1968	22,164	4.07	8,295	14.4
1969	22,443	4.08	9,070	15.6
1970	22,917	4.15	8,326	14.3
1971	23,632	4.23	8,250	13.8
1972	20,531	3.63	8,060	13.3
1973	20,204	3.50	7,742	12.5
1974	18,827	3.22	6,680	10.6
1975	20,401	3.41	7,670	11.9
1976	20,063	3.33	7,708	11.7
$\bar{X} = 3.7514$ S.D. = .3442				$\bar{X} = 14.28$ S.D. = 1.9986

*Males 9-16 and females 9-18.

als of adolescents (males, aged 9–16 and females aged 9–18) to the Israeli youth probation services—we listed each individual according to the time when the probation officer made the final decision in his/her case. For each year, we deducted the recidivists and retained only the raw number of adolescents who were involved with probation services during that specific year. Thus, each individual, regardless of his/her number of offenses during one year, could appear only once in each year but could appear in more than one year.

To test the third research question—the number of adolescents from each cohort who were officially engaged in criminal acts—we had to create new computer files. We used birth cohorts rather than other types of cohort such as first year of crime, larger intervals of years, schools, etc., as can be derived from Ryder's (1965) analysis of the concept of cohort. The reason for the use of cohorts is that the level of internal validity is larger than in regular one-time studies (Hirshi and Selvin, 1967). The study covers only eight cohorts as a larger size would have meant lower internal validity. In the mid-1970s, Israel enacted a new law which changed the legal age of juvenile delinquency from 9–16 for males and 9–18 for females, to 9–18 for all. Along this line of liberalism, the legal age was again changed several years later to 13–18 for all. To avoid all these biases, we used cohorts born in 1952 to 1959 who were at the relevant ages between 1961 and 1975 and whose relationships with the youth probation services of necessity terminated as of 1976. Kleinman and Lukoff (1981) noted that, at times, the time-gap between the actual commission of a crime and its formal recording is considerable. In Israel, we needed another year to account for these bureaucratic time lags and it was properly handled.

To test the fourth research question—average number of recorded crimes per adolescent in each birth cohort—we aggregated for each individual in each cohort the number of relevant recorded crimes. Then the sum of all recorded crimes committed by those who were born in one year was added. Last, it was divided by the number of the effective cohort size. The results are presented in the last (right) column of Table 2.

TABLE 2
COHORT STATISTICS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN ISRAEL*

Year of birth	Effective sample size	Number referred to probation	% of juvenile delinquents in each cohort	Average number of recorded crimes in each cohort
1952	59,966	6,203	10.34	2.39
1953	59,521	6,229	10.47	2.35
1954	58,083	6,011	10.35	2.30
1955	60,305	6,300	10.45	2.31
1956	60,408	6,372	10.55	2.44
1957	60,824	6,330	10.41	2.44
1958	61,084	6,236	10.21	2.45
1959	62,518	6,466	10.34	2.43
Total	482,709	50,147	—	—
$\chi^2 = 4.7580$ D.F. = 7 P = N.S.				$\bar{X} = 2.889$ S.D. = .0613
				$\bar{X} = 10.386$ S.D. = 1.9986

*Adolescents age 9-16, both male and female.

One of the problems we encountered while working on the cohorts was the unequal number of adolescents in the entry and exit years for any cohort, i.e. between the ages of 9 and 16, as some die, some migrate, and other immigrants join. In Israel, due to a wave of immigration, the number of adolescents within each cohort increased with time. We assumed that, on the average, these individuals who were added to the population during the relevant period of time were at risk of being referred to youth probation services for half the period. Therefore, we defined the effective cohort size as the mid-range. This is an (actuarial-based) estimate commonly used for cohort life tables (Miler, 1981).

RESULTS

The data regarding the first research question—the fluctuation of percents of recorded crime performed by adolescents in each year—is presented on the left side of Table 1. These rates increased from 1963 to 1971 and decreased in 1972 through 1974. In 1975 there was an increase followed by a decrease in 1976. As to absolute number of recorded crimes performed by adolescents, a similar trend exists. In 1974 (the post-Yom Kippur War year), a record low of rates of recorded crimes by adolescents was set. A cursory glance at these data shows that the number of yearly recorded crimes committed by adolescents fluctuated from one year to another. It is of interest to note that 1967, another war year, was the only exception of very slight decrease in the period of increase from 1963–1971.

The data regarding the second research question—the fluctuation in the number and rates of adolescents who were referred to youth probation services—is presented on the right side of Table 1. The absolute numbers and rates show an increasing trend from 1962 to 1966 (with the exception of 1963), a sharp decrease in 1967 (the year of the Six-Day War), an increase in 1968–69, and a new decreased trend since 1970 with a record low in 1974 (the post-Yom Kippur War year). The rates fluctuate from a peak of 17.3 percent in 1966 to a low of 10.6 percent in 1974. These numbers indicate significant differences from one year to the next.

The data regarding the third research question—the fluctuation in the absolute numbers and percent of adolescents in each birth cohort who were referred to youth probation services—is presented in the left part of Table 2. According to both absolute number and percentages, the eight study-cohorts allocated similar proportions of their members to youth probation services. In other words, there is no significant fluctuation of percent of juvenile delinquents among the cohorts. The record high 10.55 percent (1956) and the record low is 10.21 percent (1958). A chi-square test, performed to determine whether these eight cohorts significantly differed from one another with regard to the number of known adolescents involved in crime, found no significant differences. This analysis used an eight-by-two table which consisted of eight cells of numbers referred to probation (i.e. juvenile delinquents) and eight cells of effective cohort size minus those referred to probation services, i.e. those never officially labeled as juvenile delinquents.

We further studied these eight cohorts with regard to those who were referred to probation services from the aspect of three possible moderating variables: sex, religion, and among Jews, country of origin.

The data regarding the fourth research question—the average recorded number of crimes performed by each cohort—are presented on the left column of Table 2. The data clearly show a trend of constancy with a high of 2.45 (1958) and a low of 2.30 (1954). This trend is even stronger among the last four cohorts (1956–1959) than among the first four cohorts (1952–1955). If there is any meaningful fluctuation, it is between these two groups of cohorts.

A comparison of Table 1 with Table 2 shows that the standard deviations regarding the first two research questions (Table 1) are larger than these of the last two research questions (Table 2). In all four cases, we had to account for the different size of means. Thus, we employed the coefficient of variation (DeGroot, 1970). The coefficient of variation is a measure of fluctuation which adjusts for the different magnitudes of the sets of numbers involved by dividing the standard deviation by the average. Thus, the larger the value of the coefficient of

TABLE 3
COHORTS IN YOUTH PROBATION SERVICES IN ISRAEL BY SEX

Year of birth	MALES			FEMALES		
	Effective sample size	No. of referrals	% of referrals	Effective sample size	No. of referrals	% of referrals
1952	30,917	5,396	17.45	29,049	807	2.78
1953	30,473	5,451	17.89	29,048	778	2.68
1954	29,842	5,225	17.51	28,241	786	2.78
1955	30,855	5,394	17.48	29,450	906	3.08
1956	31,327	5,575	17.80	29,081	797	2.74
1957	31,546	5,538	17.56	29,278	792	2.71
1958	31,413	5,455	17.37	29,671	781	2.63
1959	32,166	5,852	18.19	30,352	614	2.02
Total	248,539	43,886	—	234,170	6,261	—

$\chi^2 = 11.9403$

D.F. = 7

P = N.S.

$\chi^2 = 71.0768$

D.F. = 7

P < .01

variation, the larger the fluctuation in the data relative to its average value. Employing this tool reveals significantly higher scores for the first two research questions (.0917 and .140 respectively) than for the latter two (.010 and .257 respectively). We can thus conclude that the data based on cohorts is significantly more stable than the data based on years.

In testing the impact of each of the variables—sex, religion, and country of origin—we found a low level of fluctuation (insignificant chi-square score at the .01 level) for any of the larger groups, with the exception of Jews of Asian-African origin. The term “large group” refers to a category from which most of these referred to probation services were drawn, e.g. males when gender is the variable of interest. The chi-square score of the one exception in this category, Jews of Asian-African origin (Table 5), is significant at the .008 level which is usually considered more than acceptable in most studies in the social sciences. In large samples, however, it may be insufficient as the level of significance is also a function of the sample size; thus even significant results can scarcely be considered as reflecting strong association. Overall, the large groups, males (Table 3) and Jews (Table 4), did not significantly fluctuate over time with regard to referrals to youth probation services. In such large samples, an insignificant chi-square is usually a clear indication of no association. In the small groups, however, the fluctuation was found to be significant. The term “small groups” refers to categories which supplied less than one third of the juvenile delinquent population, e.g., females when gender is the variable of interest. This was the case for females (Table 3), non-Jews (Table 4), Jews of Israeli origin, and Jews of American-European origin (Table 5). Again, due to the large size, the significant results may not necessarily indicate a meaningful association.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The State of Israel went through major changes during the study period (1961–1976). Its population grew by 23 percent, mainly due to immigration and to the annexation of East Jerusalem. The number of policemen per 1000 in the population

TABLE 4
COHORTS IN YOUTH PROBATION SERVICES IN ISRAEL BY RELIGION

Year of birth	JEWS			NON-JEWS		
	Effective sample	No. of referrals	% of referrals	Effective sample size	No. of referrals	% of referrals
1952	52,467	5,219	9.95	7,499	984	13.12
1953	51,381	5,307	10.33	8,140	922	11.33
1954	49,770	5,118	10.28	8,313	893	10.74
1955	51,174	5,335	10.43	9,131	965	10.57
1956	51,135	5,400	10.56	9,273	972	10.48
1957	50,819	5,314	10.46	10,005	1,016	10.15
1958	50,337	5,235	10.40	10,747	1,001	9.31
1959	50,664	5,300	10.46	11,854	1,166	9.84
Total	407,747	42,228	—	74,962	7,919	—
X ² = 13.5936 D.F. = 7 P = N.S.				X ² = 83.4656 D.F. = 7 P < .01		

TABLE 5
COHORTS IN YOUTH PROBATION SERVICES IN ISRAEL BY ORIGIN

Year of birth	JEWS OF ISRAEL ORIGIN*			JEWS OF ASIAN-AFRICAN ORIGIN**			JEWS OF EUROPEAN-AMERICAN ORIGIN***		
	Effective sample size	No. of referrals	% of referrals	Effective sample size	No. of referrals	% of referrals	Effective sample size	No. of referrals	% of referrals
1952	3,778	241	6.38	27,979	4,203	15.01	20,710	775	3.74
1953	3,952	206	5.21	28,304	4,374	15.45	19,125	727	3.80
1954	3,698	260	7.03	28,783	4,168	14.48	17,289	690	3.99
1955	4,185	232	5.54	29,187	4,394	15.05	17,802	709	3.98
1956	4,526	236	5.21	29,352	4,496	15.32	17,257	668	3.87
1957	5,200	239	4.60	29,271	4,426	15.12	16,348	649	3.97
1958	5,303	240	4.53	29,307	4,333	14.78	15,727	662	4.21
1959	5,766	265	4.60	30,060	4,304	14.32	14,838	731	4.93
Total	6,408	1,919	—	232,243	34,698	—	139,069	5,611	—
X ² =48.8114 D.F.=7 P<.01				X ² =24.8525 D.F.=7 P<.01			X ² =40.5778 D.F.=7 P<.01		

a. This table contains only Jews.
 *They and their fathers were born in Israel.
 **They or their fathers were born in Asia or Africa.
 ***They or their fathers were born in Europe or America.

increased from 3.1 in 1961 to 4.7 in 1976 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1982); the numbers of youth probation officers grew by 82 percent and special community programs were established for the prevention of delinquency. In the political arena, Israel's standing remained stable. Nevertheless, the country was involved in two major wars (1967 and 1973–4). Israel also experienced major urbanization and industrialization and culturally became increasingly materialistic and Western-oriented. It should be noted that the size of each of the eight cohorts did not increase drastically, as most of the demographic changes affected older people (immigration and prolongation of life) and infants (births).

Based on one approach presented above, one would have expected that the major changes in Israel would have greatly influenced official juvenile delinquency statistics. The claim is made that official statistics of juvenile delinquency are a manifestation of society's varying needs of deviance. A society which underwent such major changes probably has new needs that are reflected in fluctuations of official crime rates. Yearly crime rate statistics, as opposed to the recorded crime rates by cohort, did in fact fluctuate.

This study differentiates between yearly analysis (cross-sectional) and cohort analysis (longitudinal) of recorded juvenile delinquency. It appears that the statistics for short time periods, i.e., one year, tend to fluctuate as a result of societal and institutional forces, while the statistics for longer time-periods, i.e., cohorts, remain stable. Thus, long-term statistics support Erickson's modified hypothesis of constancy of recorded deviance.

Several factors may be said to influence crime levels. Rahav (1982) finds that urbanization in Israel is the single independent variable linked to the rate of juvenile delinquency. He further concludes that: "delinquency as a systematic response to structural strains appears only when the local juvenile group is large enough to develop a delinquent subculture." No data on domiciles of juvenile delinquents were included in our study. It was therefore impossible to differentiate between urban and rural criminal activities, or to consider this variable in

analyzing any possible long-term effects of urbanization on crime. Other traditional factors such as industrialization, housing and social life are of less importance because of the nature of Israel's society: it is a small country; communities are not dissimilar as distances between them are short; and most people shop, work, and seek entertainment in the three major cities.

One factor which was clearly found to influence criminal records is war. Israel's two wars during the period studied have a significant impact on recorded crimes performed by juveniles and on the rates of adolescents referred to probation services. The statistics show an apparent marked reduction in criminal acts and referrals (Table 1). The impact of wars can be attributed to three main causes. First, during the two wars, a special situation existed in which most individuals, including many juvenile delinquents, were willing to sacrifice and give more of themselves for the collective good than in peaceful times (Rosenfeld, 1980); thus many juvenile delinquents avoided criminal activity for a while. Second, after both wars, legal amnesties were granted and many criminal files were closed and cancelled. Third, some police and other employees of control agencies were assigned to military reserve duty, whereas the remaining workforce had to handle unusual tasks which were a result of the war situation. As a result, less criminal activity was attended to and recorded. These findings and explanations of the effect of variables support the theory that yearly recorded crimes and the yearly number of referred juvenile delinquents are affected by societal forces, and that, on a yearly basis, criminal statistics are affected by police and law enforcement agencies' organizational and structural changes as was suggested by Kitsuse and Cicourel (1963). In general, the findings presented in Table 1 tend to support the approach which claims that recorded crime rates do fluctuate with time due to several societal forces. Rates of referrals to probation services, for example, were significantly higher in 1966 (17.3) than in 1974 (10.6).

Even in the last three to five years of the yearly-based statistics, there are indications that Erikson's modified theory of

stability of recorded deviance may have some support. A strong argument for this approach, which postulates stability of recorded delinquency over time, is the finding that all eight cohorts in the study allocated very similar percentages of their members to youth probation services, i.e., constant level of recorded juvenile delinquents along eight birth cohorts. We studied only eight cohorts and observed only one dichotomous variable—referral to youth probation services—regardless of the severity, type, and magnitude of the crime (the influence of these variables should be researched separately). It is amazing to see that in all studied cohorts, 10.21 to 10.55 percent of the adolescents aged 9–16 were treated by the youth probation services, despite the influence of time and societal changes. In other words, the same percent of adolescents were labeled and treated as delinquents. Furthermore, among the eight cohorts (ages 9–16), in eight years the average number of recorded crimes performed by adolescents also remained stable. This may indicate that most societal interventions and influences have a short-term effect and that there are basic social forces which over longer periods of time are constant. Another interesting Israeli study (Hassin, 1983) finds that the types of crime committed by adolescents in the years 1948–1977 were kept stable with the exception of drug use. In other words, there is some indication of stability even in types of recorded crime.

There is a seeming contradiction between the two approaches on recorded crime rates reflected in our findings, i.e., that statistics of juvenile delinquency both fluctuate and remain stable. This contradiction can be resolved by distinguishing between short units of time, i.e., yearly recorded criminal activity and analysis (cross-sectional analysis) and long units of time, i.e., cohorts analysis (longitudinal analysis) of recorded criminal activity. It appears that yearly recorded criminal activity is a more sensitive social phenomenon which can be influenced by planned intervention, police organizational and procedural changes, and societal trends; whereas official rates of delinquency over eight years of potential activity (ages 9–16) is a more robust phenomenon, less prone to social manipula-

tion. We postulate that the recorded participation of adolescents in criminal activity both in acts and in a number of known active juvenile delinquents over a given short-time period is influenced by wars, economic status and other external forces. These factors, however, have a short-term effect and influence only the official number of recorded criminal acts performed by adolescents and the number of known juvenile delinquents in one year. The stability that is evidenced by the rate of adolescents drawn from each cohort and the consistent average number of recorded crimes in each cohort can be interpreted as a result of long-term influences which have cancelled each other out, thereby maintaining a constant level of recorded juvenile delinquency according to society's needs. In one year, society may experience a higher or lower rate of recorded deviance. However, over a few years, the rates tend to balance themselves to a semi-equilibrium of approximately 10.3 percent recorded juvenile delinquents from each birth cohort and approximately 2.37 recorded criminal acts per each of known juvenile delinquent in each birth cohort. Furthermore, as societal needs change, the internal structure (e.g. sex, origin, religion, etc.) of those referred to youth probation services may change but the overall picture will remain stable. Thus, it can be proposed that known criminals serve the basic functionalist purpose, namely, that they are those who society needs as constant negative examples and targets for attack (their latent function); whereas the severity of their crimes and their yearly exposure are merely the instruments used to create the appropriate temporary criminal records required at a given time which is easily manipulated by external factors. This proposition requires further study.

It can be argued that the cohort statistics are stable because the police look for known delinquents rather than tracking down new, and therefore unknown and unrecorded, juvenile delinquents. Our assumption is that the period of eight years (aged 9-16) is of sufficient duration to trace most of the juvenile delinquents. This assumption is supported, in part, by the fact that over 60 percent of those referred to probation services are referred only once and for one known criminal act, while the

others are referred a few times for a larger number of known criminal acts. Thus, the police are tracking down more new unknown juvenile delinquents than known ones. However, this possibility merits further study.

Easterlin (1980) and Maxim (1985) saw cohort size as a key factor in explaining changes in recorded criminal rates. They assert that, regardless of the law enforcement agencies' "handling capacity," it is the cohort size that affects percentages of recorded crimes and criminals. Although Israel experienced large increases in population, the cohort sizes, as can be seen in Table 2, remained almost equal. Thus, the stability of recorded criminal statistics over cohorts may lend some support to this approach.

The major finding of this study is that, although the yearly magnitude of crimes fluctuates, the number of adolescents from each birth cohort that are referred to probation services (i.e. - labeled and handled as juvenile delinquents) is constant. This finding has numerous implications for policy and practice. One immediate policy issue is related to the need for and the role of the various control and prevention agencies. It is quite possible that the number of youngsters referred to probation services is not correlated with the societal investment in crime prevention and that this is a case of low "value for money." The many programs and the increase in staff members of these agencies did not affect the larger phenomenon of stability over age cohorts. There is, then, a case for revision in the claims and actual performance of these agencies. The data presented only indicate in this direction and further similar studies are required in Israel and elsewhere to study the practical meanings and universality of these findings.

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THE USE OF SURVEY METHODS IN RESEARCHING PARENTS OF ADJUDICATED TEENAGE PROSTITUTES*

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This paper is methodological in its orientation. It describes experiences in applying survey methods to a difficult and hard to reach population - parents of adjudicated teenage prostitutes.

INTRODUCTION

Recently, an interesting body of literature has been emerging on the psycho-social correlates of teenage prostitution (James and Meyerding, 1977; MacVicar and Dillon, 1980). As is frequently the case with juvenile deviant behavior, the role of family life has been a major theme. Contemporary theorists believe that family dynamics are an important factor in the drift into prostitution, and have begun to collect information on the family life background of young prostitutes. Almost all information, however, has come from interviews with prostitutes themselves. Only one study, a clinical case study of a notorious family, could be found where a family had been studied directly (Barclay and Gallemore, 1972).

The initial aim of our research project was to make a contribution to the practice literature by directly studying the parents of teenage prostitutes. Survey methods were chosen because

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there was an available population through a local juvenile court. What started as an apparently straightforward application of survey methods soon became a difficult task. Early in the research project it was decided that, along with the interview schedule, it would be important to collect data on the experiences of the interviewers. Toward this end, two instruments were developed. The first was a "family contact" form on which interviewers documented their experiences in obtaining the interviews; guidelines for reaching out were developed and interviewers were trained in their use. The second was an "interviewer experience" form on which the reactions of the interviewers to the parents were recorded. This form, filled out at the completion of the interview, required interviewers to make judgments of the parents as people. As the interviews got under way it became apparent that a full response rate would not be obtained. Because of this, a third instrument was developed to be filled out by the court social worker, enabling comparisons between the families interviewed and those not interviewed.

This paper presents data obtained from the three instruments. Three kinds of data are presented: information on factors related to response rate, information comparing respondents and non-respondents, and data about the respondents as subjects of research. The primary purpose is therefore methodological; the paper describes experiences in applying survey methods to a difficult and hard-to-reach population. The paper is not intended to present data on family life dynamics, which will be the subject of subsequent reports. Nevertheless, describing our experiences in doing research might provide some insights on family life patterns and potential difficulties in delivering service.

SAMPLE AND RESPONSE RATE

The population used was the families of the 75 young women who had passed through a project for female prostitutes at a county juvenile court of a major metropolitan area. The young women had been taken into custody for streetwalking. The court program had been in operation for three years.

While parents were seen, especially during the petition and disposition phases, the program was designed for the young women, and stressed individual "empowerment" through economic independence.

Our aim was to interview as many of the families of the 75 court cases as possible. Early on, we became aware that this would be difficult. The court supplied us with the names of the young women and their addresses and telephone numbers at the time of adjudication (in some instances updated after disposition). Since it was believed that the vast majority of the young women were not living at home, we could not be sure that the address supplied by the court was in fact the parents' address. Many of the girls had left the program over a year before the interview. Our task was to locate the parents, whose names were not provided to us, starting with the addresses of the young women.

During a three-month period, usable interviews with the families of 33 young women were collected (see Table 1). This represented 35 actual families—in two cases foster parents as well as a guardian or parent were interviewed. The total number of individuals interviewed was 42, the majority being biological parents. There were also two stepmothers, three stepfathers and one adoptive mother interviewed. In three instances a female relative was interviewed; the remaining four women and two men were foster parents.

The decision to include foster parents was made because all but one had been responsible for the girl for a significant time during her childhood or early adolescence, including the period immediately prior to arrest and adjudication.

Two additional families were contacted but the interviews were subsequently discarded, one a natural and the other a foster mother.

In the instance of the natural mother, the adjudicated daughter had been found murdered after leaving the program. Upon receiving the letter from the researchers, the mother called the interviewer. She was very distraught and began to vent so much that the interviewer was able to conduct part of the interview on the phone. However, the mother did not want

TABLE 1
INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED:
RELATION TO CHILD

	N	%
Mother	21	50.0
Father	7	16.7
Other Parents:		
Mother Figures		21.4
Adopted	1	
Step	2	
Foster	3	
Relative	3	
Father Figures		11.9
Step	3	
Foster	2	
Total	42 ^a	

^aForty-four individuals were interviewed; however, interviews with one foster parent and one natural parent were unusable and therefore eliminated. See text for description of these two.

to have a more formal interview, and when the amount of usable information she gave us was analyzed it seemed too little to include.

The second was the situation of an elderly foster parent who indicated that she had been responsible for the girl for "a few years" but during subsequent attempts to locate the natural parents by working with agency personnel, it was discovered that the girl had not been with this foster mother for more than a couple of months. Further search determined that the biological mother was deceased and the whereabouts of the father were completely unknown. It became painfully apparent that this girl had been in one foster home after another, rarely for any length of time, for about as long as anyone could remember. In effect there was no natural or any other long-standing parent figure to locate. What made this case all the more

tragic was that the girl, who is still a minor, had not been seen nor heard of for over a year.

The interviewer garnered this information from the last foster parent to have cared for her:

V stands out because of the little we know about her. She is black and had been adopted. She was last seen at age 14. She dropped out of school and attended a special school, possibly for pregnant teenagers. There she was known for her fighting and conflict with other students. She didn't have a job because she wasn't old enough. She had a drug and alcohol problem. V seemed to get along with her three older foster sisters. She had asked her foster mother over and over again to adopt her, ". . . to be her mother. But I told her, 'Honey, I can't, someone else is your mother'." She was removed from her foster home when she started beating her foster mother.

In the majority of families only one parent was interviewed, and this person was most often the mother figure. The large representation of mother figures reflects the reality of the families we came across: Many of the families ($n = 35$) were single parents living alone (20.0 percent), with adult children (8.6 percent), with relatives (11.4 percent), or with a same sex friend (2.9 percent). A significant number were also living in common-law relationships (22.9 percent). In these families, the parent figure seemed the logical one to interview, and no special effort was made to include other adults living in the home.

On the other hand, twelve of the families were dual, legally coupled families (34.3 percent) and in seven of these both parents were interviewed. It does appear that in some instances the parent interviewed was protecting or at least not willing to facilitate the involvement of the other parent. For instance, in writing up a case study, one of the interviewers reported:

This is the case of a Caucasian, remarried parent. The interviewer visited the home to set up a time for an interview with the parents. Mrs. H appeared to be somewhat ambivalent about taking part in the study during this initial visit, nevertheless a time was arranged for an interview. She

indicated that her husband would not be available as he was out of town "for a while." When the interview took place, however, the father apparently was at home in a back room. He appeared at the end of the interview and was introduced to me as I was leaving.

EXPERIENCES IN REACHING OUT

Knowing that the population would be hard to reach, the research was approached as a problem in providing outreach services. Guidelines were developed based on clinical experiences with resisting families (Stanton and Todd, 1981) in the hope of maximizing the return rate. The situation was different from the practice situations out of which the guidelines were developed, and so they were adapted to our needs; we were not offering a service and we could not enlist the aid of the adjudicated girl in involving the family since in most cases she was no longer receiving services.

GUIDELINES FOR ENGAGING FAMILIES

1. Mail letters when you are ready to interview the family. The sooner the family is contacted after the letter is sent, the more likely they are to become engaged.

2. Make heavy use of the telephone and, if necessary, pre-interview home visits. Be prepared to make as many phone calls as necessary. Make at least five home visits before giving up unless you are sure the family does not live at the address and you are unable to locate a new address.

3. In making contact you must be convinced of the value of the research, be flexible and willing to meet at their convenience.

4. Resistance on the part of the family must be seen as fear of criticism, not non-cooperation. Reassure parents that our objective is not to evaluate but to understand their family from their point of view.

5. Be persistent and try to assuage their doubts. If a parent gives a definite "no", however, do not persist any longer.

6. Attempt to interview all parents individually, mother figures and father figures, without allowing self-selection to

take place. Fathers are the most difficult to engage. Non-insistence on their participation confirms their self-view as useless. Reassure fathers of their importance.

7. Establish rapport with the parent. If we ally with the child, we may be finding ourselves in conflict with the parent. Be willing to ally with the parents for this short period in time. Be willing to see things their way, understand their frustrations, etc. Never engage in a struggle with the parent over whether he/she is the problem or not. Parents ought to be treated as healthy people, who are themselves without problems.

There was concern that in reaching out to families the interviewers might discover a crisis in need of attention. The interviewers, all second-year graduate social work students, were prepared in these cases to support the parent through any crisis and refer them to the court counselors. This was never necessary.

All the families were sent a letter to the address given us, on court stationery, inviting them to participate in a study being completed in conjunction with the local school of social work. The letters were addressed "To the Parents of . . ." saying the study would survey families of girls who had received court services to determine their needs and thereby contribute to improved family services. Since the court social worker indicated that many parents deny the prostitution activities of their daughters, the subject of prostitution was never mentioned in the letter nor indeed was it mentioned directly in the interviews. The parents were told they were not required to participate in the study but that their participation would benefit other families who might require court services. It was also stressed that the researchers were not evaluating them but were interested in understanding family life and family difficulties from the point of view of adults. The families were not offered money for their participation.

Each of eight social work interviewers was then randomly assigned a "caseload." They were to work with these families at their own pace and letters were to be sent only when they were ready to make an appointment. Following our guidelines,

it was believed that the sooner the family was contacted after the letter was sent, the more likely they were to become engaged in the study.

To minimize interviewer bias, the interviewers learned as little as possible about the families. However, since the interviews were to be held in the home at odd hours of the day and night, the court social worker was called in to flag cases that he thought might prove dangerous and thus require two interviewers. In all, eight of the seventy-five cases were so flagged. These were families where murders and other forms of physical and sexual violence had been committed, or where the court workers had met with threats of physical violence. The experience of identifying potentially dangerous families led to anxiety among the interviewers, who began to realize the unusualness of their project. Strong efforts had to be made to get the interviewers over this period of insecurity.

In the end, when all the interviews were finished, it became apparent that none of the eight families so identified had been contacted. In six instances a sincere attempt was made to contact these families, but in two instances the interviewers "forgot" to make contact. It is significant that the families perceived by the social worker to be the most dangerous were not included in the study.

In about 65 percent of the sample a telephone number was made available through the court. When a number was available, the interviewers were prepared to make as many calls as they needed to make contact with the family. However, sometimes it turned out the number had been changed or was wrong, or the phone had been disconnected. Thus in many instances, the families could only be reached by showing up at their door in person, often at night. When no number was available, the interviewers were prepared to make at least five personal visits before giving up.

With 12 of the 35 families interviewed, obtaining an interview proved easy, either a first phone call or a lucky home visit produced an immediate interview. In at least one case, the parent, a great-aunt, was actually waiting expectantly for the interviewer to show up. The interviewer reported:

Since the W family had no phone they were contacted in person at their home. An interview was obtained on the first visit. Mrs. W had been waiting for the researchers to contact her—she was quite excited to participate.

The average number of visits/phone calls that had to be made before an interview was obtained was three. In nine cases, interviews were not obtained until after at least five visits or phone calls. Thus a number of families were quite reluctant and it was only the outreach skills of the interviewers that eventually brought success. After speaking to this family four times on the telephone and making a home visit, one interviewer described the following:

Dad and stepmom were interviewed. Dad was very negative about the court system. Says I will be the last person they will talk to about their daughter. He didn't think the study could do much good. When it was over, however, he said he was glad to have talked. They both seemed glad to ventilate.

Following the guidelines, the interviewers tried to present themselves as enthusiastic, tolerant of rebuke, flexible and utterly convinced of the value of the study. Resistance on the part of families was to be handled as fear of criticism, as protection, and not as non-cooperation. Most of the interviewers in fact

TABLE 2

RESPONSE RATE (n=75 adjudicated females)

	N	%
Cases Interviewed	33 ^a	44.0
Refusals	10	13.3
Resisted	5	6.7
Whereabouts Unknown	25 ^b	33.3
Not Contacted	2	2.7

^aThis represents 35 different families since in two cases two families were interviewed per case

^bThis includes one case where the mother was deceased and no lead could be obtained on other family members.

were able to do this, and did it well, but in at least two instances, this proved very difficult. Two interviewers felt especially awkward in their attempts to make contact and wavered in their conviction about the value of the study. In one instance this led to doing fewer interviews than expected. The motivation and enthusiasm of the interviewers cannot be overlooked in doing this kind of project.

In making contact, the interviewers allowed themselves to be persistent but were instructed not to persist once a definite "no" was given. In ten cases, including that of the partial interview with the distraught mother, a definite "no" was in fact given. These negative replies were in two instances hostile; the interviewer withdrew immediately to ward off any trouble. It appeared unlikely that any amount of reaching out could persuade; providing services would probably be impossible. One interviewer reported:

The grandfather answered door. He appeared to have had a stroke. All I could get out of him was that no one else was home—except a variety of loud, large, barking dogs. I went away and came back and spoke to the father. The father was very aggressive. He confused me with a court official. He was blunt and inhospitable. He essentially told me to go to hell, that he did not wish to participate.

Another wrote:

At 8 p.m. I phoned and spoke to the stepfather. He told me the mother wasn't home. He said she probably wouldn't be interested. I said I'd call back later. At 9 p.m. I called again and spoke to the mother. She said she didn't receive our letter as they had moved. She gave me information on the daughter. The daughter is now in college in another state—a 3.0 grade-point average. She said the only reason her daughter was involved in court services was because she was a runaway. She asked how she could check my credibility. I said she could call the court counselor. She recognized his name. The conversation ended with her saying she'd wait for the letter to be forwarded, then would call me if she was interested. If she didn't call I could assume it's a no. She seemed very angry that someone could get her phone num-

ber through the court. She never called me after that and I dropped the case.

However, hostility was not the most common reason for rejecting the invitation to participate; most of the time it had to do with personal and emotional reasons. In these cases, had we actually been doing outreach services rather than research we might have ultimately been successful. An instance of this is seen in the following:

After the third phone call I reached the mother. She had questions about what would be done with the information. She was somewhat resistant. Wants me to call back after the first of the year. I called her after the first of the year and she said there were too many emergencies now. She was getting ready to go to court tomorrow. Something about parole. I said I would call her in three weeks. Three weeks and three phone calls later I reached her. The mother said she is under stress, under doctor's care. She said her daughter is in hiding, that her pimp is out on the street looking for her. She refused the interview.

In five additional cases we seemed to be given the runaround so much that there was no alternative but to give up. After five phone calls and three home visits, this interviewer wrote:

Either I'm getting no one at home or leaving a message with a daughter. I got the distinct impression that sometimes when I called folks were home but daughter lied to me and would tell me to call back later. I finally did contact Mr. B and he agreed to make an appointment if I would call back the evening of the 23rd. When I called on the evening of the 23rd, no one was home and I have been unable to reach them since.

Another account is given in the family of a young woman who had been adjudicated for prostitution and was later found murdered in a shallow pond some two years before we contacted her family. (As noted, one other girl had been a murder victim.) The court counselor had had contact with the mother after the murder and believed she would participate. A series of phone calls uncovered:

I spoke to a middle-aged sounding woman who said she didn't know the mother's phone number. She said the mother works but that she would try to get in touch with the mother. This woman said the mother was crippled and was resistant. First she said Mrs. H had no phone and then later she contradicted this and said Mrs. H had been receiving some irritating phone calls. She told me to call back after 6 but not too late. I called seven times after that and always spoke to the same female. She kept saying Mrs. H was not there. Finally she said that Mrs. H does not live there nor does she know how to reach her. Said if she ever sees her she'd give her my message and number. The court counselor said he's pretty sure Mrs. H does live there and that I probably was talking with her.

The most common reason for failing to interview a family, however, was not rejection nor resistance. In 25 instances, including the girl with no apparent family, the families simply could not be located. Sometimes the addresses and telephone numbers proved wrong and an effort had to be made to update them by contacting the court and following other leads. On occasion, the corrected addresses and numbers led to interviews. More usually, no new address could be obtained either through the court or through neighbors, and the attempt to interview was abandoned. This interviewer reported:

No one was home. I spoke to a neighbor and he said no one has lived there for a long time. I talked to the court counselor and he suggested that I let this one go. He said family has disbanded as a result of an abuse charge.

Another wrote:

Several families lived at this address, including the B's, but two to two-and-a-half years ago they all split and left no forwarding address. Current resident still gets mail for them but sends it all back to PO. Says lots of people have been looking for this family. I called the court counselor and he had no further information. This is a dead end.

As is evident, when families could not be located the logical place to turn for help was the juvenile court. In doing so,

informal comments made to the court workers by the girls about their families would be repeated. In at least ten of the cases where the families were unlocatable, comments were recorded indicating that the family had disbanded or in some other way broken apart, that the girls did not know where their parents and other family members were. The problem of unlocatable families was also corroborated by service personnel in another program for teenage prostitutes; these talked of "throw-away kids" and would indicate that efforts by the youths and by themselves to locate families often failed.

While our return rate in terms of the 75 cases was only 44 percent, a percentage more associated with mailed questionnaires than with face-to-face interviews, if the unlocatable families are subtracted, the return rate rises to a respectable 68.6 percent. This is comparable to that obtained in the study on resisting families which was used as a guideline (Stanton and Todd, 1981). In that study where a service was offered to 92 families, a 71 percent overall response rate was obtained. The problem, it would appear, with surveying this kind of family is not the likelihood of refusal but the likelihood that a large number will not be located. This in turn would appear to be a function of the dynamics of families of female teenage prostitutes.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN INTERVIEWED AND NON-INTERVIEWED FAMILIES

Since a high percentage of families did not participate, it is important to determine if the 33 cases interviewed are representative of the 75 cases that passed through the court program. In more general terms, in researching a difficult-to-reach population, can it be expected that those reached will be similar to those not reached?

To help answer this the court social worker, without knowledge of who was and was not interviewed, filled out a form on each of the families involved. The interviewed and non-interviewed families were compared with respect to place of residence, place of residence of the child, race, age of the child at the time of adjudication, family composition, number

of children in the home and involvement of the family in the court program.

In general the results suggest that the families may not be very different; however, on some variables doubt exists.

On a number of demographic measures there is little evidence of difference. Over 90 percent of each group lived in the same county as the court. Over 90 percent of each group lived in the major city of the county with the largest percentage of these being from inner-city, lower working-class areas. Approximately 38 percent of the girls in each group were black, one hispanic appeared in each group, and the remaining were white. The average age of the girl at the time of adjudication was just under 16 years in both groups. Finally, the mean number of siblings in both groups, not including the girl herself, was around 3.4, an indication that the families were quite large.

There was a tendency for the families who were interviewed to have been more motivated to participate in court services than those not interviewed. The court worker rated each family in terms of the extent to which the parents demonstrated a willingness to be involved in the court services provided the girl. While 40.4 percent of the non-interviewed compared to 54.1 percent of the interviewed cases were rated as "very involved" or "fairly involved," this difference did not reach statistical significance (Chi Square @ 3df = 3.08; $p = .1067$).

Two other areas where court data indicated no difference between the two sets of families were family structure and place of residence of the child. However, corroborative data collected from the parents surveyed suggests that court data are not reliable.

According to court records, 92.9 percent of the girls from families not interviewed and 84.8 percent of the girls from those interviewed were raised in single-parent families. This difference does not reach statistical significance. Yet, information obtained directly from interviewed parents uncovered that only 68.8 percent were being raised in single-parent families at the time of adjudication. Furthermore, the court counselor in-

TABLE 3
FAMILY STRUCTURE

	Interview Finding	Court Data	
		Interviewed	Not Interviewed
Single Parent	15	28 (84.8%)	39 (92.9%)
Cohabiting Couple	8	0	0
Married Couple	10	5 (15.2%)	5 (7.1%)
Total	33	33	42

licated that none of the girls was living in a family composed of a cohabiting couple. This research, however, uncovered that fully eight of the 33 cases interviewed involved biological parents in common-law type arrangements, many of whom had been together for a number of years. These discrepancies make it impossible to place much reliance on court statistics.

Similarly, according to court statistics, 87.9 percent of the interviewed and 88.1 percent of the not-interviewed cases were not presently living at home. However, in 42.4 percent of the families ($n = 33$ cases) the parents claimed their daughter was in fact living at home while another 9.1 percent claimed their daughter lived with them off and on. In addition, it was found that there is a lot more contact between the girls not living at

TABLE 4
PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF ADJUDICATED GIRL

	Interview Finding	Court Data	
		Interviewed	Not Interviewed
With Parents	14 (42.4%)	4 (12.1%)	5 (11.9%)
Off and On	3 (9.1%)		
Not With Parents	16 (48.5%)	29 (87.9%)	37 (88.1%)
Total	33	33	42

home and their parents than might be imagined: 49.3 percent of the parents of girls not living at home ($n = 18$) claimed to have seen them within the two weeks prior to the interview. Again, discrepancies between court statistics and the research findings make it impossible to compare the interviewed and non-interviewed cases on place of residence of the child.

In part the discrepancy between court records and the data collected is understandable. The court recognizes that children and parents do not always tell the truth. It is also true that time had passed and circumstances might have changed, especially with regard to whether the young woman was still living at home. Similarly, the court counselors when thinking of single parents may be making clinical assessments reflecting divorce and separation in a girl's background rather than a factual description of family structure. On the other hand the discrepancies suggest the inherent unreliability of data collected in a program where the young woman, not the family, is the client.

Finally data, mixed with impressions gained from trying to contact the families, suggest that those not interviewed may be more transient and unstable than those interviewed. The most obvious indication of this is the already noted 25 cases that could not be located even though the interviewers made every effort to do so. Additionally, the informal descriptions of a number of the unlocatable families suggested profound disruption. This perception may be contrasted with the hard data collected on the addresses of the families interviewed. Twenty-one of the 33 families interviewed (63.6 percent) had been at the same address for six years or more, and only three of them (9.1 percent) had been at the address one year or less.

In summary, it appears that the cases interviewed have a number of attributes in common with those not interviewed. Unfortunately, on the issues of family structure and place of residence of the child, discrepancies between the research finding and court supplied data prohibit comparison. On the other hand, it may be hypothesized that likely differences will be found in the residential and personal stability of the family; those participating in the study being more stable than those not entering. This could be an important difference in that the

families likely to be interviewed in this and similar research endeavors may under-represent the environmental and personal stresses evident in families of adjudicated young prostitutes.

THE EXPERIENCE OF INTERVIEWERS

The typical interview lasted about an hour and a quarter and explored both the interpersonal relations among family members, including relatives, and less personal relations such as those with schools, health and welfare institutions, economic institutions, friends, neighbors, and the like. Many hours of role playing enabled the interviewers to complete the interviews in a naturalistic but somewhat clinical way.

After the interviews were completed, each interviewer was asked to rate the parental figure along a number of dimensions. The purpose of the ratings was to assess the likely difficulties researchers and practitioners would have in working with parental figures. The concepts used in the ratings were discussed and clarified by the interviewers. Two dimensions will be discussed here. The first has to do with issues related to the interview itself, while the second has to do with perceptions about the parental figures as people. Each of the items was rated on a six-point scale using a semantic differential type instrument.

The interviews and the ratings were completed by second-year graduate clinical social work students. While the interviewers were experienced in clinical matters, it was nevertheless usual for them to express hesitation. One interviewer wrote: "I don't feel there was adequate communication for me to make several of these judgments." Thus, the ratings are to be understood as first clinical impressions.

The first series of ratings (Table 5) concerned the parents as interviewees. This consideration is important because it helps give some idea about the reliability of the responses obtained in the interviews. The first item asked the interviewers to indicate whether the person was easy to interview or challenged their interviewing skills—that is, whether they had to work hard to get the information, relax the parent and the like. Although parents were rated all along the six-point scale, the median

TABLE 5
INTERVIEWER RATINGS OF RESPONDENT AS
INTERVIEWEE (N = 42)

Rating Item ^a	Median	Mode	% in Mode
Difficult/Easy	5.42	6	47.6
Open/Defended	2.13	2	38.1
Insincere/Sincere	5.55	6	52.4

^aOn all items the adjective given first represents the low end of the scale.

rating on this item was 5.42, indicating that as a group the people were not difficult to talk to.

The second item asked the interviewers to rate the parent as "open or defended" in the interview situation. This item was intended to measure the degree to which the respondent appeared to trust or distrust the interviewer. On this item the range of ratings did not cover the entire scale; no one rated the person as completely defended. The median rating was 2.13, indicating that while there was a certain amount of distrust, the bulk of the parents were relatively open.

The third rating was "insincere/sincere" and was intended to measure the degree to which the interviewers believed the persons had told them the truth. Here the interviewers believed overwhelmingly that the respondents were sincere and truthful. The median rating is a very high 5.55 (out of a possible six) and while the range of ratings covered most of the scale only four of the respondents were rated on the insincere side of the continuum.

The second dimension, involving five items, asked the interviewers to make clinical judgments about the people they were interviewing.

On the first of these, the interviewers assessed the intelligence or intellectual capacity of the parent. The interviewers tended to see the parents as relatively intelligent; the median rating was 2.24, with the majority of respondents receiving a

rating of two or three and very few being rated on the low-intelligence end of the continuum.

On the second, the interviewers rated the emotional strength of the respondent giving their impression of how the respondents had handled their lives and of their capacity for survival and adaptation. Most of the respondents were seen as exceedingly strong; 16 were rated a one and 12 a two, with the median 1.92. Eight of the respondents were rated on the not-strong end of the continuum.

On the third item, the interviewers rated the mental and emotional health of the person—in particular, whether the person appeared disturbed or not. The median rating is 4.86, indicating most were assessed to be healthy, eight were rated on the disturbed side of the continuum and nine others were rated as barely non-disturbed.

The fourth item asked the interviewers to rate the respondents as parents—whether they appeared to be warm parents or hostile parents. This is a particularly important rating in that much of the literature suggests that poor parent/child relations are pivotal in the drift into prostitution. The median rating was 2.27, indicating that most of the parents showed themselves to have warm feelings toward the adjudicated daughter. However, there was some important variation in these ratings, with 12 of the respondents expressing at least a fair amount of hostility.

The final item had to do with whether the interviewers believed the respondents were ready for social service. The purpose of this measure was to determine if the respondent would be a good person to reach out to for service. While we have indicated that the interviewers saw the respondents as easy to interview, open and sincere, as relatively intelligent, strong, and not particularly disturbed, as generally warm and concerned about their daughters, nevertheless, there does not appear to be a correlation between these attributes and service readiness. Fully 12 of the parents were rated at the extreme negative end of the continuum. There was considerably more variation in the ratings however; 16 were rated ready for service and seven were rated just on the negative side of the continuum.

TABLE 6
INTERVIEWER RATINGS OF RESPONDENT
AS PERSON/PARENT (n = 42)

Rating Item ^a	Median	Mode	% in Mode
Intelligent/Not	2.24	2	40.5
Strong/Not	1.92	1	38.1
Disturbed/Not	4.86	6	33.3
Warm/Hostile Parent	2.27	2	31.0
Ready for Service/Not	4.00	6	28.6

^aOn all items the adjective given first represents the low end of the six-point scale.

DISCUSSION

Those interested in collecting data on parents of teenage prostitutes face a difficult task. One alternative is to use anthropological methods, gaining access to the parents through agreement with individual youths on the street. Although this method has the benefit of working with a non-labeled population, it would be extremely time-consuming and not likely to produce significant numbers of respondents.

A second alternative is to use survey methods, gaining access to parents through an existing program. That was the alternative chosen here. The experiences we had show that this use of survey methods is possible if certain precautions are taken. A 68 percent return rate was obtained by following guidelines suggested by clinicians involved in service outreach. However, only relative assurance can be given that those interviewed will be representative of the population.

A third alternative might be contemplated—collecting data at the time of arrest and adjudication. In retrospect, it would appear that this might be the most favorable alternative. Research on a population which has already completed a service does not allow the use of the client as a resource toward studying family life. Under such conditions, research will be ham-

pered not only by refusals and resistance but by the inability to locate the prospective respondents. One way around this would be to combine research and service by collecting systematic data as children and parents pass through a program. Service providers might think of using well thought-out, theoretically informed research instruments in assessing family history, present situation and needs. Social workers are ideally positioned for this kind of research and it would be in keeping with the role of an empirical practitioner (Reid and Smith, 1983).

One problem of accumulating data on families in programs where a child is the focus of intervention is that data obtained from children is likely to be unreliable. Moreover, with the focus on the child, social workers are likely to miss important aspects of family structure and circumstances. Discrepancies between data supplied by court social workers and data uncovered by research interviewers on family structure and place of residence are cases in point.

First impressions suggest that parents of adjudicated teenage prostitutes are likely to present themselves in a positive light; they will appear to be relatively open and truthful and to demonstrate concern for their daughters. Similarly, on the surface they will not appear to present any obvious psychopathology. On the other hand, these attributes should not make service providers believe that giving service will be easy. A large number of the parents were seen as not ready for service, and as some of the experiences described here indicate, the family problems are likely to be severe.

Finally, if we shift from thinking about doing research to thinking about delivering service, this study suggests that a family focused service is possible. Obviously there will be resistance and refusal to participate, and obviously the client population will not be easy to work with. Nevertheless, a significant percentage of the parents are likely to be genuinely concerned about their daughters and to be available—especially if service is provided at the time of adjudication. It will require effort and the redesigning of programs, but it is of enormous benefit for the young women and their families.

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SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES ABOUT SOCIAL WORK ADMINISTRATION

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In this article, the issue of sex-role stereotype about administration was examined through a survey of social workers in one state. The analysis of data revealed that, in their descriptions of the good social work administrator, females held a greater preference for the male stereotype than did males. This female preference substantially explained the overall preference for the male stereotype over the female stereotype for the entire sample. The need for further examination of this female preference for the male stereotype about administration is discussed.

For more than a decade, a growing body of literature has called our attention to the role of sex-role stereotypes in the perpetuation of sexual discrimination in the workplace. By picturing the ideal manager as one who has a set of traits that are fundamentally perceived as masculine in nature, the sex-role stereotype inhibits the advancement of women in the organization and promotes sexual segregation in the workplace. Not only is female advancement curtailed in the presence of sex-role stereotypes, but women in positions of authority are expected to behave differently than men in the same positions. If they exhibit "female" behavior, they are viewed as inadequate for the management job. If they exhibit "male" behavior, they are resisted for acting inappropriately.

While attempts have been made within the social work field to assess sex-role stereotypes about ideal qualities of people in general, there is little data which offers evidence of the

extent to which social workers possess sex-role stereotypes about administration. The purpose of this article is to report the findings of a survey of social workers in one state which addresses this issue. The research question was whether social workers would be more likely to select characteristics normally perceived as masculine as the description of a good social work administrator than characteristics normally perceived as feminine. Additional questions focused upon the identification of the variables which predicted a tendency toward a sex-role stereotype about social work administration.

SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES

A sex-role stereotype is a standardized mental picture of gender differences in socially designated behaviors which represents an oversimplified opinion or uncritical judgment. While certain role perceptions such as parent, teacher, and supervisor can be socially functional, a problem emerges when one overgeneralizes about the qualities required for certain roles. Such is the case with gender and administration. For various reasons, the qualities perceived by some to be associated with competent administration are dominated by characteristics popularly perceived as being more like men than women. These stereotypes, however, are without foundation in empirical research. Many stereotypes are more mythical than real and some of the differences in actual gender behavior are promoted by cultural norms and organizational practices designed to keep women in a place of relative powerlessness. Furthermore, there is little evidence that the popular stereotypes of masculine qualities offer a better guide for predicting administrative effectiveness than the popular stereotypes of feminine qualities.

Unfortunately, many women possess this popular misconception as well. In a review of the literature on women in management in various fields of work, Terborg (1977) concluded that women describe themselves and are described by others as having self-concepts that are not suitable for management. Discussions of the effects of such stereotyping upon the social work field are contained in works of several writers (See,

for example, Kravetz, 1976; Rubenstein, 1981; Faver, Fox, and Shannon, 1983). It is their contention that social work is not immune to the discriminatory effects of this condition even though it is dominated numerically by women.

It is recognized that there are differences between men and women. The cause of these differences, however, is not readily apparent (See, for example, Constantinople, 1979; Lewis & Weinraub, 1979). A key question in the literature on sex differences is whether differences are genetically or culturally determined. But neither the fact of difference nor its cause is the central question in the dialogue about sex-role stereotypes. The key questions are twofold: (1) Are perceived differences real?; and, (2) Are gender differences relevant to administration?

The issue of sex-role stereotype has inspired a number of studies on the social desirability of perceived differences between the sexes. One of the earliest such studies revealed a higher valuation of stereotypically masculine than feminine characteristics among college students (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, and Broverman, 1968). A review of various such studies by Broverman and others a few years later led to the following conclusion:

Women are perceived as relatively less competent, less independent, less objective, and less logical than men; men are perceived as lacking interpersonal sensitivity, warmth, and expressiveness in comparison to women. Moreover, stereotypically masculine traits are more often perceived to be desirable than are stereotypically feminine characteristics (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz 1972, p. 75).

The results of such works as those above, however, have been challenged by more recent studies. Silvern and Ryan (1983) found that five out of six categories of students characterized the ideal person as more feminine than masculine, the only exception being males who were categorized as traditional. In a study of school counselors, Petro and Putnam (1979) found that three-fourths of the items found to be stereotypic in the 1968 Rosenkrantz study were not seen as differentiating males from females in their more recent study.

The study by Petro and Putnam, however, was rather different from the earlier one in that the subjects of the later study were practicing professionals rather than students and were in only one field of endeavor. Thus, while the latter study may not be a full refutation of the Rosenkrantz findings, it may be quite instructive to our analysis of sex-role stereotypes among social workers who would be expected to have more in common with practicing school counselors than with college students from various fields.

SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES ABOUT ADMINISTRATION

Two studies were undertaken by Schein which pursued the issue of sex-role stereotypes about management. In the first study, Schein (1973) asked 300 male middle managers in nine insurance companies to identify the characteristics of men in general, women in general, and successful middle managers. They did so by responding to the same set of descriptive terms but they were divided into three groups with one group only being asked to describe men; another, women; and the third, successful middle managers. The results revealed that successful middle managers were viewed as being significantly more like men in general than like women in general. This study was replicated by Schein (1975) with a sample of 167 female managers in 12 insurance departments. The results were similar to the first study. A replication of these two studies was undertaken by Massengill and DiMarco (1979) with results that were quite similar to those of Schein's studies. The latter study employed a sample drawn from the mailing list of a continuing education program from a School of Business Administration.

A study by Rosen and Jerdee (1978) employed a national sample of 884 male managers from a variety of organizational types including government agencies, insurance companies, professional firms, heavy manufacturing, retail stores, hospitals and others. In this study, females were perceived to rate lower than males on skill, work motivation, temperament, and work habits.

Brenner and Bromer (1981) took a slightly different ap-

proach to the examination of sex stereotypes. In their study, sixty-six pairs of male and female middle managers from several business firms were asked to rate a number of leadership behaviors according to the extent to which each described their own behavior. The behaviors had been matched with the descriptors from the studies by Schein so that one-half were associated with the female stereotype and one-half, with the male stereotype. The results were that both male and female managers tended to select the male stereotyped behaviors as descriptions of their own managerial behavior.

Thus, behaviors and traits commonly thought to be more descriptive of men than women are viewed by many as more important for managerial effectiveness than are the characteristics commonly associated more with women than men. Two questions emerge from this conclusion. First, are these stereotypes accurate in describing the differences between men and women? If they are not, then women are being fundamentally misunderstood. The second question is whether any differences between men and women that are supported by research are instrumental in determining managerial effectiveness.

Numerous studies have pursued the first question. Typical among them is the study by Powell, Butterfield, and Mainiero (1981) which found that gender was not a predictor of leadership style as measured by the Least Preferred Co-worker Scale, a measure of the extent to which one is task-oriented or relationship-oriented. Day and Stogdill (1972) also found a lack of gender difference regarding leadership style. In their study, an instrument was employed which measures one's emphasis upon two dimensions: (1) consideration, and (2) initiating structure. A study by Yago and Vroom (1982) found that both female students and female managers were more participative in leadership style than were male students and male managers. According to participative leadership theory, the results of this study would favor females.

Another study of gender differences revealed that there were very few differences in perceptions of job dimensions and work outcomes between men and women (Rosenbach, Dailey,

and Morgan, 1979). Further data drawn from two mental health organizations revealed no consistent effect of leader sex on either leader behavior or subordinate satisfaction (Osborn & Vicars, 1976).

Overviews of research on this issue have been offered by Bartol (1978) and by Reif, Newstrom and Monczka (1975). In both cases, conclusions were reached that sexual segregation in the workplace was not supported by the results of research on gender differences. The differences that were found to exist were clearly not differences that would favor the male stereotype.

The research overview by Bartol examined leadership style, subordinate satisfaction, and job performance. The general conclusion was that there was little evidence of gender differences in leadership style, job satisfaction among subordinates, and performance as a leader. Thus, one must look elsewhere for explanations of the sex structuring of organizations.

One such place is the potential for gender difference in reactions to bureaucracy. The features of the classical bureaucratic model is a firm organizational reality, both within and outside the human service sector. Various writers have suggested that the woman's reaction to bureaucracy is different from the man's reaction. Kanter (1977), for example, has pointed out the detrimental effect of the emphasis in bureaucracies upon formality and rationality which have been viewed as the special province of the man. Gilligan (1982) has pointed out that the early socialization of women encourage them to place emphasis upon care and responsibility in contrast to the socialization of men which emphasizes rights and rules. The emphasis upon formal rules in the bureaucracy, therefore, places the man at an advantage. An analysis of the literature on women and bureaucracy has been offered by York and Henley (1986) who undertook an empirical study on this issue. Their survey of social workers in one state revealed no difference between males and females on the degree to which each accepted the level of bureaucracy in their organizations as being appropriate.

While there is a dearth of empirical support for contentions that male stereotyped behaviors are more effective than female

stereotyped behaviors in the managerial role, there is evidence of the detrimental effect of these stereotypes in the workplace. Petty and Miles (1976), for example, found that satisfaction with human service supervisors was more positively related to male task behavior and female relationship behavior. In other words, line staff in these organizations expected female and male supervisors to behave differently. In the previously mentioned work by Yago and Vroom (1982), it was found that autocratic females were evaluated negatively whereas autocratic males were given a modest positive rating (Participative females and males were both rated positively). Thus, it has become increasingly clear that one of the effects of sex-role stereotypes is that females are not allowed to engage in certain kinds of behavior without suffering a negative fate in the ratings of others, a fate which is not shared by males.

Much attention has been directed to the notion of the attribution of success. The question here is whether the perceived cause of the success of men and women is different. In a laboratory experiment, Deaux and Emswiller (1974) found that the success of males on a "masculine" task were attributed to skill by the participants but the success of females on the same task was attributed to luck. On a "feminine" task, however, there was no difference in the attribution of success for males and females. A summary of research on this subject has been offered by Powell and Butterfield (1982). While it has been found that the woman's success is more often attributed to luck than is the case with men, it has also been found that this difference is diminished in the face of objective evidence.

One of the practical effects of the above is that women are more often promoted on the basis of hard evidence rather than potential whereas men are often promoted on the basis of "potential." Such was the finding in a survey of 360 participants in a public welfare management training program. In that survey, Ezell and Odewahn (1980) found that female respondents were more likely than male respondents to believe that men were more actively recruited for management positions and that men were more likely to be selected on the basis of potential whereas selection for women was more likely to be solely on the basis of actual job performance.

SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPES AMONG SOCIAL WORKERS

The perceptions of social work students regarding what characterized a healthy person were analyzed by Harris and Lucas (1976) to determine if the male stereotype differed from the female stereotype. The results indicated that these social work students did not differ in their perceptions of what characterized a healthy male, a healthy female, and a healthy adult. Festinger and Bounds (1977), however, had different results in another study of social work students. Both female and male students in the latter study indicated that masculine traits were more socially desirable than feminine traits.

A study by York, Henley, and Gamble (1985) was undertaken of social work students in which the subject was sex-role stereotypes about management. Students were asked to select the characteristics that best described the good social work administrator. The list from which they selected characteristics was drawn from the list developed by Schein (1973). One half of the items were those which Schein had found to be more associated with a female stereotype and one-half were in the male stereotype. These students tended to select a rather even number of male stereotyped items (4.28) as female stereotyped items (3.72) but their preference for the male stereotype was statistically significant. Given the obvious closeness of these two means, it was concluded that the differences had statistical significance but had a questionable level of practical significance.

The finding that social work students did not embrace a sex-role stereotype about administration to a substantial degree is consistent with several observations. First, social work values mitigate against the stereotyping of individuals and promote social justice. Second, it has been found by several researchers that the female orientation may be more effective than the male orientation when it comes to the human service environment (See Munson, 1979; Scotch, 1969; Yago and Vroom, 1982). Perhaps a relationship-oriented and participative type of manager would be more effective in the

human service organization. Even if there are no gender differences with regard to these qualities, the perception of such may not result in a lower evaluation of female characteristics in the determination of the good administrator in social work.

Another finding is also relevant to this discussion. It has been found, for example, that education tends to influence the presence of sex-role stereotypes in that persons with more education tend to be less prone to embrace sex-role stereotypes (See Hall and Frederickson, 1979). Social workers are above average in education and, thus, would be expected to be less prone to the sex-role stereotype. Further evidence of the influence of education is offered by Brenner (1982) who found that education tends to reduce gender differences regarding such traits as dominance and nurturance.

To summarize, sex-role stereotypes about the qualities of the good administrator have been found in studies outside the human services. These stereotypes exist in the clear absence of evidence that "male" traits are superior to "female" traits in the determination of managerial effectiveness. They also exist despite the lack of evidence that females and males actually differ in significant ways on the traits which serve as the basis for the stereotypes. Because social workers are well educated, are socialized into a value system that mitigates against stereotyping, and operate in an environment that may have greater need for behaviors stereotypically viewed as female, it would be expected that social workers would not embrace a stereotype about social work administration, and, thus, would be different on this issue from persons in industry.

STUDY DESIGN

To examine whether social workers embrace a sex-role stereotype about social work administration, a study was undertaken with a random sample of members of the North Carolina Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers in the spring of 1986. A sample of 146 of the 1400 members of the North Carolina Chapter was drawn through a systematic random sampling procedure. Excluded from the list of potential

respondents were members who were retired, were full-time students, or were faculty members. As nearly as was feasible, therefore, the sample contained persons employed in typical agency settings.

These individuals were mailed a survey which asked them to select eight characteristics that best described a "good social work administrator." They selected these eight characteristics from a list of sixteen items which had been drawn from a more extensive list from the studies conducted by Schein (1973; 1975). This list of 16 items contained 8 characteristics which Schein's respondents had found to be descriptions of how managers were more typical of men than women and 8 items wherein managers' traits had been perceived as more typical of women than of men. The 8 "female" items were all 8 of the characteristics in which the respondents in the Schein studies had viewed the manager as more similar to women than to men while the 8 "male" items were selected from a list of 15 items in which managers were found to be perceived as more similar to men than to women. The selection of the 8 items from the list of 15 was designed to avoid duplication and obvious negative or positive bias. To avoid duplication, for example, the item "logical" was left off because the item "analytic" was included. To avoid bias, the items "leadership ability" and "emotionally stable" were excluded. Other items excluded from the list of 15 were (1) no desire for friendship, (2) forceful, (3) desires responsibility, and (4) steady.

Thus, the respondents in this survey were given an opportunity to identify as many as eight "male" descriptors of the good social work administrator or as few as none. By the same token, they could identify their good social work administrators as possessing as many as eight "female" characteristics or as few as none. Respondents in the survey were also asked questions about their gender, age, years of experience, and position level.

The dependent variable was sex-role stereotype which was measured by the number of "male" characteristics chosen to describe the good social work administrator. Independent variables included gender, age, years of experience, and position level.

FINDINGS

Of the 146 persons included in the sample for the survey, a total of 102 persons returned the questionnaires, a response rate of 70 percent. Of those who responded, 72 percent were female and 92 percent were white. A majority (51 percent) indicated that they were in direct service positions while 17 percent listed supervision as their work positions, and 22 percent, administration. Ninety-five percent of the respondents indicated that they held the MSW degree while the other five percent had received the BSW degree. The mean age of the respondents was 41.5 while their mean years of experience was 14.5.

The responses of these individuals for the descriptors of the good social work administrator are summarized in Table 1. The item which was chosen by the highest percentage of re-

TABLE 1
CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD SOCIAL WORK
ADMINISTRATORS (N = 102)

Percent Who Selected Item	Rank	Item	Stereotype
97	1	Well informed	Male
91	2	Aware of feelings of others	Female
89	3	Humanitarian values	Female
85	4	Creative	Female
79	5	Objective	Male
76	6	Consistent	Male
69	7	Self confident	Male
60	8	Analytic	Male
52	9	Intuitive	Female
35	10	Helpful	Female
17	11	Aggressive	Male
15	12	Cheerful	Female
10	13/14	Competitive	Male
10	13/14	Ambitious	Male
3	15	Sophisticated	Female
2	16	Modest	Female

spondents was "well informed" which was a "male" item but the next three items in this ranking were the "female" items of "aware of feelings of others," "humanitarian values," and "creative." The top ten items were evenly divided between gender categories.

The mean number of "male" items chosen by the respondents was 4.25 which was rather close to the value of 4.0 that one would expect to find in the absence of a sex bias in favor of either feminine or masculine stereotypes. However, with an N of 102 and a standard deviation of 0.9, the resultant t value of 2.81 between the means of 4.25 and 4.0 was significant at the .01 level. Thus, it was concluded that these respondents had a significant preference for items in the masculine stereotype in their descriptions of the good social work administrator.

The significance of this mean score is somewhat surprising in view of the surface impression that one might have from a comparison of a value of 4.0 with a value of 4.25. One of the reasons for the degree of significance of this mean lies in the large size of the sample from which it was calculated. Another way to examine these data is to look at the frequencies related to sex-role stereotype scores. Nearly one-half (46 percent) of these respondents had a score of 4 which places them in the position of having no preference for either "male" or "female" items. But the number of persons expressing a preference for the masculine stereotype (36 percent) was double the number expressing a preference for the feminine stereotype (18 percent).

These results were quite similar to the results of a survey of students in one school of social work which utilized the same instrument (See York, Henley, and Gamble, 1985). The rank order of the first three items by the students was identical to the ranks revealed by this study of practicing social workers and there were only a few differences in ranks for other items. The top ten items were the same for both groups although there were some differences in the actual ranks assigned to items. Of the top ten items, the greatest difference between the two groups was that the students ranked "self-confidence" as

fourth with a percentage of selection of 79 whereas the practicing social workers in this survey ranked it seventh with a selection percentage of 69. The greatest difference regarding percentage was with the item, "ambitious." Thirty-five percent of the students selected this item among their eight descriptors of a good social work administrator whereas only ten percent of the practicing social workers selected this item.

Sex-role stereotype scores for respondents in this survey were analyzed to determine whether they were influenced by age, experience, gender, and position level. Neither age ($r = 0.08$) nor years of experience ($r = 0.03$) were found to be remotely close to statistical significance with the employment of Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient. The comparison of scores by position level is presented in Table 2. For the sake of statistical analysis with chi square, the positions of supervisor and administrator were collapsed into one category. Ten persons who listed "other" as their position level were excluded from this analysis. With two degrees of freedom, the chi square of 1.49 was not significant at the .10 level.

The sex-role stereotype scores (i.e., the number of "male" items chosen) for males and females were compared. The mean for females was 4.34 (standard deviation = 0.92) which was higher than the mean for males of 4.03 (standard deviation = 0.82). This difference, however, was not statistically significant

TABLE 2
THE ASSOCIATION OF POSITION LEVEL AND
SEX-ROLE STEREOTYPE

Position Level	Traits of the Good Administrator			
	Majority Female	Equal Male/Female	Majority Male	Total
Direct Service	11	25	16	52
Supervision and Administration	6	17	17	40
Total	17	42	33	92

at the normally accepted level of 0.05 ($t = 1.65$; $p = 0.10$). Furthermore, gender was found to explain less than three percent of the variance in sex-role stereotype scores ($r = 0.16$; $r^2 = 0.026$).

A chi square analysis was undertaken for the association of gender and each of the sixteen items on the sex-role stereotype scale. None of the chi square values were significant at the 0.05 level. Two of the items revealed a gender difference at or close to the 0.10 level, however. These were "helpful" and "analytic" with the gender differences being the opposite of what one might expect in that a higher proportion of males than females selected the "female" item of "helpful" and a lower proportion of males than females selected the "male" item of "analytic." In the case of "helpful," only thirty-one percent of the females selected this item as compared to nearly one-half (48%) of the males. On the other hand, nearly two-thirds (64 percent) of the females selected "analytic" whereas only about one-half (48 percent) of the males did so.

DISCUSSION

In this article, the issue of sex-role stereotypes about social work administration has been examined. The research question was whether social workers viewed the good social work administrator as more like the popular stereotype of the male than of the female. A survey was undertaken of social workers in one state. From the results of this study, the answer to the research question was a qualified "yes." It was found that the mean number of "male" items selected to describe a good social work administrator was significantly different from that which would be found in the total absence of a preference based upon gender stereotype. The proportion of respondents who expressed a preference for the masculine stereotype was double the proportion of respondents with a preference for the female stereotype although a near majority indicated no preference for either of the gender stereotypes.

Furthermore, this preference expressed by the total group was greatly influenced by the fact that females, who constituted 72 percent of the total sample, had a greater preference

for the masculine stereotype than did males. In fact, the mean score on the dependent variable for males was almost identical to that score which would have indicated a complete absence of influence of sex-role stereotypes about administration. Neither age, nor experience, nor position level, however, were found to be correlated with a preference for the masculine stereotype.

The qualification of the affirmative answer to the research question is based upon the limitations of the extent of the preference for the male stereotype. While the male preference did exceed the no-preference score by a statistically significant level, it was not a difference that can be viewed as profound. A near majority, after all, expressed no influence of gender stereotype. Perhaps this is one of those situations in which there is statistical significance but little practical significance.

It is perhaps noteworthy that preference for the masculine stereotype was held by a higher proportion of females than of males even though this difference was not significant at the generally accepted level of 0.05. A relatively small sub-sample of males had some influence upon the failure to achieve statistical significance. In fact, it is clear from the mean scores on sex-role stereotype that female preference for the masculine stereotype was the prime determinant of the statistically significant results for the overall group of respondents. A limitation to the interpretation of these results is that we do not know whether these respondents viewed the listed characteristics as being either "male" or "female" descriptors. The determination of the gender categories of each item had been derived from studies of other samples.

One recommendation that emanates from these results calls for the further exploration of the extent of the preference for the masculine stereotype for females. To the extent that females view the good administrator as possessing more "male" traits than "female" traits, a barrier to gender parity can be envisioned because women are not likely to harbor an ambition for advancement if they do not view themselves as possessing traits that are most suitable for the job. Consciousness-raising experiences for females can be useful. In this regard, social work education can surely play a vital role.

In this study, perceptions of the traits of the good administrator have been examined in relation to sex-role stereotypes. Two caveats are in order. First, the study of leadership traits has produced rather disappointing results. Research on the characteristics of leaders suggest that the traits and abilities required of a leader tend to vary from one situation to another (See, for example, Stogdill, 1974). The second caveat to be explored is that the studies of sex-role stereotypes examine perceptions of gender differences, not gender differences in actuality. For this reason, the terms "male" and "female," when referring to stereotypes, were placed in quote marks to remind the reader that these were only perceptions.

Finally, it is acknowledged that the phenomenon of sex-role stereotype about administration is only one small factor in the quest for gender parity. The extent of its existence will hinder the advancement of women within the human service organization. But there are other barriers as well. The eradication of sex-role stereotypes about what it takes to be a good administrator will take care of only one of those problems.

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BURN-OUT AMONG SOCIAL WORK PROFESSIONALS: A BEHAVIORAL APPROACH TO CAUSAL AND INTERVENTIVE KNOWLEDGE

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Although the phenomenon of staff burn-out represents a significant problem for the effective administration and functioning of social service settings, there has been a general paucity of empirically based research on this issue. The staggering financial, personal and social costs associated with staff burn-out emphasize the fact that we can no longer accept the sole use of descriptive and correlational studies of the problem. This paper suggests refocusing our theoretical perspective of the problem of staff burn-out from an emphasis on the dispositional qualities of burned-out staff members, to examining the social and situational contingencies of reinforcement responsible for the acquisition and maintenance of burn-out. In addition, this paper discusses the application of experimental methodologies designed to identify causative factors and evaluate interventive procedures. It is believed that this approach will facilitate our understanding of the causes of burn-out and assist in developing effective interventive procedures.

Although the phenomenon of professional staff burn-out has been recognized for several decades (Schwartz and Will, 1953), only recently has there been a significant amount of attention devoted to the issue (Cherniss, 1978a; Fruedenberger, 1974; Maslach and Pines, 1978; Siederman, 1978). Maslach has provided the following description of the problem:

Burn-out involves the loss of concern for the people with whom one is working. In addition to physical exhaustion (and sometimes even illness) burn-out is characterized by an emotional exhaustion in which the professional no longer has any positive feelings, sympathy, or respect for clients or patients. A very cynical and dehumanized perception of these people often develops, in which they are labeled in derogatory ways and treated accordingly. As a result of this dehumanizing process, these people are viewed as somehow deserving of their problems and are blamed for their own victimization. Consequently there appears to be a deterioration in the quality of care or service that they receive. The professional who burns out is unable to successfully deal with the over-whelmingly emotional stresses of the job, and this failure to cope can be manifested in a number of ways. For example, burn-out appears to be a factor in low worker morale, impaired performance, absenteeism, and high job turnover. A common response to burn-out is to quit and get out, either by changing jobs, moving into administrative work (and away from direct contact with patients or clients) or even leaving the profession entirely (Maslach, 1977, pp. 3-4).

While substantive data on the prevalence and incidence of burn-out are currently unavailable, one study of professional mental health care workers found that measures of job satisfaction among this population ranked at the 23rd percentile, compared to the measures of job satisfaction from comparably educated workers in other service settings (Cherniss, 1978a). While job satisfaction and burn-out are not synonymous, the correlation between these two factors is probably quite high, and the above study illustrates the pervasiveness of the problem.

The general paucity of empirically based research into the issue of staff burn-out has not prevented considerable attention from being devoted towards prescribing its cure (Meier, 1983; Paine, 1984; Rigger, Garner and Hafer, 1984). The recommendations to prevent or alleviate burn-out range from the highly speculative to the extremely plausible. For example, Fruedenberger, who introduced the term "burn-out" to the professional literature, advocates vigorous physical exercise as a pre-

ventive measure, but recommends that staff avoid the practices of yoga and meditation, as these "cause a mental dropping" (1974, p. 164). Regardless of the validity of Freudenberger's concern over cognitive excesses, he presented absolutely no data to support either his recommendations to prevent and treat the problem, or his proposed causative agents, such as the loss of an ideal. Freudenberger is not alone, however, in his neglect of "hard" data to substantiate his views. Almost every reference currently available in the literature seems to follow his example of describing the problem of burn-out, its attitudinal and behavioral consequences, suggested preventive measures and prescriptive practices designed to treat it once it manifests, but to fail to present any evidence beyond that of an anecdotal nature in support of the author's contentions (Golembiewski, Munzenrider and Carter, 1983; Jayaratne and Chess, 1984).

In part this state of affairs can be attributable to the "newness" of the field, yet a more important factor may be the theoretical approaches assumed by most contributors to the burn-out literature. For example, the hypothesized causes of burn-out have tended to focus on the dispositional features of either the service provider or the client population (Maslach, 1977). These dispositional features generally assume the form of personality attributes which those who are burned-out seem to possess, and which have "caused" them to become burned-out (Freudenberger, 1974). Frequently, the dispositional quality of the client population are also viewed as contributing to staff burn-out. Clients are seen to possess a set of characteristic traits, such as being depressed, resistant, ungrateful, etc., which are quite stressful to the staff member who is constantly exposed to them.

Not only are the causes of burn-out frequently assumed to be dispositional in nature, but the effects are similarly viewed (Brill, 1984). Some frequently cited internal states inferred to stem from burn-out include negative changes in attitudes, boredom, feeling incompetent, detachment, fatalism, decline in motivation, apathy, loss of creativity, and the like (Cherniss, 1978a).

Preventive approaches and attempts to alleviate burn-out have focused, for the most part, on altering the internal state of the staff member. For example, the interventive procedures implemented by Schwartz and Will (1953) in their early study consisted of allowing the staff member to "ventilate" her feelings, to develop an "attitude of inquiry" and a "new perspective," and of redefining her goals. At the individual level of intervention, Cherniss (1978a) advocates "changing staff role definitions" while Freudenberger (1974) recommends sympathy and support.

Returning to the previous statement that the theoretical approach of most writers to the problem of burn-out is in part responsible for the lack of empirically based data, it may be seen that this focus on dispositional features as both the independent and dependent variables in burn-out does not lend itself readily to objective measurement and experimental manipulation. This presents two problems for the social scientist attempting to investigate staff burn-out: 1) the impalpable nature of the factors under investigation tends to limit research in the area to field observations, questionnaire studies, and interviews, all correlational material yielding neither causative factors nor operationally defined interventive procedures; and 2) the use of inferred mental states to account for staff behavior results in a circular, explicatory fiction. For example, an observer may contend that Mr. Blaha (a social worker) is burned out. If asked how he knows Mr. Blaha is burned out, our observer may reply that he knows Mr. Blaha is burned out because he is apathetic, negative, cynical, etc. When asked why Mr. Blaha is apathetic, negative, cynical, and so forth, our observer will contend that Mr. Blaha is that way because he is burned out. Thus it can be seen that attributing either the direct causes or effects of burn-out as some function of mentalistic states contributes little to an understanding of the phenomenon.

As in any effort which offers criticism, some positive alternatives should be offered. The most promising alternative currently found is the Social Psychological Analysis offered by Maslach (1977). The central theme of this approach focuses on

the "importance of several situational variables and suggests that the common-sense person-centered interpretation may be erroneous" (Maslach, 1977, p. 1), and that "all too often people are blamed rather than their work environment (Maslach, 1977, p. 14). Maslach contends that:

Although personality variables are not irrelevant in our overall analysis of burn-out, I am forced by the weight of my research data to conclude that the problem is best understood (and modified) in terms of the social and situational sources of job related stresses. The prevalence of the phenomenon and the range of seemingly disparate professionals who are affected by it suggest that the search for causes is better directed away from the unending cycle of identifying the "bad people" and toward uncovering the operational and structural characteristics in the "bad" situations where many good people function. We have reached the point at which the number of rotten apples in the barrel warrants examination of the barrel itself (Maslach, 1977, p. 14).

This focus on operational terms and situations does indeed lend itself readily to true experimental investigative efforts capable of producing causal, interventive, and evaluative knowledge, important elements which previous research has been unable to demonstrate. Until operational definitions have been provided for entities such as cynicism, withdrawal, negativity, and similar dispositional concepts, and of measurement procedures which reliably and validly assess the extent and degree of change in these factors, experimental analysis of burn-out is precluded. The theoretical stance proposed by Maslach (1977) however, with its focus on situational and environmental causes of burn-out, is quite amenable to rigorous experimental research, providing the variables under investigation are clearly defined and measurable.

It is the authors' contention that the application of a social learning perspective to the phenomenon of burn-out and the use of interrupted time series designs to analyze the problem of staff burn-out will suggest possible future lines of research likely to prove productive in generating the causal and inter-

vention knowledge currently lacking in contemporary research on burn-out.

THE EXPERIMENTAL ANALYSIS OF BURN-OUT: A SOCIAL LEARNING PERSPECTIVE

A social learning approach (Bandura, 1977, 1969) of the examination of the phenomenon of staff burn-out would use basic operant theory (Skinner, 1953; Schoenfeld, 1970; Thyer, in press) as its primary tool of analysis. The traditional theoretical framework from which to investigate burn-out seems to be that the staff member gradually acquires a set of attitudes, beliefs, and expectancies regarding his/her situation, which is given the label of "burn-out," and that when a worker has "burn-out," these attitudes and beliefs become reflected in his/her on the job behaviors and performance.

A social learning perspective postulates no such underlying mentalistic entity called burn-out, but rather looks upon worker behavior as a direct function of the available environmental contingencies of reinforcement. Through learning experiences incorporating the process of modeling, extinction, punishment, and reinforcement, the staff member's behaviors are gradually shaped into the clinical composite of behaviors collectively known as burn-out.

The difference between these two viewpoints is not simply an academic one; rather each indicates a specific approach to prevent and alleviate staff burn-out. The former views "burn-out" behavior as a product of internal states. Accordingly, treatment is best directed towards modifying those attitudes responsible for burn-out. The latter, social learning view, would tend to focus on positively altering the environmental contingencies functionally related to the acquisition and maintenance of burn-out like behavior. Underlying attitudes, beliefs, and expectancies would not be ignored, but rather would be progressively improved as the staff member encounters positive learning experiences.

From this social learning perspective, those behaviors collectively subsumed under the label of "burn-out" have five possible causes: (1) most non-burn-out behaviors of the profes-

sional staff person have been gradually *extinguished* through a lack of reinforcement. An example would be the staff member who expends a great deal of extra time and effort on a particular project on the job, and who receives no recognition or praise for his/her achievement. The likelihood of such extra effort occurring in the future will be decreased; (2) the burn-out like behaviors of the staff person have been selectively reinforced by environmental contingencies. For example, by leaving the job early or taking an overlong lunch break, the staff person may escape an aversive situation (the work setting), which negatively *reinforces* away from the job behaviors; (3) non-burn-out behaviors have been punished. Take the staff member who heavily "invests" in his/her work and becomes deeply concerned over the well-being of one of his/her clients, only to be reprimanded by a supervisor for lacking professional detachment. This would serve to decrease such future personal commitment to clients; (4) if the majority of co-workers consistently *model* burn-out like behavior, the staff member may rapidly acquire similar behaviors through imitation; and (5) any combination of the above factors. Take, for example, the new staff person who initially comes to work consistently early. If this person receives no recognition or praise (extinction) but is assigned an extra heavy caseload (punishment) to "take advantage" of his/her extra time, and the work setting becomes aversive, then the staff member may tend to begin coming in late, in order to avoid the situation (negative reinforcement) for as long as possible.

The role of operant factors in managerial practice has been extensively discussed by Sanzotta (1977), and applied to improve worker performance and morale by Lind (1967), Brethower and Rummler (1966), and Feeney (1973). When operant principles are manipulated as independent variables in a research design, it is of course necessary that they be clearly recognizable and measurable. Significant success in the social work field has been demonstrated in measuring and manipulating behaviors which represent operant factors by Thomas, Carter and Gambrill (1971), Thomas, Carter, Gambrill and Butterfield (1970) and Thomas, Walter and O'Flaherty (1974). Such

a measurement technology could readily be adapted to study the interpersonal contingencies of reinforcement present in burn-out prone settings.

THE EXPERIMENTAL ANALYSIS OF BEHAVIOR: THE METHODOLOGY

A possible objection to applying experimental methodology to the analysis of burn-out is that the need for a comparable control group may render such an approach ethically unfeasible due to the withholding of treatment from a human service organization in need. This is a justifiable reservation if a social scientist intends to apply group experimental designs to analyze the problem (Campbell and Stanley, 1963). An experimental methodology well suited for clinical research in areas such as burn-out, which does not require the use of control groups would be the implementation of interrupted time series analyses. Most commonly used in clinical and experimental research with single subjects (Hersen and Barlow, 1976; Sidman, 1960; Kratochwill, 1978; Kazdin, 1978), interrupted time series designs are equally applicable to the analysis of managerial (Miller, 1978), business (Feeney, 1973; Brethower and Rummeler, 1966), governmental (Brown and Rummeler, 1978), community (Holahan, 1977; Fellin, Rothman and Meyer, 1967; Rothman and Thyer, 1984) and societal (Clark, Burgess and Hendee, 1972) behaviors.

The application of time series analysis to the investigation of individual and group behavior is based on the following principles: (1) objective identification of the techniques or procedures to be manipulated over the course of the experiment; this, of course, entails being able to clearly ascertain when these factors (independent variables) are present and absent; (2) objective identification of the behaviors under investigation considered to be indicative of burn-out (dependent variables); and (3) a method of observing in the natural environment the presence and extent of the target behaviors (dependent variables). These steps, in many respects, are congruent with certain factors previously identified as leading to, or indicative of, burn-out. Quantifiable independent variables implicated as

causative factors resulting in staff burn-out are excess case-loads, lack of variety in one's clients, lack of job security, and the impossibility of doing a good job (Cherniss, 1978b), continuous direct contact with clients, lack of positive feedback (Maslach, 1977), inadequate resources, excess paperwork, non-productive meetings, isolation from colleagues, lack of knowledge and skill necessary to perform effectively, and inadequate financial remuneration (Cherniss, 1978a), staff shortages, and changes in supervisory personnel (Schwartz and Will, 1953). The presence or absence of each of the above factors should be readily ascertainable, and as such are appropriate independent variables for incorporation into a time series study.

The results of burn-out, observable behavior considered to be the dependent variables derived from those conditions previously listed as independent variables, include absenteeism, job turnover, time spent on or off the job prior to or beyond regular working hours, fatigue, frequent colds, flus, and headaches, gastrointestinal disturbances, insomnia, excessive use of drugs, physical withdrawal from clients, and abuse of clients (Cherniss, 1978a). Again, such factors are readily quantifiable and thus useful for experimental investigation.

Following the selection of operationally defined dependent and independent variables, an appropriate methodology must be derived to assess their status and degree of change. This may entail nothing more than examining time cards and sick leave records, or may involve the repeated administration of some valid assessment instruments. See Ciminero, Calhoun and Adams (1977) for a detailed discussion of assessment methodologies useful in time series analysis.

An interrupted time series design basically consists of repeatedly sampling, through a valid assessment procedure, whatever dependent variables are under investigation. If changes in the levels of these dependent variables are observed to covary with changes in the presence or absence of the independent variable(s), then causal knowledge may be arrived at. If experimental manipulation of these independent variables is feasible, then the development of interventive technology is

possible. Finally, when repeated measurements are made of operationally specific dependent variables, then evaluation can occur even in the absence of clear cut causal inferences (such as when several independent variables are altered simultaneously). Thomas (1975) enumerates over twenty different interrupted time series designs, and the reader interested in a more complete exposition of the subject is referred to the comprehensive text by Hersen and Barlow (1976).

Two points deserve emphasis in this discussion on the application of experimental methodology to the investigation of staff burn-out. First, while most examples of time series research in the social work literature have been manifestly behavioral in orientation, this need not be the case. The dependent variable could just as readily be some pencil and paper measure of burn-out, such as the Maslach Burn-Out Inventory (Maslach and Jackson, 1981), objectively scored Rorschach Test results, or even some form of content analysis of staff dreams. The relevant factor is on the susceptibility of the dependent variable towards repeated, objective measurement, regardless of whether the factor is a behavioral, psychodynamic, cognitive or physiological function. Secondly, the social scientist need not have complete control over the independent variables in order to implement this design methodology. It would be perfectly feasible to monitor staff changes in degree of burn-out occurring over factors the experimenter him/herself is not manipulating. For example, a researcher could take advantage of a supervisor vacation period to conduct an A-B-A causal study. Likewise, a researcher forewarned of Proposition 13 type legislation about to be implemented could conduct an evaluative A-B study designed to assess the impact such legislation has on the degree of staff burn-out.

In summary, the experimental methodology presented in this section is seen as offering several distinct advantages towards the goals of attaining causal and interventive knowledge relating to the problem of staff burn-out. The focus on concretely measurable independent and dependent variables is in recognition of the premise that "the successful implementation of the planned change is also dependent on the ability of the change agents to effectively operationalize the technological

components identified in the plan" (Hasenfeld, 1979, p. 10). A few experimental efforts oriented along these designs are more likely to prove productive in demonstrating the causative factors of burn-out and the efficacy of interventive efforts than a multitude of correlational studies based solely upon assessment methods such as interviews, field observations, and self-report inventories and questionnaires. These latter methods are undoubtedly useful in the initial stages of research in a developing field, however, they are not capable of yielding causal information, information which is best obtained through experimental work. Using a particular staff member or human service organization as its own control, as in an interrupted time series study, renders such experimental methods feasible in a clinical or community setting.

SUMMARY

The phenomenon of staff burn-out represents a significant problem for the effective administration and functioning of social service settings. At present the financial, personal and social costs of social worker burn-out are uncalculable, but can be assumed to be of immense proportions. The time has come to augment the use of topographical description and correlational study of the problem of staff burn-out with the application of experimental methodologies designed to identify causative factors and evaluate interventive procedures. Such efforts can be facilitated by refocusing our theoretical perspective from an emphasis on the dispositional qualities of burned-out staff members, to examining the social contingencies of reinforcement and situational factors responsible for the acquisition and maintenance of burn-out. If this theoretical shift is made, in conjunction with the application of interrupted time series analysis as an experimental design methodology, the prospects for enhancing our understanding of the causes of burn-out and developing effective interventive procedures are encouraging.

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ADVOCACY AND THE ADVERSARY SYSTEM

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If advocacy is to be a significant aspect of social work it is necessary to distinguish it from other forms of action in which social workers engage, and it must be practiced methodically. This paper offers an approach to advocacy as a technique applied to conflicts resolved within the adversary system. The elements of the adversary system are identified and discussed; then the use of this model is illustrated with an example of its successful application.

Although individual and class representation of the poor and other disadvantaged groups is an important part of the history of social work,¹ contemporary interest in advocacy and currency of the term itself were generated by the activity of lawyers working for Mobilization for Youth and, later, in the War Against Poverty.² The aggressive, adversarial approach of poverty lawyers produced dramatic results in struggles for increased rights and benefits for clients. Social workers, who often participated in these disputes, recognized the utility of this approach not only in securing individual entitlements but as a tactic for interesting potential participants in the community organizations they were developing to combat poverty.³

In these conflicts, lawyers, whose professional training led them naturally to embrace an adversarial approach to client problems, simply changed their traditional clientele, not their professional activities. Social workers, whose professional ideology took its shape from the concepts of turn-of-the-century

Progressives that they were to promote the "public interest"⁴ and whose skills were largely restricted to psychoanalytically-oriented casework,⁵ had more difficulty. Not only did they have to learn new skills (persuasion) and master new information (laws, rules of procedure, rights, etc.) but—most difficult of all—they had to redefine their relationship to their clients.

In the controversy over restructuring client relationships,⁶ social workers often lost sight of the context in which advocacy had been successfully practiced. Advocacy became a banner for a rededication of social work to serving the disadvantaged rather than servicing social programs,⁷ but the significance of the specifically adversarial stance of poverty war advocates seemed lost on many social workers who took up the cry for advocacy. If anything, the social work discussion led away from advocacy toward the more conventional forms of social work practice.

The Family Service Association of America⁸ produced a manual on the practice of advocacy which illustrates the problem. Advocacy was described as

. . . professional service designed to improve life conditions for people by harnessing direct and expert knowledge of family needs with commitment to action and the application of skills to produce the necessary community change.⁹

This description seemed to equate advocacy with community organizing, and the examples used in the manual underline this equation. However, when an attempt was made so summarize the knowledge and skills necessary for family advocacy, the FSAA reported that "As in casework, there are six essential parts of the advocacy process: definition of the problem, case study, diagnosis, treatment plan, implementation of the plan and evaluation."¹⁰

One could quarrel with the use of terms like "diagnosis" and "treatment plan" to describe the advocacy process, but the major issue is deeper than semantics. The question of how to do advocacy as distinct from other types of social work, especially casework or community organizing, remained unchanged.

Nor was the FSAA alone. Panitch's¹¹ description of how to

practice advocacy consisted of fifteen unconnected paragraphs detailing "techniques of intervention," including studies and surveys, interagency committees, education, demonstration projects, petitions, *etc.* Some of these involved advocacy, but again there was no guidance on performing advocacy as a specific intervention technique.

Davidson and Rapp¹² offered a systematic discussion on how to do advocacy, describing a multiple-strategy approach that was an even more general problem-solving model than the casework paradigm offered by the FSAA. It included the following steps: 1) assessment of needs, resources, and control of desired and available resources, 2) strategy selection and 3) implementation. They also discussed the need for evaluation and feedback.

They addressed the need to be systematic in developing a rational approach to problem-solving, but there is no advantage in equating advocacy with the total problem-solving approach they described. One still does not know how to engage in advocacy as distinct from other forms of social action.

How does one do advocacy? One way to answer this question is to return the discussion to the circumstances in which advocacy generated interest among social workers, the practice of advocacy in adversarial settings. The argument of this paper is that social workers can become effective advocates by employing the elements of the adversary system in a methodical way to help clients achieve their goals.

A great deal has been written about adversary systems¹³, particularly about the courts, and certain aspects have been described and discussed in detail¹⁴, but heretofore no description of adversary systems has been generally available. What follows is an analysis of the elements of the adversary system and of the advocate's role within it. If social workers employ the elements of the adversary system, they can enhance their skills and transform their work into professional practice.

THE ELEMENTS OF THE ADVERSARY SYSTEM

In an adversary system, conflict is met and resolved in a (I) *forum*. In some cases, as in legal conflicts, the forums are well defined—courts or administrative hearings. Social work advo-

TABLE 1

ELEMENTS OF THE ADVERSARY SYSTEM

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- I. A Forum
 - II. A Decision-Making Mechanism
 - III. Specific Procedures
 - IV. Issues
 - V. Specific Determination
 - VI. Injury
 - VII. Remedy
 - VIII. Adversaries
 - IX. Equality
 - X. Helpers
 - A. Character Witnesses
 - B. Combatants
 - C. Pleaders-Advocates
- The Advocate's Role
- I. Find or Develop an Adversary System
 - A. Gather Information
 - i. Substantive
 - ii. Procedural
 - II. Persuade
-

cates sometimes have well defined forums available to them, e.g., in fair hearings, but sometimes forums must be searched out or created on an *ad hoc* basis.

Some examples of found or created forums are: stimulating a legally mandated but moribund Juvenile Justice Advisory Commission to hold hearings and make findings on a series of reports of brutality and abuse in Juvenile hall; forming a "Citizen's Tribunal" of socially and professionally prominent people to take testimony and make findings which publicized abuse by a welfare agency; using the annual conference of the American Institute of Planners to mobilize professional opinion against developers in an urban renewal fight¹⁵; using an accreditation team from the Council on Social Work Education as a forum to air complaints of racism at a school of social work;

submitting a landlord-tenant dispute to a rabbinical court convened under traditional Hebraic codes.

An important feature of the forum is its (II) *decision-making* mechanism. In the case of a court system this is a judge, a jury or both. In sporting events, the referee fills this role. Whatever its form and nature, some clear entity or instrument is required which can make final decisions.

Another essential feature of a forum is a set of (III) *specific procedures*. Conventions must be adopted to guide the conduct of the participants in the conflict. In courts, these are the rules of procedure and of evidence (as distinct from substantive laws). In sporting events, these are the rules of the game.

Very often social workers have found, when acting as advocates in disputes with welfare departments, public housing agencies and similar institutions, that the procedures by which conflicts are resolved are not spelled out or are unavailable for scrutiny and are often conflicting or outdated. It is a matter of critical importance that a set of procedures is promulgated and fully known to all participants. Advocates have frequently achieved victory simply by getting agencies to promulgate procedures. Once this is accomplished, the agency is committed to follow its rules and often yields without further struggle over the individual problem.

The (IV) *issue* is the substantive matter in dispute. Although there may be many compromises involved in the preliminary stages of a conflict, there must be some matter, at least one issue, which has to be adjudicated if the adversary system is to be invoked. If the dispute can be resolved by compromise or conciliation, it is not necessary to complete an adversary proceeding.

The importance of clearly defining the issue is illustrated by the problem of a social worker whose attempts to place two mentally retarded clients in a promising residential program had been frustrated by a county coroner who was the public guardian. The clients had been adjudicated incompetent and placed under his supervision, but they both appeared to be capable of functioning in a normal or near-normal way—one had even scored 100 on an IQ test. Despite the promising

nature of the placement for the clients, the coroner refused to house them there. The social worker felt that the coroner did not want to relinquish control over them and the funds they generated.

There are at least three ways of defining the issues in this case:

1. "The coroner is not the appropriate public guardian." If this is the issue, the remedy is to remove the coroner as the public guardian and the forum to decide the matter is either the county board of supervisors, which could directly remove this coroner, or the state legislature, which could pass a law establishing another public guardian for every county (a good alternative particularly if such problems occur in many counties throughout the state).
2. "The client was wrongly adjudged incompetent." In this case, the forum would be a court and the social worker would have to enlist the aid of a lawyer.
3. "The decision to refuse the placement is incorrect." If this is the issue, the decision maker is the coroner and an effort must be made to persuade him to change his mind through the presentation of arguments or, perhaps, through the employment of other strategies, such as political pressure. On this formulation, it would be extremely imprudent to attack or offend the coroner as one might necessarily do if the problem were formulated in one of the other two ways.

This example illustrates the close interdependence of the definition of the issues with the selection of a forum, the formulation of a remedy and other elements of the adversary system.

The issues must be defined as clearly and narrowly as possible to permit a (V) *specific determination*. This is a simple declaration of the yes-or-no type, a decision for or against one of the disputants—someone is judged right or wrong, guilty or innocent. The famous story of the two women who disputed the maternity of a child before Solomon is a perfect illustration of the "either/or" quality of specific determination.

The issues must entail a clear and measurable (VI) *injury*. It must be demonstrable that something substantial is at stake, that one party has suffered a measurable loss. For a social work advocate to show only that clients have rights that are ignored or abused is insufficient; it must also be shown that some harm or deprivation is suffered as a result.

The suitability of an issue to the adversary process is in some measure determined by whether a (VII) *remedy* can be provided. The adversary system is not simply a mechanism to determine which party is correct or what is true, but is a means of establishing formulae for action applicable to the disputing parties.

The matter of remedy is too often overlooked. For instance, a citizens' committee for juvenile justice acting as advocates for children detained in a juvenile facility made a convincing presentation to the county board of supervisors which demonstrated the institution's inadequacies very clearly. When one of the authors asked what should be done about it, the group's leader responded that they needed only to expose the immorality and the injustice of the situation that existed. The supervisors could figure out how to remedy the problem. But members of the Citizen's Committee were unable to make progress until they finally proposed a remedy, which was simply to close the facility and to provide group foster homes.

An analysis of the adversary system could not be complete without mention of the contestants or (VIII) *adversaries*. Although the inclusion of these participants seems obvious, it has been observed that sometimes attempts are made to initiate an adversary proceeding when there are no clear-cut adversaries. There are two contestants in the adversary system or, in case there are more than two, the opponents are arranged on two sides.

Care must be taken to distinguish between one's adversaries and the decision-maker. For example, in the course of appealing a welfare worker's decision to deny benefits, that worker's supervisor may be a decision-maker at an early stage and an adversary later. When supervisors are adversaries, it may be a legitimate tactic to attack their judgment, attitudes,

etc.; but when they are decision-makers, it is the advocate's job to persuade them, not to attack them.

(IX) *Equality* is necessary if the adversary system is to function properly. This is not meant to suggest that the contestants must be equal in all respects, but equality is required in all matters which might influence the decision. For example, if two teams are fielded in a sports contest, one team cannot have twice as many people as the other. Nor can one party have some power over the decision-maker that the other does not have (for example, the power to hire or fire). Such inequalities invalidate the decision-making process. It is this more than any other factor which leads to failure in the operationalization of an adversary system.

One of the functions of (X) *helpers* is to rectify certain inequalities. An inequality caused by the greater prestige of one party is often balanced by the introduction of character witnesses who can attest to the good character of the less well-established.

Another function of helpers is the provision of specialized technical services. Where conflicts were decided in trial-by-combat, champions—knights specially trained in the arts of combat—were introduced. In the Common Law tradition, lawyers were first introduced into legal proceedings because some contestants were unable to master the technical aspects of legal procedures. Although their functions were initially strictly limited to formulating technical pleadings, their roles expanded as the outcomes increasingly came to depend on procedural questions. As a result, lawyers moved from a rather secondary position to one where they dominate the proceedings.

The concept of the advocate as a helper is contained in the etymology of the word (from the Latin, *ad vocare*). The term was applied originally to "one who is called to help".

THE ADVOCATE'S JOB

It should be abundantly clear by now the advocate's job is to help his or her client win when there is a conflict. To this end, the advocate is primarily charged with two functions: first, to find or develop an adversary system which will be most

beneficial to the client; second, to present the client's case as persuasively as possible.

To fulfill these functions the advocate must assemble and organize information of two types. Some of the information is about substantive matters—this includes information about the situation surrounding the injury. The second type is information of a technical nature—the rules of procedure and the customs which determine how the decision will be made.

CREATING AN ADVERSARY SYSTEM TO FIGHT THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF PRISONS

The following example illustrates the way in which the elements of the adversary system can be used by social workers to analyze an advocacy problem and to shape a systematic campaign. The Citizens' Criminal Justice Committee, a coalition of professionals and laymen interested in criminal justice reform, was organized two years before the events described took place by a coalition of social agencies in which the Family Service Agency took a major role. During the year immediately preceding the events described, a graduate social work student was assigned to do field work with the group and helped increase participation tremendously. Later, during the formative stages of the advocacy campaign described here, a social worker was a member of the board of directors and, using the model described in this paper, helped shape the Committee's advocacy strategy.

A conflict began with a series of vague newspaper reports that the federal government planned to build a Metropolitan Diagnostic and Treatment Center in San Francisco. The Citizens' Committee invited a representative of the Federal Bureau of Prisons (FBP) to describe the plan. He explained that the detention center was to be an eleven to fourteen-story, multi-million dollar building in the heart of the city. It would serve many functions: house prisoners in pretrial detention; be a center for testing, evaluation and classification; and also house some sentenced prisoners engaged in special rehabilitation programs.

Opposition to the plan surfaced immediately. The FBP rep-

representative tried to meet the criticism; using the rhetoric of prison reform, he argued that they were promoting community-based corrections. The citizens argued that bringing a prison into the community defeated the goal, which was to eliminate confinement wherever possible.

The Search for a Forum

When asked whether there were to be public hearings or any other solicitation of public opinion, the speaker informed those assembled that the decisions had already been made and that there was no avenue for the general public to influence the plan. The general response was incredulity and anger. The Director of the Mayor's Criminal Justice Planning Council, who had experienced difficulty gaining community support and wanted to curry favor, offered on the spot to provide assistance.

The opposition explored several possibilities. A major public interest law firm was contacted, one which had waged a successful fight against the Mayor and the city's major business interests, stopping a huge downtown development project. The lawyers felt that the case was not ripe; they would have to wait until the Bureau of Prisons started to build and then initiate legal action to halt construction.

Many felt, however, that a valuable advantage would be lost by not starting early, before momentum created by the expenditure of large sums of money had solidified the commitment to build.

The U.S. Congress was considered. On the one hand, Congress did have the power to make a binding decision on the FBP; on the other hand, it was remote from the community, had already approved the masterplan and appropriated the funds for a whole system of such centers, and, in those law-and-order days, might not have been sympathetic to anti-prison efforts.

The Mayor, who saw the prison as a job-producing construction project, had from the outset indicated that he favored the prison and that the building was a *fait accompli*. To use his office as a forum would have been worse than futile. Despite

this, the Director of the Mayor's Criminal Justice Planning Council arranged a special meeting of the council which went on record in opposition to the plan. This was of limited value, however, because the council's role was only advisory to the Mayor.

Members of the Board of Supervisors were contacted, and they agreed to hold a meeting. Their meeting would provide the forum, and they would act as decision makers. Since the Board was an established forum, they had specific procedures which were generally understood and relatively simple—open hearings.

Equality

The choice of the Board of Supervisors was significant in regard to the issue of equality. They enjoyed no special relationship to the FBP and had no stake in the previous decision by the federal government to adopt the plan. Unlike the Congress, the Board was apt to take the perspective of local citizens as seriously as that of the federal bureaucrats.

Adversaries

On the one side was the Bureau of Prisons. The opposition now had the task of putting together the broadest and most powerful coalition it could muster. Opposition came from many quarters—criminal justice reformers, local property owners, ex-offenders, the Sheriff, planners and environmentalists.

Obviously, there were a multiplicity of interests, some of them contradictory, and it was a considerable challenge to keep the coalition together. Some wanted a different approach to prisons, others just wanted the prison elsewhere. Some of the reformers objected to being united with the property owners who, they felt, were opposed to the prison for the wrong reason.

The coalition was threatened on one occasion by the local bar association which attempted to initiate separate negotiations with the FBP about alternative facilities. Their efforts evoked little support from other opponents, and did not weak-

en the opposition; but the most important strategy for maintaining the coalition was in the careful management of the issues.

Issues

There were a number of different perceptions of the injury threatened by the prison plan. These ranged from environmental concerns to property values, from an opposition to all prisons on principle to a commitment to other types of prisons, from concerns about the implementation of the Bail Reform Act which mandated pretrial release whenever possible to concerns about coordinated planning of correctional facilities through all levels of government.

The one issue that united all the opposition, however, was that all opposed building the proposed prison at the proposed site. The common thread was stopping the FBP from executing its plan. By defining the issues in this way, the coalition was preserved.

There were three other advantages in defining the issue in this narrow way. First, because all of the threatened injuries pertained to this definition of the issue, the various decision makers had a wide range of reasons for opposition. Second, it was conducive to specific determination—the Board could simply find for or against the plan. Third, the remedy was plain—don't build the prison.

Helpers

Since the matter was being presented before the Board of Supervisors, the procedures were relatively simple, and it was possible for the citizens to present their own arguments without lawyers or other specialized pleaders. Furthermore, many of the members of the coalition were already known to the Board so that character witnesses were unnecessary.

Gathering Information and Persuasion

The major information gathering task was the accumulation of substantive information about the planned prison. With the exception of the initial meeting with the FBP representa-

tive, no information was given directly and freely to the citizens. In fact, for much of the time, the FBP representative was unavailable to callers.

This created some difficulty. Since many of the specifics of the plan were unknown, the opposition had to work hard to develop enough information to fashion arguments sufficiently sophisticated to impress the Board of their credibility.

To increase the persuasiveness of the citizens' coalition, an effort was made before the hearing to orchestrate the arguments, to promote variety and coherence and to minimize repetition. Care was taken to appeal to the interests of all the members of the Board—neighborhood development for some, an opportunity to challenge the Mayor for others, and prison reform for others.

The Outcome

The mobilization of community support and the presentation of arguments were successful. The Board adopted a resolution opposing the prison. Then, to everyone's surprise, the Mayor vetoed the resolution. It was not even suspected he could do this, since the resolution was no more than an expression of sentiment on the part of the Board as representatives of the community; the veto was a matter of specific procedure that apparently only the Mayor was familiar with. His move turned out to be a tactical error, however, because the Board voted to override his veto for the first time in his incumbency. Shortly after that, the FBP announced they were abandoning their plans.

CONCLUSION

It should be evident from the examples that social worker advocates (unlike lawyers) do not usually operate in fully articulated adversary systems. However, the imperfections of a particular adversary system are not necessarily fatal; the San Francisco Board of Supervisors had no power to direct the policy of the Bureau of Prisons, but their decision had sufficient authority to stop the prison project.

Analysis of adversarial struggles in terms of the elements

of the adversary system can help the advocate proceed in a rational way to the resolution of conflict, avoiding many of the common errors and pitfalls on the way. By the thoughtful and creative use of the adversary system, advocacy can be transformed from a rallying cry to a manageable and effective technique in the practice of social work.

FOOTNOTES

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COMMUNITY-BASED SELF-HELP GROUPS FOR THE TREATMENT OF AGORAPHOBIA*

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The design and conduct of community-based self-help groups for the treatment of agoraphobia are discussed. Such groups incorporate procedures encouraging members to engage in prolonged therapeutic exposure to anxiety-evoking situations. Exposure therapy and its variants have been empirically established as the treatment of choice for agoraphobia, and self-help groups lend themselves extremely well to community mental health outreach and service efforts.

Anxiety disorders are one of the most prevalent forms of mental illness, and agoraphobic patients comprise the largest subcategory of such conditions (Turns, 1985). The majority of agoraphobics appear to be women and the disorder has a mean age of onset of 26 years (Thyer, Parrish, Curtis, Nesse & Cameron, 1985). Agoraphobia can be quite disabling, being characterized in its extreme form by individuals unable to leave the home alone, to venture forth without a trusted companion, or even to be alone in their own home (American Psychiatric Association, 1980). Agoraphobic symptomatology may wax and wane from day to day, occupational and social functioning is often quite impaired, and its sufferers are at risk for the devel-

*Requests for reprints should be addressed to Bruce A. Thyer, Ph.D., School of Social Work, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306. A list of agoraphobia self-help groups located in southeast Michigan is available from the author. Nationwide, inquiries may be directed to The Phobia Society of America, 6193 Executive Ave., Rockville, MD 20852.

opment of secondary depression or alcohol abuse. The role of predisposing factors is unclear; speculation that childhood separation anxiety disorder is a precursor to adult agoraphobia has not been born out by empirical research (Thyer, Nesse, Cameron & Curtis, 1985).

Although traditional interventions such as dynamic or supportive psychotherapy or sedative drugs are not, as a rule, efficacious in relieving agoraphobia, the last 15 years have witnessed the development and clinical testing of effective treatments based upon the principle of therapeutic exposure. In their recent review of exposure-based therapies for agoraphobia, Janssen and Ost (1982) found 24 well-controlled clinical trials, involving a total of 654 patients, with follow-up periods of up to nine years. They concluded that “. . . apparently 60–70 percent of the patients treated with exposure *in vivo* showed clinically significant improvements in agoraphobic problems immediately after treatment and at a six-month follow-up” (Janssen & Ost, 1982, p. 311).

At its core, exposure therapy involves the patient being induced to gradually enter into phobic situations of increasing severity, remaining in each such situation until anxiety subsides and the patient becomes calmer, prior to attempting a more difficult assignment. It is usually assumed that agoraphobic avoidance is resistant to “natural” extinction due to consistent avoidance, whenever possible, of feared situations. Complete detailed descriptions of the conduct of exposure therapy are available in the social work literature (Thyer, 1983, 1985, 1987; Selan, 1985), with adjunctive variations including therapist-assisted exposure, modeling techniques, contingently-delivered verbal praise accompanying successes, concomitant training in somatic relaxation techniques or calming self-instructions, waning doses of tranquilizers, or exposure conducted in small groups. It is clear, however, that the critical ingredient to the success of therapeutic exposure is real-life practice by the phobic patient in feared situations (Barlow & Wolfe, 1981; Marks, 1981).

Due to this latter point, of the singular importance of self-exposure to phobic situations, a number of clinical researchers

have investigated the extent to which agoraphobia treatment can be conducted on a self-help basis. Several self-help manuals designed for the agoraphobic and their spouse or support person are now commercially available (Marks, 1978; Mathews, Gelder, & Johnston, 1981), and have been subjected to careful evaluation. It now appears that exposure therapy is equally efficacious, regardless of whether or not treatment consists of direct therapist accompaniment into phobic situations, therapist-delivered instructions and homework assignments to be carried out by the patient, computer-delivered exposure assignments, or by the patient independently pursuing the courses of action outlined in the treatment manuals (Mathews, Teasdale, Munby, Johnston & Shaw, 1977; McDonald, Sartory, Grey, Cobb, Stern & Marks, 1979; Jannoun, Munby, Catalan & Gelder, 1980; Ghosh, Marks & Carr, 1984).

These findings suggest that exposure therapy techniques may be fruitfully employed by non-professional, community-based self-help groups aimed at relieving phobic anxieties, including agoraphobia. During the last five years the author became aware of the establishment of six such groups in the southeast Michigan area, each comprising from 8 to 125 active members meeting on a weekly basis. Contact with these groups lead to the establishment by the author of a further self-help group, affiliated with a university hospital-based anxiety disorders program, and more recently, another associated with a local community mental health center in Florida. The formation of each of these groups, except the hospital-based group, was assisted by a recovered or recovering agoraphobic. Meeting locations were at local churches, schools or private homes, although the latter two formed by the author met at the hospital and community mental health clinic, and were advertised by word-of-mouth, radio and television interviews, and newspaper reports.

GROUP SERVICES

Agoraphobia self-help groups serve at least three primary functions. In the first, these groups establish an invaluable social support network. Agoraphobics often believe that they are

the only sufferers of this inexplicable malady and are relieved to find other individuals similarly afflicted. Equally important, recovered and recovering agoraphobics serve as role models for the newer members, conveying a message of potential recovery. Usually members establish a mutual telephone support network whereby panicky individuals can receive reassurance or request aid from other members of the group.

The second major service provided by agoraphobia self-help groups is educational in nature. All groups with which the author is familiar have made handouts, books and magazine articles available to their members, usually popular press materials such as Weekes (1972), Smith (1978) or Marks (1978). These materials serve to educate the agoraphobic about the nature of their condition and help set the stage for aggressive attempts at recovery. Professionals active in the treatment of anxiety disorders are usually eagerly sought to give talks and lead discussions at these agoraphobia self-help groups and often a reciprocal relationship is arranged, wherein individuals resistant to self-help approaches are referred for professional treatment, and professionally-treated patients are referred to the self-help group for follow-up care or adjunctive services.

Lastly, the community-based self-help group can serve as an effective catalyst for the individual to take the necessary steps of engaging in therapeutic exposure activities. The book *Living with Fear* by Isaac Marks (1978) is a particularly useful self-help manual containing explicit instructions for the patient and their support person on how to gradually engage in this process of entering phobic situations and remaining there until anxiety subsides. These groups usually allocate a portion of the meeting's program for members to report on self-exposure tasks attempted during the previous week, to receive public acclaim and support for their efforts, and for members to publicly state their personal goals for the coming week (i.e., 'I will go to the grocery store and purchase five items'). Networks of support persons may be established, whereby advanced members of the group accompany newer members on their initial exposure tasks. Generally, initial successful self-exposure experiences serve as an impetus for further attempts in more fear-

provoking situations. Set-backs are dealt with by experienced members in a matter-of-fact manner, and the explanation given that such experiences are an expected component of the recovery process. Also of great value are field trips arranged by group members to travel *en mass* to particularly fear-evoking situations such as shopping malls, grocery stores, church services or express-way driving. Joint journeys by train or bus have been arranged, as well as group visits to concerts or plays.

With continued practice, the agoraphobic can gradually expand his/her effective radius of action. Most groups encourage largely recovered agoraphobics to individually work with newer members, and this helping relationship often serves to consolidate the gains made by the more experienced group member.

SUMMARY

Self-help groups have been shown to be an effective means of support and recovery for a variety of mental and physical disorders (Lieberman & Borman, 1979) including schizophrenia (Levy, 1981), pathological gambling (Scodel, 1964), obesity (Wagonfeld & Wolowitz, 1968), substance abuse (Robinson, 1979), rape trauma (Underwood & Fiedler, 1983) and chronic illness (Gussow & Tracy, 1976).

Agoraphobia treatment seems particularly well suited to the ideology of self-help groups (Suler, 1984) and the therapeutic exposure techniques lend themselves for direct use by recovering agoraphobics, or their peers and support persons. Accordingly, self-help groups for the treatment of agoraphobia and other anxiety disorders may be a valuable adjunct to community mental health treatment and outreach efforts. Generally, a few advertisements placed in local newspapers announcing the formation of such a group are sufficient to generate an adequate number of inquiries to establish a self-help group. Clinical social workers and other human service professionals can play a valuable role in helping recovering agoraphobics develop and maintain such self-help groups (King & Mayers, 1985), providing another interventive tool based upon empirically validated practice techniques.

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