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Editorial

With this issue, the Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare commences the third year of publication. We hope to be able to expand the number of issues in this volume to six. Whether we are able to meet this goal depends upon the continued support from our colleagues through their subscriptions. As a non-profit corporation under the laws of the State of Connecticut, we are obligated to utilize our income, which comes only from subscriptions, for the benefit of our subscribers. We would, therefore, ask that you try to obtain one additional subscriber. If we can double our subscriptions, we will be in a position to publish six issues a year and occasional monographs at no additional cost to our subscribers.

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We welcome any suggestions you may have regarding the Journal. This is a cooperative endeavor, and we are eager to make certain that the Journal continues to be an effective media for the exchange of knowledge and ideas in the realm of Sociology and Social Welfare.

Thank you for your continued involvement.

Norman N. Goroff
Publisher and Managing Editor
The Social Welfare Workers Movement:  
A Case Study of New Left Thought in Practice  

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During the upheavals of the 1960's many human service professions and academic disciplines (e.g. psychology, sociology, law, medicine, etc.) underwent severe criticisms of their goals and methodologies, generated both from within and without. In social work one such critique came from the Social Welfare Workers Movement (SWWM), born out of protest-oriented activities at the National Conference on Social Welfare in New York City, 1969. Although SWWM dissipated after about two years, interest in radical social work is still very much alive today. The intent of this paper, then, is to record and analyze the career of the Social Welfare Workers Movement through a case study of the Boston SWWM chapter, so that others may profit from its successes and failures. The process of explication should also clarify the use of social action as a method of deliberate social change and the potential for a "radicals-in-the-professions" type of social movement. New Left theory will be used as the conceptual framework for analysis, the application of theory to practice as it were.

Part I: The New Left Theory of Social Change

The New Left theory of social change, especially as expounded by its main proponents in the 1960's, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), is neo-Marxist theory in the grand style. It provided a broad socio-political analysis of post-industrial American society, outlining some of the conditions for change and suggesting some general guidelines for social action. It necessarily omitted explicit formulas, leaving these to the interpretations and inventiveness of those individuals actively struggling to radically restructure American society. For as Zinn has pointed out,

"A dialectical approach—in the Marxian sense—suggests that we evaluate a situation not as fixed, but as in motion, and that our evaluation itself affects that motion. Dialectical materialism asks awareness that we are creatures of limited vision in eyes and brain, and so must not assume that what we perceive is all—that conflicting tendencies often lie just beneath the surface of any event."

The central concepts of the theory were: centralized power, social class, alienation, radical consciousness, ideology, conflict, and participatory democracy. The manner in which these concepts were loosely tied together into a theory will be briefly explained in the succeeding paragraphs.

Essentially the theory argues that the socialistic vision of a planned cooperative society, a participatory democracy where people truly have control over the institutions that affect their lives, is
conceivable in America because of the promise of a post-scarcity economy. In the American past where resources were insufficient to meet basic human needs, there would always be competition and exploitation. But since the American economy now produces surplus goods, with planning and new mechanisms for distribution, society could be re-ordered for the benefit of all, rather than for the accumulation of profit and wealth by a few.

Presently American society is stratified into at least four social classes: a Ruling Class, a New Working Class, a Traditional Working Class, and an Under Class. The Ruling Class consists of a relatively small number of corporate capitalists, top level politicians, and the military establishment who control large national and international corporations and their corresponding public organizations. An outstanding characteristic of post-industrial society has been the proliferation of large organizations and bureaucracies in all spheres of life. Through the development of computer technology and the centralization of communications and mass media, these organizations form regulated systems which manipulate and control the lives of the mass of people in the society. Thus the Ruling Class is able to define the parameters of social policy decisions in their own interests and continues to accumulate an inordinate proportion of the society's wealth and power.

In order to bring about a fundamental reordering of American society, a mass based political movement will have to be created. This movement will be peopled in particular by the New Working Class, but will also include members of the Traditional Working Class and the Under Class. The New Working Class consisting of intellectuals, professionals, administrators and managers, white collar and middle management personnel, is pivotal to this new movement for several reasons.

First, because of the "socialization of production", the New Working Class represents a growing majority of the workers in the country. According to New Left author, David Gilbert, this means there has been,

"1... the extension of commodities into all spheres of human activity besides those directly connected with material needs (everything ranging from cultural and educational industries to defense); and 2. a restructuring of work because of the tremendous growth of jobs that no longer relate directly to material production (more and more jobs that have to do with the machines that turn out products rather than with the products directly; there has been a huge increase in jobs that deal with the social aspects of production--e.g. accounting, advertising, social services)."

Secondly, the New Working Class is alienated because of the advanced organizational system that fragments "man's existence and consciousness (and) which impedes the wholeness of experience and activity". Large organizations, corporations, and bureaucracies require complex management tasks and specialized work roles such that individual workers cannot comprehend their contribution to the whole. The individual worker is powerless to assert his individuality, to make a difference.
His labor is merely an input into the system, and thus his person is dehumanized as well. Because of its alienation the New Working class has the latent motivation to work for change.

Thirdly, because New Working Class members are not caught in a daily struggle for subsistence, and because they are generally well educated, they have the potential for grasping the significance of economic surplus and waste production. They can respond to ideology which for a social movement can be defined as "the belief in a set of constitutive ideas (which) binds the movement together and gives then the elan needed for the persistent pursuit of the movement's aims."7

If alienation and the vision of a planned participatory society represent the motivational base of New Left theory, and counter-ideology is the potential glue to bind the movement together, then radical consciousness and conflict may be considered as the general strategies for building the movement and eventually effecting the desired social change.

The concept of radical consciousness (called class consciousness by Marx) is central to the transition from passivity to action. It suggests that if man can view his conditions objectively, his perceptions will enable him to transcend his oppression and move to action. Where men have been exposed to common dehumanizing experiences, political education can produce a like-minded radical consciousness. Thus the leaders of the counter-movement seek to educate, both through the presentation of alternative interpretations of social realities and through actions that point up the contradictions and oppressiveness of "the system" as it is presently constituted.

Ultimately, in order for fundamental social change to occur, conflict will have to be generated internally within the potential actors who are to be "radicalized" and externally in political struggles with those in power in the society. Internal conflict relates to the stresses that change agents invariably experience in a radical struggle. The radical adherent must undergo an identity crisis, wherein his previous beliefs about the structure of society and his role in it have been opened to question. He is helped with this internal encounter through the movement organization which serves as a psychological support group as much as it does as an external change strategy. For the New Left, the building of communities and alternative life-style groups were consciously viewed as a means of constructively coping with the stresses of change. For some, these efforts also became the embodiment of the revolution itself, the strategy for achieving the new social order. As Margolies has pointed out,8

"Several years ago community was the cop-out of those who couldn't cope with our political struggles. Today we find our political and psychic renewal in the creation of community. Our hardships in the past few years have shown the road that supports us in helping each other to work things out emotionally and intellectually is the path of greatest political relevancy as well... Our 'program' is what we are already about; the discovery of our true selves and our need for new relationships, which is the creation of community where there was just alienation."
External conflict refers to the recognition that radical changes in the social system can only come about through a political struggle. Radical changes in the system are large changes, qualitatively different changes, changes in the structure of the system that are indicative of a break in the continuity of the normal elaboration of the system. Radical change challenges the legitimacy of the system as it is presently constructed, and in so doing, the radical political movement challenges the authority on which the system rests. Protracted conflict must necessarily ensue as a strategy and as a consequence of action. Winning adherents to the movement presents the task of involving people in internal conflict, which in itself begins to create system changes. Furthering that system change presents the task of converting individual internal conflict into sustained collective political action.

PART II: THEORY IN PRACTICE

In Boston as in many other large cities the Spring of 1969 was a time of increasing social ferment. Minority leaders, poor people's organizations, and students were engaged in a long term struggle for justice and equality, a struggle to realize the humanitarian ideals espoused by the society's human service institutions, among others, but so far yet from fruition. In this climate a group of human service workers from diverse social agencies, had begun to meet weekly to share their concerns about the seeming indifference and conservatism of the social welfare "establishment" in the face of urgent appeals for social change. This group consisted mostly of MSW social workers, all white including the author, with about equal numbers of men and women, ranging in age from 24-35, and in experience from relatively new workers to high level supervisors. Later that Spring at the National Conference on Social Welfare, the protest-oriented activities of the Welfare Rights Organization, the National Association of Black Social Workers, and the newly formed Social Welfare Workers Movement, and other dissident groups,\textsuperscript{9} touched a responsive chord among Boston group members and others who attended the annual forum. One outcome of the Conference was the formation of SWWM Chapters across the country, born now out of the common experiences of confrontation and the hammering out of a position statement and linked to a new national communication network.\textsuperscript{10}

In Leftist terms many social workers who had attended the NCSW were "radicalized". The conditions had created the readiness for a group of alienated professionals to pull together, engage in "radical"activities, and to move tentatively towards an ideology that could provide a framework around which to organize other members of the New Working Class.

The difficulties involved in building a political movement among social welfare professionals were understood intellectually from the outset. But the emotional stress of so ambitious a project could not be fully perceived by the organizers, or the attempt never would have been made. As Hoffer points out in \textit{The True Believer}, for individuals to become involved in vast undertakings, they must be "ignorant of the vastness of their undertaking".\textsuperscript{11} Emotion rather than detached intellectual analysis fuels the determination to overcome great odds.
Feelings had been activated at the NCSW, but feelings fraught with contradiction, mood swings, and crises, all of which were reflected in the subsequent struggles to launch the Social Welfare Workers Movement (SWWM). Since internal and external conflicts were pervasive in the formation of SWWM, these will tend to be emphasized in the presentation of case material. Perhaps this approach will also serve as a corrective to the coherence imposed upon a disorderly process by the organizational requirements of a paper.

Beginnings: Purposes and Objectives

The first and most persistent conflict in SWWM was that so many things had to be done at the same time. An organization had to be built, but the nature of that organization had to be worked out. How large? Was it a movement or an organization? Should it have a formal structure? How could SWWM establish a presence in the community? Was that really important? How could it stay in contact with other movement activists? How could it build an alliance with client groups? What "actions" should be taken on what fronts? Time was of the essence; should it be spent on strategizing? But how would people know what kind of group SWWM was? What kind of group was it? What did the position statement mean? Did anybody agree with it? Was that necessary now? Pass it out. Understanding would come later. Out of this initial confusion SWWM was built; a structure was developed, "actions" were taken, positions worked out, and conflicts faced. Some, to be examined later, remained intractable.

Whether one prefers to call SWWM a Movement or an organization, it was, nevertheless, a coordinated body with tasks and goals. These goals and objectives were ideologically inspired by the New Left's analysis of the society and the SWWM critique of the social welfare system. SWWM's general position statement, however, did not specify short range objectives. These had to grow out of the concerns and context of each SWWM group. In general the position statement rested on the corporate capitalist critique of American society suggested in Part I of this paper and on SWWM's view of the social control role of the human service professions. The perspective of the statement was radical in the sense that the solutions to social problems were located in the social system rather than in individuals, so that institutions would have to be fundamentally changed in order to bring about a healthier society.

According to SWWM, not only did the corporate controlled capitalist system oppress the poor through its profit-making activities, but also the very structure of the human services designed to help the poor and the needy further dehumanized both clients as well as the professionals who provided the services. In this light the role of social workers and other human service workers is to provide a social control function for the society. In attempting to mediate between those who have the resources and those who do not have them, social workers act as buffers, deflecting and absorbing the conflict that might lead to more basic change. Thus the social work profession funded by the power structure, unwittingly serves the political end of maintaining the status quo.
To counter this social control function, SWWM's position paper incorporated the concept of participatory democracy achieved through decentralization and de-professionalization. The long term goal was to achieve worker-community control over social welfare institutions whose decisions daily impacted negatively on people's lives. Rather than being run by a professional elite, human service organizations were to be operated by trained and untrained workers and clients with equal opportunities for influence, and perhaps even with equal remuneration.

For organizing purposes the broad strategy of SWWM was to educate human service professionals as to their true political roles in the system, and then to form an alliance with client groups creating a mass movement for change in social welfare institutions. A more specific program and set of organizing strategies was left to be developed by each group. For the Boston Chapter, SWWM's activities and concerns can be divided loosely into three categories: building radical consciousness; building participatory democracy; and building resource networks. Many activities served several of these ends simultaneously, and many activities could not be included because of the space limitations of this paper. The discussion that follows will both describe various SWWM activities briefly and attempt to illuminate the difficulties involved in applying New Left theory in practice.

Building Radical Consciousness:

Most SWWM activities aimed at building radical consciousness because this was seen as a necessary prerequisite for commitment to the movement. Some examples of such activities were: teach-ins, development of a newsletter and mailing list, general educational meetings and rap sessions, study groups, outreach to students in schools of social work, disruptions of professional meetings and conferences, etc.

A major source of activity centered around the Massachusetts public welfare system since many SWWM members were public welfare employees, and the local welfare Rights Organization (MWRO) was strong, and because the state was considering enactment of a series of repressive welfare measures. SWWM never imagined it could prevent enactment of repressive legislation by itself. It saw the opportunity, however, to try to activate public assistance workers and the public employees union through education and protest-oriented activities. However, SWWM's decision to move into the welfare arena militantly was difficult to make. For there was the ever-present danger that militant activity might provoke further repressive measures. This, in fact, was the position of professional welfare leaders who sought to include SWWM in a larger welfare coalition and thereby assert some measure of control over its activities.12 Conflicts such as these were generally resolved in SWWM by consulting or allying with client groups who stood to bear the brunt of repression. But SWWM also had to maintain its independence from client groups, lest it become simply a support group for Welfare Rights Organizations, et al. SWWM could not afford to lose sight of its position that welfare workers were also dehumanized by the system, for alienation was a necessary ingredient of the motivation for a Worker's Movement.
Other consciousness-raising activities of SWWM sought to point up the absurdities and contradictions of the system, and the complacency of the Welfare Establishment. In this vein SWWM members set up an alternative dinner of peanut butter sandwiches and other surplus foods outside of the $7.50 a plate banquet of the Massachusetts Conference on Social Welfare in order to emphasize the theme of hunger. Hunger had not been a major agenda item of the Conference, though a parallel Conference on Hunger was going on in Washington, D.C. at the same time. SWWM also sought to provide comic relief by conducting a public funeral, on the State House steps which laid to rest the widely acknowledged as moribund State Department of Public Welfare. Although the funeral was not well attended by welfare dignitaries, evidently the timing was right. The following day the Commissioner of Public Welfare resigned.

Despite SWWM's energetic efforts, no task proved more difficult than winning recruits to the movement. (See later discussion of structure, p. 12 for membership figures.) SWWM may have experienced difficulties with recruitment because it was disorganized, unskilled, and lacked resources. It is more likely, though, that alienation and enlightenment are insufficient motivating factors for members of the New Working Class. There are at least four important reasons why this is so: 1) joining a radical movement does not resolve conflicts; it creates additional ones; 2) the short term risks of joining a radical movement outweigh the long term gains; 3) professional and bureaucratic norms work against involvement in a movement for radical change; and 4) the concept of alienation is too global or diffuse.

First of all, to join a radical political movement is to deliberately expose one's self to intense internal conflict. The professional human service worker, alienated because he has to perform dehumanizing acts, looks for opportunities to reduce his role conflict. Sometimes adoption of a firm position on one side or the other achieves this end. But to adopt a radical stance means identification with an unpopular cause that immediately exposes the holder to new conflicts with even less opportunity for support. Moreover, partial commitment that might enable testing out a new role is also conflict-ridden, since the movement seeks true believers, and any other stance is difficult to rationalize.

Secondly, for professionals to join a radical movement means the sacrifice of immediate benefits in exchange for uncertain future gains. Professionals do earn reasonable salaries and pay checks arrive on a regular basis; they do usually profit from the fringe benefits of vacations, health insurance, and retirement plans; and many do enjoy a degree of autonomy on the job. Additionally, the more that professionals have become invested in a career as such, the greater is the risk in identifying as a radical. One obviously cannot rancorously attack the system which furnishes a livelihood without expecting unpleasant consequences. And the professions hold out the seductive promise that their members will become a new power-elite, the consultants and managers on whom the post-industrial society increasingly depends for technical
expertise. In sum, the present is not so uncomfortable, nor the future so grim for the New Working Class. Alienation of the "cog-in-machine" variety by itself is too impotent as an explanatory variable in a cause/effect formula for radical commitment.

Thirdly, professional and bureaucratic norms work against radicalization of professionals, especially in "semi-proessions", such as social work. Social work's democratic and humanitarian base does not conflict with its members' aspirations for upward mobility. In a profession which is status conscious, professional norms become quite significant guides for acceptable behavior. These norms value political neutrality and the development of technical expertise. To join a movement that advocates de-professionalization and politicization implies climbing back over a recently erected and still shaky class barrier.\[13\]

For a large segment of social work the psychiatric model of treating individual deficiencies is the dominant approach for creating the healthy society. A further hinderance to an ecological and sociological perspective is the fact that the profession is highly subdivided into areas of specialization. These sub-areas tend to form fairly rigid professional communities, e.g. psychiatric social workers vs. group workers vs. school social workers vs. child welfare workers, etc. Partially because of these professional subdivisions, SWWM experienced difficulty, even within its own structure, in getting social workers to view the system as a whole and to see the interconnectedness among different types of social problems.

Professional and bureaucratic norms also help to socialize social workers into dependent roles that inhibit active involvement in social action. A primary technique for socialization in social work and some other "semi-proessions" is the close supervision frequently required over several years of practice. Herein lies the expectation that social workers will resolve conflicts in and through the supervisory relationship, even when these conflicts arise from institutional problems and require structural solutions. The dependency on social welfare organizations as the context for practice and source of livelihood has already been mentioned.

Finally, on a more theoretical plane, because the concept of alienation encompasses many different dimensions, it cannot usefully account for radical involvement. Fragmentation, for example, as one form of alienation, interferes with involvement as much as it creates the potential for it. Life is fragmented for the professional because of the complexities of his modern situation. Both at work and outside of work the individual must assimilate large amounts of varied information and make constant choices about how to allocate one's energies. The "revolution" requires still more time commitments, absorption of new information, and less attention to matters that were previously important.
Furthermore, the professional has absorbed the value orientation of the larger society that time is money. If one is to make time commitments, one needs some reassurance of an eventual "pay-off". Not only is man's labor a commodity, but time has become a precious commodity not to be wasted. The Great American Ego insists upon pragmatic, attainable objectives. Everyone may agree that fundamental changes are necessary, but joining a movement which has no clearly defined social program represents involvement in a utopian idealism that runs counter to the ethos of American society.

Perhaps the reader may argue that the professionals described herein as truly caught up in the system are not really alienated in Leftist terms. The question then becomes one of operationalizing the concept. If alienation is demonstrated when an individual becomes "radicalized" and joins the Movement, then the definition is tautological. If everyone in the New Working Class is identified as alienated, then the concept is too diffuse, and more the definition of a social problem than a useful concept for separating out potential recruits to the "cause". To build a truly useable theory of social change, key concepts and their interrelationships will have to be defined and specified more carefully. In this case it can be said that recruitment suffered at least in part because of a faulty theory.

Building Participatory Democracy

Building participatory democracy was both a long range goal and a guiding precept of organization for SWWM. Ultimately, SWWM envisioned a cooperative socialistic society where many citizens would have maximum control over important decisions rather than a relatively powerful few. The shorter range objective of worker-client control of social agencies represented one form of actualizing this goal. But this objective immediately provoked a means-end conflict.

Participatory democracy is more than a political system; it is also a value system. The dilemma was how to gain enough power to institute reform, while at the same time acting cooperatively in keeping with the socialistic vision. If the strategies for gaining power involved a hierarchical political organization that employed disruptive tactics, could the leaders then make a successful transition to a socialistic society? But pragmatically the members also realized that without political power that includes the power to define reality, fundamental changes in the society were also unlikely. Stated more boldly, SWWM faced the choice between revolution in the streets or evolution in people's minds. Both political power and value change were necessary at the same time, a conflict which cut to the roots of both the movement proper and SWWM and eventually split both into disparate bits. The Habers' model of a pluralistic revolution capture some of this conflict rather eloquently: 14

"The revolutionary situation, if it does occur, will be created slowly, without a single decisive struggle and transfer of power:

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by mobilizing small enclaves of radicalism in a variety of social locations, by changing people's consciousness, by creating alternative ways of living, by extending people's definitions of the possible... The role of the radical is to create programs which lead people beyond their subjective experience of discontent toward a radical analysis of society and into struggles for root changes. Such struggles will not be successful until there is enough strength on the Left to change the whole system at once. But escalating the confrontation with power around a variety of issues in a variety social locations is seen as the major tool for drawing isolated problems into radical focus, and for radicalizing new constituencies. Eventually a number of disparate segments of the movement will have to coalesce. But how and when that will happen is not foreseeable."

Organizationally and practically the issue for SWWM became how to find an appropriate structure for developing a mass-based political movement within the parameters defined by a participatory democratic mode. The requirements for such an organization were the capacity for 1) quick mobilization for action; 2) growth by recruitment to the movement; 3) shared responsibilities and decision-making; 4) mutual support in the face of controversy; and 5) effective use of political power. Several of these requirements were potentially contradictory. Shared decision-making helps to reinforce group closeness, but it is also inefficient in terms of rapid mobilization. Careful recruitment biases towards hierarchial structure and bureaucratic division of labor, but bureaucratic organization interferes with shared leadership. SWWM came close to resolving these paradoxes, but never quite surmounted them.

The structure which SWWM deliberately adopted at first was the development of a small core of active members, numbering 10-20 at any one time. Surrounding this core of committed members or "activists" was a penumbra of about 120 "followers", who could be mobilized quickly by a telephone tree for protest-oriented actions. The "followers" moved in and out of the core group at various times, provided some resources, and formed a communication network into most of the social work agencies and departments in Boston. A third outer ring of "sympathizers" numbered 300-400 individuals who had expressed interest in SWWM and were on the mailing list. These were potential recruits and sources of support for "actions" and financial resources occasionally.

The core group functioned as a coordinating committee. There were no officers. Core group meetings were always open and informal and the agenda ratified by all. The core committee was pointedly open to new members, but also made clear that they would have to wait until they were familiar enough with the group's style, values, and objectives before fully participating in decisions. This norm was particularly important since all core members spoke for the group in the community. Over time a loose and flexible structure developed, built upon mutual trust, that could mobilize for action rapidly when necessary. Other informal rules also helped to cement this structure, as for example, the agreement that coordinating committee members should avoid committing the group to a uni-lateral position with the public until consulting with at least two other core members.

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Each member of the core committee also participated in all of the tasks and roles of the organization. Thus each served as chairperson, secretary, recruiter, etc. Some specialization did take place based upon different skills and availability, but no role was considered as fixed. Since most core group members also were employed full time, the group was tempted, but declined, to hire a staff person to handle organizational maintenance tasks. All agreed that the efficiency that might be gained, would diminish the perseverance necessary to maintain the group in the long run.

The coordinating committee structure was quite helpful in SWWM's early stages for sorting out feelings, testing "actions", ironing out position statements, and building intimacy. However, this structure could not accommodate sufficient numbers to create a mass-based movement without resorting to a less democratic form of decision-making. Therefore a decentralization phase was initiated which used the coordinating structure as a prototype organization. Since core group members were linked into different welfare subsystems in the community, e.g. community mental health, child welfare, public assistance, family agencies, etc., rather than build hierarchically, the group attempted to spin off a series of duplicate, but autonomous, groups modelled on SWWM. This approach had the advantage of consistency with the objective of workplace organizing mentioned in the original position statement, and groups could be developed based upon the more specific issues relevant to different social welfare institutions.

The idea of a decentralized, cellular type strategy seemed sound, but was never very successful. Separation from the coordinating committee proved very difficult because the loss of psychological supports for core members was too uncomfortable. Also, most of the core members lacked organizing skills or inclination, even though training sessions were held. These deficits could not be corrected quickly enough. Coupled with the fact that workplace organizing was a risky venture for employees, the decentralized approach faltered. On balance SWWM's structural dilemmas probably contributed as much to its evanescence as its other problems, since its retarded organizational development interfered with incorporation of environmental nutrients necessary for continued growth.

Building Resource Networks

Aside from attempts at decentralization, SWWM also concentrated on building links to other radical movement groups, unions, and client-action groups. Always in mind was the need for gathering intelligence and future alliances. SWWM developed contacts or loose ties with perhaps a dozen such groups in the Boston area including the Medical Committee for Human Rights, the Public Employees Union, The Boston Teachers Union, Massachusetts Welfare Rights Organization (MWRO), the Boston Tenants Union, the Black United Front. Toward the end of its first year of operation SWWM attempted to form the Radical Alliance for Social Change among New Working Class insurgent groups. This alliance proved premature as member organizations were themselves in incipient stages of development and SWWM lacked the resources to spread itself so
broadly into new organizing ventures. Also, in some cases there were strong ideological differences between SWWM and other radical groups, such as the Progressive Labor Party, which fostered mistrust and dissension. Still the work which was accomplished was useful because an eventual underground alliance could be imagined in the not too distant future.

With client-action groups SWWM mainly acted as a support group, cooperating successfully with MWRO and other groups on a few campaigns. A side benefit of these client contacts was that SWWM members could sometimes assist clients through the bureaucratic welfare maze. Joint endeavors with client-action organizations also forced SWWM members to confront their own identity conflicts so that worker alienation could be clearly separated from empathy with oppressed clients.

SWWM's role with the professional unions was to help form radical caucuses which would move the unions to the Left. The aim was to shift the agenda from simple wage and fringe benefit issues to inclusion of demands for increased client benefits and services and to resistance in implementing repressive administrative flats. These efforts met with small degrees of success because SWWM's resources were strained beyond its limits once again.

PART III: THE CONVERSION OF PROTEST TO RESISTANCE

For many of its members and sympathizers, SWWM's attractiveness had been its protest-oriented style. Social work professionals, disaffected by excessive work time spent on system-maintenance tasks and seemingly patchwork endeavors, could identify with SWWM's methods and goals, directly and/or vicariously. Support of SWWM was an outlet for frustration with "the system"; support was an act of protest.

But protest alone is insufficient to mount an effective movement for fundamental social change. Protest outside of the work-place is emotionally satisfying, a form of "ego-tripping", a catharsis. It is an outburst of emotion encapsulated within a short time span. And in this form, ironically, it may enable the professional to endure his ineffective work role even better. SWWM's challenge was to create a level of tension that could sustain a long term struggle for change, to transform transitory sparks of passion into deeper commitments. The challenge was to convert protest to resistance, that is, to an organized, persistent, and durable movement for institutional change within the social welfare arena and beyond it. SWWM was unable to accomplish this conversion.

After about a year and a half of involvement, SWWM's core group began to break apart. For the Boston Chapter, and perhaps for other chapters as well, the turning point occurred at the National Conference on Social Welfare, 1970, in Chicago. Prior to the Conference representatives from several SWWM chapters had met to try to share experiences and rekindle a sense of Movement spirit. However, the meeting revealed that various members and groups were developing in quite disparate directions. For example, women members had become increasingly united around the
Women's Movement and carried those issues into the group. Others were divided about strategies and future directions for SWWM nationally and for their local organizations. No overall agreements on Conference action could be reached except to allow individuals to relate to the Conference as they wished. While this strategy may have prevented severe conflicts from erupting, it also led to fragmented action at the Conference and feelings of alienation from the SWWM group by some of its members. Thus rather than serve as a rallying point, the Conference brought new uncertainties to the surface and aided SWWM's disintegration.

After Chicago, without a renewed sense of identity with a larger Movement, Boston SWWM began to come unraveled. For some the strain of full-time work plus SWWM demands became too burdensome. For others tangible successes were too few to merit the continued costs. Some members resolved Movement-generated internal conflicts by withdrawing from social work activities altogether to adopt totally different life styles. Some returned to the University and hence to a search for understanding more compatible with earlier patterns of solace and present realities. Some members temporarily withdrew from social work activities to try to sort out meaningful roles for themselves away from the demands of job or Movement. Some found ways of staying within the social work sphere either in new jobs or through re-definition of older ones. Other SWWM chapters around the country fared similarly. Like other Movement groups of the late 1960's, SWWM withered and died.

In retrospect, many sociological and social-psychological factors contributed to SWWM's inability to convert protest to sustained resistance. First of all, SWWM was operating under an inadequate theory of deliberate social change. The achievement of worker-client control presumed a set of conditions that proved not to be accurate, i.e. a deep sense of alienation among a New Working Class that could serve as a motivation for joining an insurgent movement. Other aspects of New Left theory were contradictory, such as an unresolved conflict between participatory democracy as an end and the use of conflict in a struggle for power as the means for achieving it.

Secondly, SWWM never resolved for itself the question of whether it was a social movement or a socialization and psychological support group. Social movements require a commitment to a counter ideology. SWWM members were largely unschooled in Leftist thought and had not really internalized a coherent ideology. Without this understanding and commitment, notions like worker-client control become rhetorical rallying cries, insufficient to bind a group together over time.

Thirdly, related to the above, it could be argued that SWWM's structural problems reflected these theoretical and structural inconsistencies. Structurally, SWWM was unable to add to its numbers and in this way gain resources. Nor were the core groups able to function within a disciplined revolutionary social action tradition. The lack of viable structure could probably be attributed most to member discomfort with external conflict, a discomfort that might have been overcome in other circumstances by a revolutionary ideological commitment and a less than ambivalent sense of personal alienation.
The result of these failings can perhaps be summarized with the thought that SWWM members, in the end, could not surmount their own social class positions. SWWM members had been socialized into a professional class. They had tried to undo this class training, but like the professionals they sought to attract, most SWWM members were themselves too tied into a middle-American way of life. They could not wean themselves, and therefore, not surprisingly, could not wean away others from the benefits which accrue to a professional class and from its "tradition" of avoidance of conflict as a professional ideal.

PART IV: CONCLUSION

To many observers SWWM's eventual demise was a foregone conclusion. They understood the obstacles of class and profession for creating a lasting "radicals-in-the-professions" movement the notion seemed to be a contradiction in terms - and so the venture was deemed unworthy of the attempt. (Yet these professionals offered no better alternatives at the time.) Therefore it may be in order to state some of the ways in which SWWM and moreso the New Left generally, have contributed to the role of human service professions in American Society.

Howard Zinn has suggested three essential ingredients for a New Left theory of social change.16

"First we need a vision of what we are working towards—one based on transcendental human needs and not limited to the reality we are so far stuck with. Second, this theory should analyze the present reality, not through the prism of old fixed categories, but rather with an awareness of the unique here and now and of the need to make the present irrationality intelligible to those around us. Finally, such a theory would explore—in the midst of action—effective techniques of social change for the particular circumstances we find at the moment."

New Left theory has made a beginning towards meeting Zinn's requirements. It has introduced a much needed critique of the social control functions of social work and other human service professions, while at the same time offering professionals, new and old, some alternatives to earlier "realities". Also the theory has examined reality through new categories in some cases and thus has suggested new potential alliances for social change. Perhaps even more importantly the New Left has reaffirmed the value of struggle and conflict for continued growth both for persons as individuals and collectively in the political arena. And finally, the New Left has rejected the coming of technocracy as the new messiah, the insertion of a necessary balance in an increasingly specialized, complex, and technologically sophisticated society.

While the New Left and its splinter groups like SWWM seem to have passed on, this is not to imply that the vision of the sixties has also died. Only that there is less certainty about how to advance it. What of the future then? Three avenues to follow for social work and other human service professions bear mention here: changes in the nature of professional education; the growth of professional unionism; and the
creation of viable political alternatives under a banner of democratic socialism.

Because the society will continue to require human service professions, educational institutions that perform a major socialization into the profession function must be attended to. Here the point quite simply is that less formal attention and concern ought to be paid to socialization into the profession experiences through heavily structured curricula, which by force of rigidity, profess a "knowledge" of future human service professional roles, and thereby limit the creation of new roles at the same time. Socialization will occur regardless of formal concern. Instead, many more curriculum options need to be provided, including in particular, opportunities to explore political theory. Coupled with a more open curriculum, the incipient trend towards androgogy ought to be fostered as a way of developing professionals who can think and act independently. These changes will further require that professional schools revamp admission criteria to enable better selection of inner-directed, creative, and mature students.

Secondly, human service professionals and academics must give more serious consideration to the formation of professional unions. Such unions have begun to grow in nearly all human service fields. While the danger exists of union bureaucratization and co-optation of union leadership by power elites, as has occurred in the past, the advantages seem to outweigh the risks. Briefly, the argument in favor of unionization is: 1) strategically the society is unlikely to redistribute social benefits to the disadvantaged alone, but as professional unions press for benefits such as health insurance, full employment, dignified retirement and leisure, the poor may well be carried along; 2) unions represent large numbers of people, hence potential political leverage; 3) unions have financial and skill resources with which to press their political agenda; 4) unions have a tradition of political involvement, and social workers and other professionals have shared this tradition in the past; 5) professional class barriers may be broken down through vertically structured unions; and 6) unions could press for other than traditional self-interest benefits, though this assumes a more radical consciousness among the membership.

Finally, there has been an increase in reform-oriented advocacy agencies, such as public-interest law agencies, Common Cause, environmental protection groups, etc., which have attracted liberal-left New Working Class professionals. These need to be supported and developed and ultimately co-aligned into a new political party, whose purpose would be to provide the study, analysis, and on-going political work necessary for generating a uniquely American socialism. This mechanism would not necessarily function immediately to elect candidates, but it would provide a more durable organizational framework which could continuously pose policy alternatives, provide alternative political experiences and shape the public agenda. According to Christopher Lasch,

"...What are needed...are institutions that would parallel existing structures of government (city councils, for instance) and without any recognized authority or immediate hope of implementing their decisions, undertake the social
planning of which existing institutions are incapable. In other words the Left has to begin to function not as a protest movement or as a third party but as an alternative political system, drawing on the abilities of people who realize that their talents are often wasted in their present jobs. It has to generate analysis and plans for action in which people of varying commitments to radicalism can take part, while at the same time it must insist that the best hope of creating a decent society in the United States is to evolve a socialism appropriate to American conditions."

In other words, we must continue to build towards participatory democracy, ever keeping in mind a vision of what we want America to look like as a guide for the way we conduct our lives.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The presentation of New Left theory in this paper reflects the author's interpretations and perceptions of New Left thought based upon the literature, observations, personal experiences and discussions. This is not to imply the existence of a coherent, widely-accepted, and systematic theory called "the" New Left Theory of Social Change.


3. Since the emphasis in this paper is upon organizing professional human service workers, more attention is paid to the New Working Class. See David Gilbert, "Consumption: Domestic Imperialism", in Long, 1969. See also Bob Gottlieb, Gerry Tenney and Dave Gilbert, "Praxis and the New Left", in New Left Notes, Feb. 13, 1967.

New Left activists were heavily involved in community organizing projects among poor and working class people especially. New Working Class organizing was really an outgrowth of student
organizing, for students mostly came from the New Working Class families and many were preparing to enter this grouping.

The Traditional Working Class referred to in the paper are the Marxist proletariat, blue-collar workers of American industry, already well organized into trade unions. According to Gilbert, this group represents some 30% of the American work force. The Under-Class, referred to in the paper, represents the economic poor in the society, the victim of the capitalistic system. Because this group does not work on a sustained basis, it has no direct control over the means of production. Its revolutionary potential is as disruptive and potentially violent force in the struggle for power.


5. Gilbert, ibid p. 37


10. This communication network was greatly facilitated by the publication of Hotch Pot, a bi-monthly socialist newsletter, operated by the Hotch Pot Collective, Box 2492, Cleveland, Ohio. Hotch Pot served as the Social Welfare Worker Movement's link between chapters around the country and with many other Movement and Leftist groups. (Copies should exist in the University of California-Berkeley library system, School of Social Welfare, and Undergraduate Library.)

12. It might be noted that for all of their carefully cultivated relationships with State legislators the professional social welfare "establishment" had been unable to prevent enactment of H.885, (in 1969), a repressive welfare measure. Later (1970) neither this group nor any protest-oriented organizations were able to prevent an inadequate flat grant system from being implemented as well.


15. The danger to be avoided has been pointed up by the classic study by Robert Michels of goal displacement within the Socialist parties and labor unions in Europe before World War I. See, Robert Michels, *Political Parties*, New York: Dover, 1959. Michels found that the organizational requirements for leadership in revolutionary parties subverted socialistic intentions and replaced them with conservative goals, thus Michel's statement of "The Iron Law of Oligarchy".


TOWARD A MORE ADEQUATE CONCEPT OF "ORGANIZATION" IN SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE THEORY

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A generic model of social work practice requires the formulation of frameworks that indicate what is meant by intervention at the "organizational" level. Usually "organization" is put at some midpoint in a hierarchy of social levels (such as individual, small group, organization, local community, society). However, when one looks at the various social work practice frameworks, there is very little development of knowledge about the process of intervention at this mid-level. Since the "macro" levels of community and society can probably be best conceptualized as "inter-organizational" arenas, social work practice knowledge for these levels is also hindered. This article intends to look at what some practice frameworks say about organizational intervention and also what these frameworks assume about organizations. From this beginning exploratory analysis, a direction for practice theory is indicated that can move toward a more adequate practice theory for intervention at the "organizational" level.

Organizational Intervention in Practice Theories:

A wide sample of social work practice theories from casework, group work, organizing and social planning were analyzed as to what they assume about organization intervention. All of the various theories recognize the reality of organizations for analyzing problems, but they vary in how they conceive of the relation of social work intervention to organizations. Table I summarizes how the practice frameworks conceive of who the worker should be involved with. A large part of the case work practice theories analyzed only emphasize direct intervention with the client who is experiencing the problem. In these theories organizations enter the practice situation as only content during the verbal interactions of the worker with the client. In some of the casework theories analyzed, there is some emphasis on the agency as a setting for practice. This is probably due to the historical influence of "Functionalism" in casework theory. A few writers, especially Hollis as one of
the strongest, do talk about "collateral" work or what Perlman calls "environmental modification". This is largely interaction with organizational representatives. However, most casework theorists if they mention this at all only speak of it in a short section as is found in Reid and Epstein or in only a few paragraphs with no development of the skills or process involved.

Social group work theorists are stronger in their emphasis on work with non-clients. All group work frameworks analyzed emphasize the relevance of the agency for the worker and the action system. There is also a strong minority of these theories which emphasize work with persons or organizational representatives other than the client or the agency which sponsors the worker. Even Vinter who is usually considered to be more "treatment" oriented among group work theorists had this to say about the necessity of the worker intervening with others beyond group members. It seems important, therefore, that the social worker retain dual perspectives, and attempt to resolve problem situations or processes: both pupils and school conditions should be targets of his interventive activity. He must find ways of serving specific individuals while simultaneously dealing with the sources of pupil difficulties within the school.

This emphasis in group work is related to the dual focus on the individual and society which has been a part of group work history. Also group work developed out of a different social theory which later analysis in this article indicates is a stronger base for practice at the organization level. Further the analysis indicates that all of the "organizing" practice theories in community work emphasize work with organizational representatives. This is also true for most of the community work theories which are designated as "social planning."
Table I

Emphasis of Practice Theories in Action Systems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Social Work Practice Theories</th>
<th>Case Work</th>
<th>Group Work</th>
<th>&quot;Organizing&quot;</th>
<th>Social Planning</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N=11)</td>
<td>(N=6)</td>
<td>(N=5)</td>
<td>(N=6)</td>
<td>(N=28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Client Only</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency of Worker Only</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker Plus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Client</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In looking at the organizational frameworks of different practice theories along another dimension, one can see where some of the limitations are. As indicated, most social work practice theories emphasize that organizations should be changed (Table II). Only a small minority of the case work theorists however identify typologies of change strategies and ways of influencing organizational structure. Most of the theorists analyzed in group work and community work do so. It is only in the group work and in the "organizing" part of community work that there is a beginning of identification of a "process of change" in organizational intervention. One can contrast this "process" emphasis with most of the writings in "social planning". Robert Mayer\(^7\) goes further than most "planning" theorists in conceptualizing the type of "organizational" decisions that must be made before planning can progress. He delineates these as legislation, administrative regulation, public expenditures, political power and judicial review.\(^8\) However, he does not provide conceptualizations for what the worker (planner) must do to move organizational entities toward such decisions.

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**TABLE II**

Emphasis of Practice Theories About Change in Organizations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Emphasis about Organizational Change</th>
<th>Case Work (N=11)</th>
<th>Group Work (N=6)</th>
<th>&quot;Organizing&quot; (N=5)</th>
<th>Social Planning (N=6)</th>
<th>Total (N=28)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organizations Should Change</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typologies of Change in Org.</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Processes of Change in Organizations</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Organizational Theories in Social Work Practice:

Further exploratory analysis of social work practice theories indicate that the limitations in practice at the organizational level identified above are related to the type of organizational theory which the particular practice theory assumes. Sociologists such as Etzioni\(^9\) indicate that types of organizational theories have historically developed to understand aspects of organizations which were left out of the early "rationalistic" theories of administration. In the present study several frameworks which these writers have identified were used to categorize social work practice theories (Table III). Two of these organizational theories are related to the "human relation" emphasis in administration which recognizes that organizations are made up of people and therefore are more than rational machines. This human relation emphasis can be differentiated into two types. One is a "psychologist" emphasis on individual members of organizations and
reduces organizations to some psychological framework. The other emphasis is on the organization itself as a "natural system" with "latent" functions which often contradict the rationally defined "manifest" goals and functions of the organization. This is the position of what might be called "enlightened management" and is also the position of many sociologists especially those in the "structural-functionalist" tradition. Another framework which includes even more hidden aspects of organizations than these two variations are theories which emphasize conflict of ideologies and inequality of power positions within organizations. Dahrendorf is a good example of such a theorist. In his social theory, organizations are viewed as being divided into various conflicting interest groups—especially those in power positions and those who are not. A fourth framework is identified here as "dialectic" and would be close to what Etzioni identifies as his "structuralist" position. In fact, his theory is a good example of the "dialectic" framework with its stress on the process of compliance (normative, utilitarian, and coercive) as the major variable in an organization. The organization in this perspective is viewed as an arena of conflicts and power plays, but with the possibility of an emerging consensus developing from the negotiations of organizational participants. It is this type of organizational theory which seems to be necessary to undergird formulations of processes of change in organizational intervention (Table IV).

TABLE III
Types of Organizational Theories
in Practice Theories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Organizational Theories</th>
<th>Case Work (N=11)</th>
<th>Group Work (N=6)</th>
<th>&quot;Organizing&quot; (N=5)</th>
<th>Social Planning (N=6)</th>
<th>Total (N=28)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psychologistic</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural System</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialectic</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
None of the social work practice theories maintain completely a "rationalistic" model of organizations. However, one might question whether most social work administration has moved beyond this model. The new emphasis on such "linear system analysis models" such as "P.E.R.T." and "P.P.B.S." may indicate that social work administration may still be attempting to stay within this rationalistic model of administration.

TABLE IV

Relation of Frameworks of Change to Various Emphases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views of Organizational Change</th>
<th>Type of Action System</th>
<th>Should change, but no method (N=8)</th>
<th>Typologies of change (N=8)</th>
<th>Process of change (N=4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Theories</td>
<td>Psychologistic</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural System</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, social work practice theories, within their understanding of human behavior, generally emphasize one of the variants of the "human relations" model. Case work theories most often use some "psychologistic" variation depending on the psychological framework dominant in the particular practice theory. Social work theories in group work and community work usually take a "natural system" or "structural-functionalist" model depending again on the social theory behind the practice.
perspective. Both human relations models of organizational theory whether "psychologistic" or "natural system" would seem to preclude the development of processes of change of the organization. The organization is still seen as a closed structure outside of potential worker involvement.

In some community work practice theories especially in "organizing", there is an attempt to use organizational frameworks where the differences of power of participants and the resulting conflicts are not only recognized but are used by the worker. The concept of "advocacy" assumes a partisan role by the worker in behalf of an individual or group who are considered to be unequal in their relation with some powerful organizational entity.14 The image of the "enemy" and the "system" often become one and the same in such frameworks. However, this conflict framework does not move far enough toward a conceptual base for processes of worker intervention. The organization itself is still viewed as a closed structure with no way for the worker to enter into it.

Only a few practice theories analyzed here--in group work and "organizing"--are using a dialectical perspective on organizations. Also, these practice theories are the only ones analyzed which have moved toward developing concepts of how the worker can be involved in the process of organizational change. Therefore, some form of "dialectical" theory would seem to be needed to form a firm base for working with organizations in social work practice.

"Dialectical" Theories of Organizations for Practice:

Though it is not the only social framework that fits the "dialectical" label, one of the most promising theoretical frameworks is the one used by the varieties of studies identified with the "symbolic interactionist" school of sociology.15 The discussion here will restrict itself to looking at implications of this framework because of the limited space to cover other alternatives. Also the symbolic interactionist framework is related to the social theories that influenced the early development of social group work and organizing, such as John Dewey and Alfred Lindeman.

The most relevant concept about organizations in the symbolic interactionist tradition is the concept of "negotiated order" of Anselm Strauss and colleagues.16 This concept was used in their research on mental hospitals and views the organizational structure as resulting from the negotiations of participants within the organizations who negotiate with
differential power and ideologies. Any organizational order which emerges is subject to a continuing negotiating and re-negotiating as new participants come in and out of the organization. They found the variable of ideology to be a central variable because it effected what power bases are identified and used by the participants. The full relevance of the concept of "negotiated order" cannot be developed here, but it does provide an understanding of how the worker can enter the organization. The assumption is made that social structure is a product of collective action and negotiations. Therefore, it can be restructured through a similar bargaining process.17

The symbolic interactionist approach of the "labeling" school of deviance further points to the organizational dimension of many of the problems handled by social work. Becker's statement is appropriate.18

In its simplest form, the theory (symbolic interactionist) insists that we look at all the people involved in any episode of alleged deviance. When we do, we discover that these activities involve the covert or tacit cooperation of many people and groups---- We discover too that the collective activity going on consists not just of acts of alleged wrongdoing, but rather is an involved drama in which making allegations of wrongdoing is a central feature.

Many of the problems worked with by social workers such as delinquency, mental illness, welfare, blindness, and others are being studied in this framework.19 These studies would indicate that social work practice at the micro level may have formulated an "action system" (those with whom the social worker is involved) that has insufficient relation with the "target system" (the social relationship that the worker needs to change). The labeling perspective would here indicate that interactions with organizations or their representatives is a necessity if the particular problems are to be solved.

The symbolic interactionist framework emphasizes the "conversational" nature of the negotiations that make up the construction and reconstruction of organizational (or all social) reality.20 This implies that the practice skills used by the social worker in interacting with organizational representatives are similar, if not basically the same as the skills used with clients or client-groups. The social worker, when he works with organizational representatives, is attempting to
engage the other person in a relationship of mutual involvement around the particular tasks needed to solve the problem which initiated the worker actions. Thus, the social worker must reach for and find the "stake" that the representative has (both personally and as a member of the organization) in working on the problem presented. Differences in social work with organizations are ones largely of emphasis such as the fact that the social worker is interacting with a person who has at least as much and usually more authority. Also, the focus of work is on a problem which is indirectly (mediated by the organization) related to the representative. Conversation is usually more formal and often involves the use of special "vocabularies" or "jargon". Also there is more use of interactions which are mediated by symbolic mediums (such as phone calls, written letters, memos, recorded material, etc.). However, there is the same concern of the social worker for attempting to understand what the other person feels and thinks and through this to arrive at some mutually acceptable contract for work if possible.

From the author's observation the most difficult part of negotiating with organizational representatives is the "power" situation mentioned earlier. The skill of "equalizing" negotiations with persons who are presumed to be of greater power and/or prestige is one of the most difficult skills to learn. It is also emotionally one of the hardest to deal with. Social workers often shy away from such practice for this reason. Of necessity, it often involves confrontation and the threat of bringing in external power. Randall Collins might indicate that this difficulty is related to the class level that most social workers have come out of their experience with the giving and receiving of orders. What might be implied here for the training of social workers is a type of training in dealing with ambiguity, confrontation, and conflict.

Symbolic interactionist research methodology would also suggest a reason for the lack of good practice theory on the process of negotiating with organizational representatives. This area of practice has not been recorded in any detail so that "grounded" practice theory can be developed. Social work practitioners will need to "process record" or tape (even video-tape) various types of negotiating sessions (individual and group) between social workers and organizational representatives related to both informal and formal concerns. When this happens a better knowledge base about practice process in this area can be developed. Participant observation data by both practitioner and other observers might also help. These are all methodologies that are congruent with the "qualitative" direction of most symbolic interactionist research. A good
example of the type of material that would be helpful is Earl Johnson's account of the development of the legal services program within the Office of Economic Opportunity. He presents an insider perspective on the details of negotiations (in back rooms and offices) that went on within the above process of development. Johnson gives direct quotes from speeches and in other gatherings (including parties) which provide insights into the process that is necessary in work with organizational representatives. His account is probably of more value than a whole library of "rationalistic" frameworks of what social planning should be like. These frameworks would seem to imply that the planner is a presidential advisor rather than a middle-range organizational participant.

The last aspect of symbolic interactionist theory which will be mentioned here is its emphasis and use of the concept of "career" (both for individuals and groups). With this concept, symbolic interactionist has linked its concern with deviance to the concerns of stratification and social mobility. Thus deviance is a particular type of failure (i.e., downward mobility) which has been affected a great deal by the labels of official agencies (i.e., police, mental health workers, etc.). By using the concept of "career", social work practice theory could go a long way toward developing a truly generic explanatory theory. Much of so-called "micro" practice has been concerned with how to help individuals or families develop the skills and motivation to continue a positive "career" or reverse a negative "career". "Macro" practice has usually emphasized how total groups or classes can be moved through positive "careers". By integrating both sets of concerns into one model, the organizational negotiations become clearer and strategies that the social worker might develop more obvious. Thus, the "broker", "mediator", or "advocate" analogies, that have been with social work practice from its beginning, make more sense. Such a framework could be helpful toward liberating social work practice from inappropriate ties with the "medical" model and thus make it truly "social" in its theory.

Conclusion:

The argument in this article can be simply stated. The exploratory analysis of social work practice theories would seem to indicate that there is a relation between the theories which the practice frameworks assume about organizations and whether the practice frameworks have developed concepts about how organizations can be changed. Such assumptions also limit whether the practice framework also conceptualizes the
interaction with individuals or groups beyond what have generally been called clients. It is further suggested here that organizational theories related to the sociological tradition of symbolic interactionism might be explored to further develop practice theory related to the organizational levels. This sociological framework assumes that organizations are constructed through the negotiating interactions of people and therefore they can be restructured through such efforts of people including social workers.

Footnotes and References:


2. Smalley, op. cit.

3. Hollis, "Explorations in the Development of a Typology of Casework Treatment".

4. Perlman, Perspectives on Social Casework, p. 49.

5. Reid and Epstein, op. cit., pp. 188-191.


7. Mayer, op. cit.

8. Ibid, p. 119.


19. Ibid.


21. Ibid.


The American social welfare field is best characterized as a highly decentralized sphere of activity in which autonomous organizations define and pursue their goals in a fairly independent fashion. The complex nature of modern social problems, however, requires concerted action by a variety of organizations if effective solutions are to be developed. This conflict between the structural nature of the welfare field and the demands of the problems to be addressed has meant that social welfare planners have had to be concerned with the conditions affecting the willingness of independent organizations to engage in cooperative activities with each other. The purposes of the present paper are twofold: (1) To identify some of the major variables that affect the interorganizational activities of social welfare organizations; and (2) to describe the actual interorganizational patterns of one such organization, a county board of public assistance.

Conceptual Framework

The major theoretical orientation of the present study is the social systems approach to formal organizations as initially developed by Selznick and Parsons. A useful definition of social systems is offered by Katz and Kahn who view them as:

... the patterned activities of a number of individuals. Moreover, these patterned activities are complementary or interdependent with respect to some common output or outcome; they are repeated, relatively enduring, and bounded in space and time. ... The stability or recurrence of activities can be examined in relation to the energetic input into the system, the transformation of energies within the system, and the resulting product or energetic output.
When an organization is viewed as a social system one's attention is immediately directed to two areas of activities that characterize all social systems: The first pertains to the production of an "output" (i.e., the performance of a function) and the second to the insurance of a supply of "energetic inputs" (i.e., resources) so that the system will be able to exist over time. Students of organizational behavior frequently place a higher priority on one or the other of these activities, depending upon whether they concentrate on the purposeful, goal-seeking behavior of organizations or their system-maintaining activities. Aside from the question of which activity is given more importance at any given time, there is clear agreement that organizational functioning and survival require that both concerns be in the forefront of the thinking and actions of administrators. That is, one can expect that the bulk of an administrator's time will be spent either in maintaining a sufficient and stable supply of resources, or in insuring that the product or service produced by the organization is functional to the needs of some group.

These characteristics of the organization as a social system have a direct bearing upon the capacity and willingness of an organization to engage in interorganizational activities. Namely, this approach to organizational behavior suggests that an organization's willingness to relate to another organization will be a direct function of the extent to which that other organization can affect either its inputs or outputs. For the social welfare organization the major inputs are money, personnel, clients to serve, and some form of sanction from the larger community. An organization can be expected to direct its external activities to those organizations that either control the supply of these resources or have surpluses of one or more of these resources that they are willing to exchange for something else. The outputs of welfare organizations fall into two general categories: The first contains those agencies which provide outputs that directly meet the consumption needs of its clientele (e.g., agencies providing money, housing, employment, child care); the second contains those agencies that provide "social services," which, in turn, are usually defined as some form of counseling or therapy directed toward altering the behavioral patterns of individuals, groups, or neighborhoods. Welfare organizations, then, can also be expected to direct their external activities to other organizations that might impinge upon these outputs; these could include rival organizations that offer the same or similar outputs, or organizations whose services are complementary or supportive.

This theoretical orientation suggests, then, that the interorganizational relationships of social welfare organizations will
be guided by two concerns: (1) The need to maintain or expand a resource base, and (2) the need to insure the utilization of the organization's services. Moreover, there is some agreement in the literature that the maintenance of input resources will be paramount since organizational survival is directly and immediately dependent upon that.

Statement of the Problem

This conceptual framework was used to guide an empirical investigation of the factors associated with the pattern of interorganizational relationships engaged in by a county board of public assistance (hereinafter, the CBA). Specifically, this approach suggests two questions that should be asked of any organization's patterns of interorganizational relationships: (1) To what extent is the organization's activities with other organizations directed toward those organizations that control its resources; and (2) to what extent does it relate to organizations that affect its services, either in a competitive or complementary manner?

These questions served as the general hypotheses for the present study. This general scheme was then applied to the CBA in order to develop specific working hypotheses. There are two major characteristics of the CBA that have a direct bearing on the general hypotheses. The first is the structural location of the CBA within a state-wide department of public assistance. As such, the CBA is not an independent organization, but instead is a "branch" of a larger organization. The major implication of this fact for the present study is that the vast bulk of the input resources of the CBA are controlled by one organization, the parent state agency. Since organizations can be expected to direct their major interorganizational efforts toward maintaining stable input resources, it was hypothesized that the CBA would be a "vertically oriented" organization, i.e., it would have limited interactions with organizations in its immediate environment and direct its attention upward to the parent agency.

The second characteristic of concern here is that the CBA, while not a new organization, was at the time of the present study (January, 1972) attempting to launch a new function, namely, the delivery of social services by a public assistance agency. This meant that the CBA had to establish a functional role for itself in an existing service network. Given the second general hypothesis that organizations will relate to other organizations which affect their outputs, it was specifically hypothesized that the interorganizational relationships that the CBA did engage in would be directed toward agencies which were complementary or
supportive of its service activities.

If the conceptual scheme developed here has validity, then one can expect that the actual pattern of interorganizational relationships engaged in by the CBA would differ markedly from the one that could be predicted on the basis of the CBA's official program goals which placed a strong emphasis on extensive interagency relationships. A major change in the public assistance program in recent years has been the "separation of cash from services," i.e., the administrative separation of the provision of money payments from the delivery of social and rehabilitative services. 14 The CBA in question had been in the forefront of this activity, and at the time of the present study had been operating on a separated basis for four years; that is, it consisted of two completely separate units, a money payments division and a service delivery division.

In addition, the service delivery division of the CBA was experimenting with a new program for the delivery of services. Among the many unique provisions of this program was the requirement that, in addition to directly providing services to its clientele, the CBA would take an active part in mobilizing existing community services on behalf of these clients, and also work with other organizations on the creation of new services to fill gaps in the existing system of services. This last aspect of the CBA's program made it an excellent subject for an examination of interorganizational relationships since it was operating under an explicit mandate to relate to other welfare organizations with the goal of maximizing the services available to its clients.

Methodology

Since complex organizations consist of both a "formal" (i.e., official) and an "informal" (i.e., operational) structure, research on organizations must take account of two major sources of data: The official statements and formal structural arrangements of the organization, and observations of the actual behavior of organizational members. 15 Accordingly, the present study relied on both official and informal sources of data for measuring the interorganizational relationships of the CBA. The official sources include the formal structure of the organization (e.g., what resources were allocated for interorganizational activities, at what hierarchical level were these activities located), the stated goals of the CBA regarding interorganizational relationships (e.g., written policy, the views of administrators), and formal arrangements with other organizations (e.g., written agreements or contracts). The major source of data on the actual operations of the CBA in the interorganizational arena came from interviews with all
personnel who had responsibility for administering, supervising, or delivering social services. These individuals were asked to report on the frequency and purpose of all interagency contacts they were involved in for the six-month period prior to the interview.  

A second methodological concern related to the operationalization of the dependent variable, i.e., how to measure "contacts" with other agencies. For the purposes of the present study the aspect of interorganizational contacts that is of most concern is the extent to which these activities are indicative of a sharing of resources between organizations with a consequent heightening of organizational interdependence. The underlying continuum here is the degree to which the sharing of resources involves a lessening of autonomy on the part of each organization, particularly in the area of internal decision-making processes. At one end of this continuum are exchanges that involve little or no intrusions upon organizational autonomy (e.g., contacts for the purpose of sharing information about one's own services or gaining information about the services of other organizations), while at the other end are exchanges that involve a major inroad on organizational decision-making (e.g., joint programs, contractual arrangements). This variable was termed "purpose of contact" and was measured at an ordinal level: Information (low interdependence), service (moderate interdependence), and joint activity (high interdependence).

Data Analysis

This section will start with the data derived from reported interorganizational contacts by CBA personnel and move on to data on the official, structural arrangements for interorganizational activities within the agency. Table 1 presents the data on the total number of organizations (by auspices) contacted by CBA personnel during the study period. The total figure of 183 takes on greater meaning when compared with the total number of health and welfare agencies located in the county (as listed in a local health and welfare directory) which is 157. One can assume, then, that CBA personnel contacted every significant agency in their immediate environment and many beyond county limits. The distribution of auspices reflects the nature of the health and welfare system in the United States (and especially in the Northeastern states where the CBA is located) in which the voluntary agency is still the dominant mechanism for the delivery of services.

Table 2 presents the distribution of agencies contacted by auspices and the frequency with which they were contacted.
### TABLE 1

**DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED BY AUSPICES**

**N = 183**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auspices</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>(51)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(1 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(8 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County/City</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(8 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>183</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 2

**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AUSPICES OF ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED AND CONTACT RATE**

**N = 183**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. (%)</th>
<th>AUSPICES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voluntary-Rate</strong></td>
<td><strong>Public</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>40 (77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>11 (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>1 ( 2 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>52 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-39-
The major conclusion to be drawn from these data is that, while CBA personnel engaged in extensive contacts with a wide range of agencies, these contacts were not intensive in terms of the number of contacts with any one agency. Over three-fourths of the contacts fell in the "low" contact rate category, meaning that the vast majority of the agencies contacted were contacted by a few workers (less than one-fifth of the service staff) and on an infrequent basis (less than once a month). These data suggest a pattern of agency contacts that can be characterized as extensive but superficial.

When contact rates are broken down by auspices of the contacted agency a pattern of higher contact rates with public agencies is revealed. That is, nearly twice as many of the contacts with public agencies fell in the moderate-high categories, as did the contacts with voluntary and religious organizations (23 per cent compared to 12 per cent).

The data in Table 3 lends further support to the possibility of a pattern of extensive but superficial exchanges. The overwhelming bulk of contacts were for the purpose of obtaining service for clients. In the public sector more than half the agencies were most frequently contacted for service, while in the voluntary-religious sector this occurred in three-fourths of the cases. Joint activity was listed as a frequent purpose in a very few instances, indicating that the CBA, as predicted, was not engaged in intensive interorganizational relationships.

When purpose of contact is correlated with the auspices of the contacted organization it can be seen that auspices does not seem to play a role in determining contacts for the purpose of information; the distributions are fairly similar across all categories. However, in the service category, voluntary-religious organizations are contacted more frequently than public ones. The most notable difference appears in the joint activity category which is given as the purpose for contacting publicly-sponsored organizations twice as often as it is for the voluntary-religious organizations. Once again, the data point to a different pattern of relationships with public as opposed to other kinds of organizations. In this case, the difference becomes most pronounced as the upper-end of the scale of interorganizational exchanges. That is, at the level of information gathering the personnel of the CBA were just as likely to contact a public organization as a voluntary-religious or commercial one. At the other end of the continuum, however, when it came to pursuing more collaborative kinds of relationships the workers were twice as likely to pursue joint activities with public agencies than with voluntary-religious ones, and pursued none with commercial organizations.
### TABLE 3

**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AUSPICES AND PURPOSE OF CONTACT**

N = 183  
No. (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AUSPICES</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public</td>
<td>Voluntary-Religious</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>35 (68)</td>
<td>88 (77)</td>
<td>12 (75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 50%</td>
<td>9 (17)</td>
<td>14 (12)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 50%</td>
<td>8 (15)</td>
<td>13 (11)</td>
<td>4 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52 (100)</td>
<td>115 (100)</td>
<td>16 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| SERVICE        |          |                  |        |
| None           | 9 (17)   | 18 (16)          | 7 (44) |
| Less than 50%  | 15 (29)  | 13 (11)          | 1 (6)  |
| More than 50%  | 28 (54)  | 84 (73)          | 8 (50) |
| **Total**      | 52 (100) | 115 (100)        | 16 (100) |

| JOINT ACTIVITY |          |                  |       |
| None           | 34 (65)  | 99 (86)          | 16 (100) |
| Less than 50%  | 15 (29)  | 15 (13)          | 0 (0)  |
| More than 50%  | 3 (6)    | 1 (1)            | 0 (0)  |
| **Total**      | 52 (100) | 115 (100)        | 16 (100) |

*The unit of analysis that this table is based on is the total contact experience with an organization. For example, Agency X may have been contacted by four different workers, with each worker listing multiple purposes for contacting the organization. Contact experience refers to the aggregate of these contacts; the total number of contact experiences, therefore, equals the total number of organizations.*

(Continued)
TABLE 3

(Continued)

zations contacted, i.e., 183. Thus, the upper-left-hand cell of the table reads as follows: Of the total number of contact experiences in the public sector (i.e., the total number of public agencies contacted), 35 (68%) were not contacted for the purpose of information; going down the column, the next cell reads that in 9 (17%) of the contact experiences information was listed as the purpose less than half the time; and so forth.

* * * * *

CBA personnel were also asked to complete a questionnaire that asked, among other things, what they thought their "unique competence" was in their jobs. Content analysis of the responses produced the following four categories: (1) The services provided by the respondent's unit (e.g., family counseling, housing, home management, etc.); (2) the worker's skill in helping people; (3) knowledge of public welfare procedures; and (4) knowledge of community resources. Nearly one-half of the 27 line workers listed either service of the unit, worker's skill, or knowledge of agency procedures as their unique competence, while only three listed knowledge of community resources. (The remaining nine listed a wide range of activities as their unique competencies.) This suggests that the modal orientation of line workers in the CBA is toward activities performed within the organization.

This inward orientation became more pronounced as one moved up the agency hierarchy. At the supervisory level only two of the five unit supervisors specifically mentioned knowledge of community resources as a unique competence, and only one of the five had developed guidelines for interorganizational activities in that unit. At the level of the executive and deputy-executive positions, the orientation was entirely toward internal agency operations. The only activity initiated at the executive level pertaining to interorganizational relationships was a community-wide meeting to introduce the agency's new program; there were no additional activities to follow this up.

A second major source of data was derived from the structural arrangements made within the CBA for the pursuit of interorganizational relationships. The official program design for the CBA's service system called for the creation of a "service mobilization unit" that would be at a hierarchical level directly below the
service division manager, and on the same level as the chief of the
direct service operation. The functions of this office were to (1)
insure the availability of existing community services to CBA clien-
tele, (2) to stimulate the development of new services, and (3) to
enter into formal contractual relationships with other organizations
for the purchase of services.

The actual experience of the CBA with setting up and operating
the mobilization unit deviated markedly from these guidelines and
offers insight into the place of interorganizational activities in
the structure of the agency. When the service system was first in-
stalled the mobilization unit was not set up as a separate unit, but
put under the supervision of a community operations unit; when this
proved unsuccessful the unit was moved to the direct service unit.
It was not until six months after the service system had been in-
stalled that a separate mobilization unit was created in line with
the original guidelines.

In addition to difficulties in the location of the unit, the
staffing pattern never conformed to the guidelines. The individual
assigned to the position of service mobilizer had the organizational
rank of a line-worker. Therefore, regardless of the location of
the unit in the organizational hierarchy, its overall importance was
considerably diminished by the failure to appoint as head an indivi-
dual with sufficient authority. Moreover, no additional personnel
were assigned to the unit.

The result of these decisions was to transform the unit from a
line-operation with an organizational position and staff that would
have made it comparable in importance to the direct service unit,
to a minor staff-operation consisting of a single individual with
an ambiguous position in the organizational hierarchy and no direct
involvement in the line-operation of the agency. The service mobi-
lizer became dissatisfied with this arrangement and left the agency
a few months after the unit had been set up as a separate entity.
Moreover, this vacancy was not filled for four months, meaning that
for most of the time covered by the present study the mobilization
unit was inoperative. Because of the failure to make this unit
fully operational, the CBA only entered into three contracts with
outside agencies during the first year of operation of the new
service system. This is a low level of activity in this area con-
sidering the importance attached to contractual arrangements for
the delivery of services in the official guidelines.

Implications for Planning

These data offer general support to the first hypothesis guid-
ing the present study that the CBA, as a "vertically-oriented"

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organization, would have little involvement with organizations in its functional and geographic environment because of its dependence upon a parent body for the supply of virtually all major resources. Because of this, it was not possible to test the second hypothesis since there was not enough collaborative activity engaged in by the CBA to discern any patterns. The support offered for the first hypothesis, however, points to some important implications for planning.

As noted earlier, planners have always recognized the importance of interorganizational coordination because of their orientation to the complex causes of modern social problems. The present study hypothesized and documented a structural explanation of the causes of interorganizational coordination. Namely, an organization's capacity to engage in interorganizational activities will be a function of its location vis-à-vis its major providers of resources. The CBA in the present study is typical of most public agencies in that it is located within a vertically-oriented, corporate structure. Its orientation can be expected to be upward (to the parent body) and inward (to internal operations) because of this. Therefore, if the causes of poor interorganizational coordination are structural, then the solutions must also be structural.

One such structural solution has been proposed by White and his colleague who argue that organizations should be provided with funds that can only be used for the services of other organizations. This would be a way of attaining the goal of system integration that is informed by what is known about the behavioral dynamics of organizations. That is, it shifts the focus of intervention from the organization itself to the input constituency of the organization. In the case of the agency studied in the present research, this analysis suggests that the appropriate level for intervention is the parent body of the county board, i.e., the state agency. In order to get the local agency to shift its orientation from a vertical to a horizontal one, it would be necessary for the parent body to take an active role in specifically directing the use of funds.

If this analysis is correct then the current trend in domestic national policy toward decentralization of policy-setting and decision-making to local levels of government (the "new federalism") can be expected to exacerbate the already high degree of fragmentation in service delivery systems. A traditional approach to program integration in the past has been the guidelines surrounding the granting of federal funds to the states and localities; these guidelines have always placed a high priority on program coordination and integration as a condition of the receipt of funds. To the
extent that the "new federalism" pursues a strategy of "no strings attached" funds, then one can expect that the kind of internally-oriented behavior that characterized the public assistance agency in the present study to become more prevalent.

NOTES


3 The research study upon which this paper is based is reported in the author's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "The Effects of Patterns of Interorganizational Relationships on the Delivery of Social Services," Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College, 1973.


7 Parsons refers to this as a "double functional reference:"

Most functionally specialized organizations are agencies for the production of outputs other than the enhancement of their own solidarity . . . At the same time, they have the problem of maintaining their own solidarity. The latter may necessitate a different set of factors than the former . . .


9 Parsons defines an organizational output as "an identifiable something which can be utilized in some way by another system; that is, the output of the organization is, for some other system, an input." "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach . . .," 63.


16. The preferred method would have been to do direct observation of the actual interorganizational contacts of all agency personnel; this, however, would have required a longitudinal study which was beyond the resources of the present study. The fact that all data concerning interagency contacts is derived from interviews and is based on the respondent's memory of these contacts for a six-month period constitutes a shortcoming of these data which places some restrictions on the kinds of interpretations that can be made. However, since it can be assumed that any errors due to memory will be randomly distributed among the respondents, and these data were used to establish an overall pattern for the organization as a whole, this method was considered acceptable.


18. Respondents were asked to describe the purpose of each contact with an outside organization. Content analysis was then done on these descriptions, with the following guidelines used for ranking the contacts: (1) Information - telephone contacts, informal meetings, letters, all for the sole purpose of obtaining information about the service of other organizations, or sharing information about CBA services. (2) Service - referrals to other agencies, follow-up contacts after referral, acting as an intermediary to facilitate obtaining service for a client, informal meetings around a case. (3) Joint activity - formal case management in which joint decision-making occurred, the development of a joint service (e.g., a common intake), contractual arrangements to purchase service from other organizations. Aiken and Hage (p. 914) argue that purchase of services should not be considered a form of joint activity since it does not involve sharing of organizational decision-making power. The experience in the social welfare field, however, particularly in the relationship of the federal government to state and local governments via the grant-in-aid programs, suggests otherwise.

The purchaser of a service is in a position to affect the internal operations of the provider organization by imposing requirements on how services are to be offered, who should receive them, and under what conditions.

19. "Contact rate" is a two-variable index made up of the number of times an agency was contacted and the number of different workers making the contacts. The formula for weighting these variables is presented in Gummer, "The Effects of Patterns . . . ," 95-97.

20. White, Levine, and Vlasak, 186.
This paper compares two theoretical perspectives on deviance, the behavioral and interactionist. Although these two perspectives arise from separate disciplines and intellectual traditions, we will argue that their approaches to the study of deviance in general and to mental illness in particular share many basic similarities, as well as some important differences, and that an analysis of each helps us understand the limitations and strengths of the other.

The behavioral and interactionist perspectives are chosen for examination for three reasons. First, it is our opinion that these two theoretical approaches represent the most creative recent work by sociologists and psychologists on deviant behavior. Second, there are few attempts in the literature to integrate the perspectives (Ullman and Krasner, 1969; Singelmann, 1972; and Akers, 1973 are recent exceptions), and, in fact, the perspectives are often posed as antagonistic. Third, both perspectives share a rejection of the dominant psychiatric conceptualizations of deviant behavior and place greater emphasis on the social context of deviance.

The discussion of these two perspectives will compare them by examining their approaches to one form of deviance, mental illness. Attention will be given to the similarities and dissimilarities of these perspectives in terms of concepts, propositions and methodology, with particular attention to areas of actual or potential cross-fertilization. In order to focus the comparison, we will first outline some of the basic assumptions of each perspective and then move to the topic of mental illness by examining their treatment of (1) the definition of mental illness, (2) primary deviation, (3) the responses of others to primary deviation, (4) secondary deviation, and (5) the philosophy and methodology of research.

*The authors want to thank Scott Briar, Norman K. Denzin, James R. Greenley, Arlie Hochschild, and several anonymous reviewers for critical comments on earlier drafts of this paper.
Basic Assumptions of the Two Perspectives

What we are referring to as the interactionist perspective is derived from Mead's symbolic interactionism as a conceptual scheme for understanding human behavior (Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969). This approach posits that people act toward the objects in their world according to the meanings those objects have for them. Those meanings are learned, handled, and modified in the process of social interaction, specifically the interpretive aspect of that process. Man creates a world of objects and through his interpretations of these he is able to construct lines of action toward them. The person himself and significant others constitute major objects in his world. Social interaction is a process through which action is formulated by reciprocal role taking and self indication. Human society is the product of collectivities engaging in this joint action and can be understood by capturing the viewpoint of the actor who is engaging in designating and interpreting the objects in his world and constructing lines of activity toward them.

Within the behavioral perspective, behavior is assumed to be a function of man's genetic and environmental history as well as of current environmental conditions and states of deprivation (Skinner, 1974). One's learning history is constructed through the interaction of the person and his environment, especially interaction with his significant others (Bandura, 1969; Staats, 1971). The critical factor in understanding behavior is the relationship between behavior and its consequences. These contingencies of reinforcement are considered to determine man's behavior. Since these vary in different situations, environmental antecedents acquire an influencing role through increasing the probability of behaviors which have been reinforced in their presence. Also, since each individual has a unique learning history, each person's behavior is under the control of different contingencies. Feelings and states of mind are considered to be by-products of contingencies rather than "causes" of behavior (Skinner, 1973). Man acts on his environment and may change this environment through self-management, for example, through the analysis of contingencies and the extraction of the rules that governed the behavior (Skinner, 1974).

The Definition of Mental Illness

Both the behavioral and interactionist perspectives reject the notion that "mental illness" is indicative of a disease process (Taber, et. al., 1969). Instead they view mental illness as a label that is differentially employed in some situations with negative effects upon the individuals so labeled (cf. Ullmann and Krasner, 1969; Scheff, 1966). Labeling is thus seen as one mode of reaction to a given actor that is influenced by a variety of situational factors.
The interactionists focus on this reaction process and argue that the nature of mental illness is not found within the person so labeled, but in the evaluation that people make about certain behaviors. Consequently, to understand mental illness, one has to study the circumstances that give rise to that evaluation. This naturally leads to a focus on the nature of the situational norms and expectations that are violated when the mental illness designation is made (Goffman, 1963; Goffman, 1969; Scheff, 1966). It is not a given behavior, then, that is important, but rather the definition imposed on the actor and the situation. This interpretation or definition becomes a crucial variable in the study of mental illness.

The behavioral perspective also recognizes the situational relativity of the use of the mental illness label and often cites the interactionist literature in support of this point (cf. Ullmann and Krasner, 1969). It has not focused, however, as extensively as the interactionists on the contingencies that shape the use of the label mental illness or "unadaptive behavior" which is preferred by behaviorists over the term mental illness. Nevertheless, both perspectives share an increasing concern with the iatrogenic effects of the application of labels (Lemert, 1951; Becker, 1963; Scheff, 1966; Bandura, 1969; Stuart, 1970) and with the failure fostered by the disease model to focus on relevant environmental variables.

**Primary Deviation**

Primary deviance refers to rule breaking that is not perceived by the interactants as part of the deviant role performance and which has minimal consequence for the rule breaker, e.g. jaywalking (Lemert, 1967:40; Scheff, 1966:51). The interactionists are not concerned with the "causes" of primary deviation. It is assumed that primary deviation is a common feature of social life and arises from diverse sources (Lemert, 1967:40; Scheff, 1966:40).

In contrast, within the behavioral perspective there is a strong interest in the origin and maintaining conditions of both deviant and non-deviant behavior (Bandura, 1969; Staats, 1971). An attempt is made to identify the types of interactions between behavior and the environment that lead to its acquisition, maintenance and change. The initial occurrence of a behavior in a given situation could be the result of a number of processes including generalization of a response to a similar stimulus situation (Bandura, 1969:40), vicarious or direct model presentation followed by subsequent performance of the response (Bandura, 1969:143-174) or a gradual shaping of a given behavior via reinforcement of approximations of that behavior (Ullmann and Krasner, 1969:61-62). There is an extensive literature within the behavioral perspective concerning the establishment of behaviors which under certain circumstances come to be seen as signs of mental illness.
(Wolpe, 1958; Bandura, 1969). For example, Haughton and Ayllon (1965) demonstrated that a behavior considered by psychiatrists as indicative of mental illness, in this instance constant broom holding, could be established and maintained by reinforcing this behavior.

Through one's learning history, a unique set of consequences function as accelerators and decelerators of behavior for a given person. Originally neutral stimuli can, through a process of being paired with environmental events which elicit autonomic responses, also acquire an eliciting function (Pavlov, 1927; Rachman and Hodgson, 1968). For example, Rachman and Hodgson (1968) demonstrated that by pairing sexual arousal and boots, the latter acquired the capability of eliciting such excitation. Aversive stimuli have long been seen as a major generator of avoidance and escape behavior which may be labeled as unadaptive (Skinner, 1953; Pavlov, 1927). A person may refuse to leave the house and report that he is "afraid" of being alone away from home (Wolpe, 1970). Such refusal may violate one's own expectations or those of others. Thus, rule breaking behavior, whether involving approach or avoidance behavior which is considered unusual, may be occasioned by the presence of stimuli concordant with idiosyncratic reinforcer systems (Staats and Staats, 1963: 483-488).

Maintenance of behavior is dependent upon whether or not mainly accelerating consequences follow the repeated performance of a behavior, whether provided by the individual himself by virtue of his learning history (Kanfer and Phillips, 1970:420-425) or by some other source (Bandura, 1969:242-269). There is now considerable evidence that behaviors labeled as deviant are often maintained through reinforcement by those significant others who complain about them (Bandura, 1969).

Both perspectives stress the variability of the environment and the consequent variability of behavior. Both recognize that, for any given person, a unique set of environmental stimuli come to influence behavior. These stimuli do not automatically influence behavior, but do so in relation to a unique history of learning occurring in social interaction. Both perspectives recognize that stimuli can have a great range of "meaning" for different individuals and that the person himself provides an important part of his own environment (Bandura, 1969; Kanfer and Phillips, 1970). Both perspectives emphasize the "normality" of rule breaking or norm violation; normality with respect to frequency or occurrence, but more important, normality with respect to the nature of the social processes that lead to deviation. The interactionist is less concerned with the cause of primary deviation than with its documentation and the description of the norms apparently violated (Goffman, 1963; Scheff, 1966). The behaviorist, on the other hand is interested in the construction of behavioral repertoires, both deviant and otherwise, and how they arise and are maintained in social interaction.
Reactions of Others

The reactions of significant others to a person's rule breaking behavior are considered by both perspectives to be influential in determining the actor's future behavior. The behavioral perspective, as we have discussed, views the reactions of others to behavior as a central variable in establishing and maintaining behavior. Consequently, their analysis of the reactions of others to rule breaking behavior is identical to their analysis of non-problematic behavior.

The interactionists consider the reactions of others to rule breaking or alleged rule breaking as a pivotal event which sociologically separates rule breaking from deviance (Becker, 1963; Becker, 1971, Scheff, 1966). These reactions of others are viewed as falling on a continuum with normalization and labeling at opposite poles.

Normalizing reactions to rule breaking refer to those cognitive and behavioral reactions which are prompted by a norm violation, but which attempt to minimize its social significance. The rule breaking is viewed as a temporary, unintentional and unusual behavior for the actor who is conceived to be essentially "normal" with normal commitments to the rules. The rule breaking is seen as a deviation from what one expects of this particular actor. Normalizing reactions may allow the actor to resume conforming behavior (Scheff, 1966:81) or may promote further rule breaking (Roman and Trice, 1971; Yarrow, et al., 1955).

Labeling refers to reactions that also recognize an instance of rule breaking, but make something significant out of it. In the interactionist literature, labeling is used to refer to three conceptually distinct but interrelated activities: naming or the use of a particular term (cf. Fletcher, et al., 1969), degradation processes which officially alter the actor's status (Garfinkel, 1956) and the effects these two events may have on the actor himself or those who know him (Becker, 1963). Labeling may involve all of these and when it does, it constitutes a special kind of collective redefinition of the act and actor in which others view the instance of rule breaking as an intentional and expected behavior for a basically abnormal actor (cf. Cohen, 1966:24). Labeling is the antithesis of normalization because it transforms rule breaking into deviance and essentially normal actors into deviant ones.

Regarding mental illness, the interactionists have focused on the contexts of normalizing and labeling responses. It is thought that the definition of an actor as mentally ill constitutes a labeling reaction that often occurs prior to contact with a psychiatric facility (Mechanic, 1962). Since an important arena of reaction is the rule-breaker's intimate social groups, interactionist studies have attempted to reconstruct and analyze the social processes of these groups as the normalizing and labeling reactions emerged (Lemert, 1962; Sampson,
et. al., 1964; Sampson, et. al., 1962; Yarrow, et. al., 1955). Other studies (Goffman, 1961; Scheff, 1964) have focused on the reactions of public officials during commitment proceedings and in mental hospitals, seeing their reactions as particularly influential in creating deviant careers.

The behavioral perspective has not studied conditions leading to normalizing in contrast to labeling responses but is concerned with the possible iatrogenic effects of labeling. It can potentially make a contribution to the interactionist work by offering an analysis of the maintenance of labeling behavior. Given that labeling involves a behavioral response, the circumstances leading to its occurrence and the possible maintaining consequences can be explored. It is possible that most labeling is maintained by the consequent removal of aversive stimuli. The behavior of labeling a given norm violation as the manifestation of mental illness may be followed by any of the following: (1) alleviation of the need to spend more time and effort "trying to understand" a behavior, (2) removal of the disturbing person from the home, work place, etc., (3) the lessening of self-blame by parent, spouse or agency official for one's role in the maintenance of the deviant behavior, since now the deviant behavior can be "explained" as an internal mental disease, or (4) rewarding of the labeler for his diagnostic acumen.

Secondary Deviation

According to the interactionists, "secondary deviance refers to a special class of socially defined responses which people make to problems created by the societal reaction to their deviance" (Lemert, 1967:40). It differs from primary deviance in origin and in significance for the deviant. Being a response to a societal reaction, secondary deviation is essentially an attempted solution to interactional problems encountered by the rule breaker. As a solution, secondary deviation has major consequences for the person's self attitudes, role performances and identity (Lemert, 1967:40-41). Thus the primary rule breaker may exaggerate his rule breaking, begin to see himself as a particular kind of deviant, and organize his life around the facts of his deviance. (Lemert, 1967:41).

The person labeled mentally ill may find that accepting that definition of self and behaving accordingly facilitates social interaction and may be rewarded (Scheff, 1966:84). Whether the mentally ill role will be fully adopted may depend on many factors including (1) whether the role offers a solution to a particular personal problem, (2) the perceived availability of normal roles, and (3) the extent to which others, e.g., peer group, family or control agents, provide support for the deviant role performance. For example, Sampson, et. al. (1964) found that hospitalization may inhibit marital disintegration, rationalize deviant behavior and provide the opportunity
for marital reintegration. Frequently, however, the resumption of normal role behavior is made difficult by the initial acceptance of a deviant identity (Scheff, 1966:87).

The interactionists have sensitized behaviorists to the possible invidious results of labeling. The behavioral perspective can make a contribution to the work of the interactionists by the precision with which they analyze contingencies between behavior and the environment. For example, the behaviorists argue that one learns through social interaction to evaluate and react covertly and overtly to oneself by applying reinforcing or punishing stimuli contingent upon one's behavior. Literature within the behavioral perspective supports the role of self-mediating processes in determining behavior (Bandura, 1969:564-622; Kanfer and Phillips, 1970:408-454), including the role of self-reinforcement (Kanfer and Phillips, 1970:420-425). Bandura notes that mediating processes may serve the same functions as other environmental stimuli, e.g., reinforcing behavior, eliciting arousal reactions, and serving as stimuli which occasion behavior (1969:584-587). Thus, if a person labeled as mentally ill accepts this definition of self, his image of mentally ill behavior may encourage him to perform such behaviors, as well as to decrease behaviors not in accord with his image, particularly if, by virtue of his learning history, he anticipates that the reinforcing consequences for the behavior will outweigh any response costs involved (Bandura, 1969:133-134).

**Research Strategy**

The research strategies of the two perspectives are grounded in different models of social inquiry. Interactionists accept a model stressing participant observation and phenomenological inquiry whereas the behavioral perspective accepts a model emphasizing experimental manipulation of publicly verifiable events. Both, however, share a commitment to the detailed analysis of social conduct and a rejection of many of the dominant social science research techniques, e.g., questionnaires, attitude scales, random sampling, and so forth. Their different approaches to research stem primarily from different conceptions of science and man as a social actor.

The interactionists, although diverse among themselves, have an affinity for phenomenological inquiry (cf. Bruyn, 1966). The subjective and interpretive experience of people is viewed as not only a legitimate, but a necessary focus for social research, since it is considered an essential dimension of social life. Their inquiry is guided by sensitized rather than operationalized concepts (Blumer, 1969). An attempt is made to gain a holistic picture of the phenomena being investigated by linking symbols, self, social action and situation (Denzin, 1970:7-20). Participant observation is typically recommended
as the most adequate procedure for this purpose (Blumer, 1969:40 ff). Although they religiously attempt to avoid altering the activities they study, they seek to penetrate the social world of those studied to discover how their experience is organized and interpreted (Blumer, 1969:51). Thus, they often appear more committed to the detailed description of social life, both public and private, than to a causal analysis of it. Causal inference, when attempted, is typically approached through analytic induction (Denzin, 1970:194-199; Manning, 1971).

The behavioral perspective emphasizes observable and quantifiable events. Data which are methodologically private are discussed and considered of import, but are not a prime focus of investigation (Skinner, 1973; Bandura, 1969). This perspective relies much more on a positivistic conception of science, stressing operationalization of variables and their systematic manipulation to test hypothesized relationships between behavior and environmental events. It attempts to go beyond description to the determination of functional relationships between variables. Experimental and quasi-experimental research designs are used which permit control of variables and causal inferences (Paul, 1969).

In contrast to the interactionist, the behaviorist engages in non-participant observation. Events are described in terms of frequency, whereas interactionists are often less precise about their observations. Thus, both perspectives gather descriptive data but this differs both in terms of the degree to which it is operationalized and its inclusiveness. While behaviorists are rigorous in quantifying their observations, they tend to ignore some aspects of social life that are of great concern to interactionists, such as the subjective meanings and interpretations given to situations by the participants. This is because behaviorists question the reliability of introspection as well as the nature of what is felt and observed. Although they admit that introspective events may be open to inspection, they feel that an emphasis upon them has impeded the identification of critical environmental variables. Such reports are given a certain practical status in that what is felt and observed may serve as clues to past or present behavior and the conditions which affect it, and also to conditions related to future behavior (Skinner, 1974).

In part, these different styles of inquiry reflect different conceptions of social interaction, although these distinctions are sometimes ambiguous. Some interactionists emphasize man as subject and the author of action and the indeterminant nature of social interaction (Blumer, 1969; Matza, 1969), while others (Becker, 1963; Goffman, 1961) lay greater emphasis upon man as object and the manner in which personal history and environmental contingencies shape behavior. Behaviorists, although granting the inevitability of individual uniqueness due to the idiosyncratic reinforcement history of every
person, assume a more deterministic model of human behavior. They argue that an adequate explanation of behavior can be made by systematically determining which observable, environmental events control the occurrence of a given behavior. Interactionists, on the other hand, stress that only by penetrating the interpretative process of the actors in a situation can their behavior be adequately understood. It is at this point where the epistemological underpinnings of the two perspectives collide and remain relatively unresolved (Matza, 1969; Wann, 1964; Scott, 1971; Day, 1969).

With regard to mental illness, the interactionists have primarily employed participant observation and depth interviews (cf. Goffman, 1961; Lomert, 1962; Mechanic, 1962; Sampson, et. al., 1964; Yarrow et. al., 1955). Their studies attempt to reconstruct and analyze the social processes that unfold prior to and during hospitalization. Interviewing is used extensively with the patient, family and significant others. Case records and other documents are frequently reviewed. In participant observation studies there has been relatively little discussion of the data gathering process, although there have been recent attempts to develop guidelines for this data gathering procedure (Lofland, 1971; Bruyn, 1966; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973).

The behavioral research on mental illness is fundamentally part of a therapeutic endeavor. The research emphasizes the specification of variables in a form that permits quantification, typically in terms of the frequency of discrete behaviors. With regard to mental illness such specification refers to those behaviors considered as problematic as well as desirable alternative ones and the events surrounding these. Emphasis is upon direct observation. It is through such observation of the interaction between behavior and the environment that the "meaning" of events is determined in relation to their effects upon behavior. The actual functional relationship between behavior and the environment may or may not be accurately reflected in the verbalized "meaning" of the situation given by the individuals involved, since we do not always recognize the contingencies to which we are exposed (Skinner, 1974). In addition, because the behavior therapist is employing an intervention strategy, he is in a position to introduce an experimental procedure, thus controlling variables and establishing the nature of relationships between given behaviors and the environment in a way that is not possible through the research interview or participant observation techniques.

Conclusions

This paper is not alone in attempting a theoretical merger between symbolic interactionism and other perspectives. There have
been recent attempts to synthesize interactionism with ethnomethodology (Denzin, 1969) and with exchange theory (Singlemann, 1972; Abbott, et al., 1973; Singlemann, 1973). Two prominent labeling theorists have pointed to the close ties between labeling theory and functionalism (Matza, 1969; Schur, 1971). At the same time, bridges have been built between sociological and psychological approaches to deviance; Akers (1973) proposes that learning theory be integrated with Sutherland's differential association theory and Ullmann and Krasner (1969) draw on labeling theory for their behaviorally oriented approach to abnormal behavior. This paper is another attempt to suggest possible links between two rather independent perspectives on deviance.

It is suggested here that aspects of the interactionist and behavioral approaches to deviant behavior, and to mental illness in particular, are at least compatible, if not congruent in some respects. Although we have stressed the similarities of the two perspectives, we are not arguing that the approaches are identical or that one approach can be subsumed by the other. Indeed, as we have stated, there are differences in their conceptions of human behavior, in the emphasis they place upon the different stages of becoming deviant and, perhaps most profoundly, in their models of scientific inquiry. Nevertheless, their divergences can help develop the study of deviant behavior by raising questions the other perspective fails to ask. For example, behaviorists do not concern themselves as much with the contingencies of labeling, and interactionists infrequently specify the precise relationships between behavior and environmental events. Our deliberate stress on similarities is an attempt to counter the dominant viewpoint that the two perspectives are fundamentally divergent. The significant point is that despite differences in theoretical models and methods, both perspectives reach similar conclusions in studying deviant behavior.

Footnotes

1. The basic characteristics of these perspectives are briefly described in the text that follows. For a presentation of the behavioral perspective see for example Bandura (1969), Kanfer and Phillips (1970), Skinner (1974). Basic works describing the interactionist perspective include Blumer (1969), Mead (1934), Lemert (1967), Becker (1963), Scheff (1966).

2. A description and critique of the dominant psychiatric or medical model of deviance can be readily located elsewhere (e.g. Ullmann and Krasner, 1965) and will not be repeated here. This paper is neither a critique of the medical model nor an argument for the validity or invalidity of it or the variety of nutritional, genetic, biochemical, psychological, or psychoanalytic approaches that attempt to explain deviance and mental illness.
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In Durkheim's classic work "Suicide" he uses a sociological approach for his analysis (1959). He seeks to establish that "what looks like a highly individual and personal phenomenon is explicable through the social structure and its ramifying functions." Durkheim's study of the social causation of suicide takes place on the level of analysis of group rates; he does not delve into why particular individuals are drawn toward self-annihilation. He negates the popular doctrines, which ascribe suicide to such "extra-social factors" as racial characteristics, climate and imitation.

This eminent French sociologist emphasizes that suicide is not explicable by its individual forms; rather it is a phenomenon in its own right and has its own unity; his studies show that each society has a collective inclination to suicide. When basic conditions of a society's existence remain constant, there is a fairly stable self-homicide rate. This collective inclinations is a reality; it is exterior to the individual and wields a coercive effect on him. When a rapid increase in the social suicide rate occurs, it is symptomatic of a breakdown in the "collective conscious" and the social equilibrium. When the increase becomes fixed at a new plateau, another phase in the cycle of suicide has occurred.

In this paper an attempt is made to determine what factors propel given individuals toward self destruction. Durkheim's typology of suicides is utilized and an analysis of the social and psychological components of each type undertaken. The social structure is viewed from the vantage point of how it influences and is internalized by members of society. The psychological aspects are handled by looking
into what intrapsychic and external forces shape the individual's personality and behavior in such a way that he seeks his own death. In some instances it is hard to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the social and psychological; as many factors are "psychosocial." Psychoanalytic psychiatry postulates that the fundamental patterns of behavior are set in infancy and early childhood and are not seriously altered later. Neurosis can not be cured by social analysis; this is the task of psychotherapy. Each individual has a certain level of suicide potential that is established during his early life by his family and immediate environment through such behavior as rejection or over acceptance; frustration or total gratification of wishes. If the child is not gradually prepared for responsible adulthood, his suicide potential is apt to be high. Conversely, if his rearing readies him for work and other activities which will net him socially valued rewards, his suicide potential will be low. Even though an act of suicide may appear to be precipitated by a specific cause, one stimulus alone is not sufficient to produce self murder. The underlying pattern of behavior must be already leading in that direction.

A methodological obstacle to determining psychological causation comes from the fact that unless the person who commits suicide had been under long-term psychiatric care and a copious psychosocial history has been kept, interpretation and classification of his suicide becomes an ex-post facto reconstruction of his life. Such a task is impossible. Durkheim found "no consistent agreement between insanity and suicide scales that would indicate definite causal connection between the two sets of phenomena."

Theories of suicide can be placed along a continuum from the strict social causation of Durkheim through the psychosocial formulations of Fromm, Reich and Freud to the psychoanalytic theories of unconscious volition of Abraham and Grodeck. The most extreme viewpoint on self-willed death is expressed by Grodeck (1961) who attests that the more severe the inner conflict, the more severe the illness which symbolically represents it. If a slight degree of illness does not suffice to solve or suppress the conflict,

the It* has recourse to more serious forms...to chronic diseases...which slowly bury the conflict...and finally

* It is the forerunner of Freud's Id and means virtually the same.
to death... For he alone will die who wishes to die, to whom life is intolerable.

In this discussion of suicide (other terms used synonymously herein are self-annihilation, self murder and self homicide) Durkheim's definition and delineation is maintained. He considers suicide any death which is the "direct or indirect result of a positive or negative act accomplished by the victim himself" with fair knowledge of what the result of his action will be. It is the act of voluntarily "renouncing existence." Attempted suicide denotes the same pattern; but the act falls short of producing actual death.

Although suicide is usually a "positive, violent action involving some muscular energy," it may also be the culmination of a "purely negative attitude or mere abstention" such as the refusal to take nourishment. An indirect but still deliberate case occurs when a person knowingly commits a crime punishable by death.

Suicide Typology and Etiology

Egoistic and Anomic Suicide

Egoistic suicide results from lack of integration of the individual into society. The stronger the forces throwing individuals onto their own resources, the higher the suicide rate in that society. If the individual's goal orientation is to himself only, he develops the idea that his efforts are destined to be lost in nothingness as he has no worthwhile end to pursue (Teryakian, 1962). Durkheim takes a dim view of the inwardness stressed in existential thought as "authentic existence" (May, 1969). If the individual's consciousness breaks off from external reality it has "nothing remaining to reflect upon save its own misery....its internal nothingness." He believes authentic selfhood can only be found through participation in, not withdrawal from, social reality. Egoistic suicide springs from "excessive individualism." If the bonds attaching the individual to society slacken, those holding him to life also become more tenuous.

Anomic suicide also results when man's activities lack the regulative influence of social control. It is similar to egoistic suicide in that in both, society is "insufficiently present in the individual." But they are different from and independent of each other.
The person manifesting the egoistic form is "deficient in collective activity." In the anomic type there is a lack of restraint of individual passions. Durkheim reasons that man's insatiable wants must be limited by some external force; a moral force of recognized superior authority that will regulate and repress his passions in the name of "common interest." Such discipline is useful only when it is considered just, when man is willing to accept the prevailing social-moral bonds and adopt the "collective conscience." "The less limited one feels, the more intolerable all limitations appear." It is in this latter category that the suicidal person who feels "no one cares about me" falls.

Conditions for anomic suicide are maximized when the social and economic climate changes drastically. Mannheim, in discussing anomie (1936), states that "the disruption in wholeness of individual experience corresponds to the disintegration of culture and group solidarity." The anomic condition of social emptiness appears when life's activity loses its sense of meaning because the social structure is breaking.

Durkheim posited that suicide increases with knowledge. When man's religious society becomes less cohesive, his desire for new knowledge to explain his world expands. As his old certainty diminishes, man kills himself in greater numbers. Yet since knowledge, dangerous as its acquisition may be is the beacon of progressive societies, a new dilemma arises. Minds cannot be made to lose their desire for freedom by artificially shackling them to faith; but neither can they recover equilibrium by "mere freedom." Freedom must be used "fittingly."

Religion was seen by Durkheim as having a "prophylactic effect on suicide" as it fosters an intense collective life. Adherence to its beliefs and practices become mandatory. To illustrate--Catholicism demands high integration into the collective life of the church. It condemns suicide and the Catholic suicide rate is the lowest of the three major Western religions. Protestantism promotes individualism, secularization, and freedom of thought. This has resulted in a diminution in the ties of the individual to the religious group and to society; suicide rates among Protestants are proportionately much higher. Durkheim concludes that religions which dwell on the advantages and moral values of poverty are best equipped to teach the self restraint which counters suicidal thoughts.
Suicide also varies inversely with the degree of integration into "domestic...and political society." The closer the members of a family unit, and the more satisfying their lives, the greater their immunity to self destruction. Historically, women have had a much lower suicide rate than men. (The discrepancy in rates may be less true today in cultures where women are "emancipated" and "educated").

People need close contact with others to maintain their equilibrium. Loss of a spouse, parent or child may prove more devastating than one can bear and they may feel abandoned and like life is no longer worth living without the deceased loved one. Rapid intervention by a sensitive clergyman, doctor or social worker might enable the grieving survivor to hold on long enough to begin to focus on other meaningful relationships so that the loneliness is dispelled and death becomes a less appealing recourse.

Durkheim believed the strong suicidal tendency among unmarried adults was partially connected to their chronic "sexual anomy." This is aggravated when sexual desires are most easily aroused, in the 20-45 year age group. This may no longer be true in the more sexually permissive climate of the 1970s when many unmarried adults may well be more active sexually than their married counterparts.

Durkheim found in countries where divorce is permissible and acceptable, the force of matrimonial regulation and of the moral structure is weakened. The state of "conjugal anomy" produced by divorce explains for him the "parallel development of divorce and suicide." "Domestic anomy," which results from the death of a spouse, is termed the "crises of widowhood."

Acute economic crises aggravate suicidal tendencies. The same upward trend in suicide rates occurs whether fortunes change markedly for better or for worse because both require change in lifestyle. Both constitute disturbances of the collective order. On the political or national scene, suicide rates fall during periods of major crises. There is greater active participation of
individuals in communal life; thus their "will to live is strengthened and egoism restricted."

Even within his context of being interested mainly in social causation of group suicide rates, Durkheim posits that "suicidal behavior is a combination of psycho-instinctual impulse and social precipitation." We now turn our attention to these "impulses" and see how these are handled separately and in conjunction with social forces as causal factors by various personality theorists.

Adler sees suicide as a social act eventuating from certain problems in the individual's life (1923). The potential suicide's background shows he was a "pampered child because of underlying parental rejection" or because he was a child "afflicted with organ inferiority" or marked feelings of insecurity. When adolescence demands a reorganization of his life style, he is unable to meet the expectation. To withdraw from further humiliation and defeat he hides behind defense mechanisms and eventually turns to self destruction. When committing a suicidal act he may wish to succeed or he may be "attempting to harness his environment by frightening the others around him." In the latter instance the underlying idea may be "you'd miss me (be sorry) if I died" or to manipulate the world to be cruel to him and thus continue to fulfill his self image, in transactional analysis terms—his loser life script. (Harris, 1967). In clinical practice, clients who threaten suicide if a child is planning to move out on his own or if a spouse is seriously contemplating divorce are attempting to manipulate or control others' behavior through intimidation and playing on possible future guilt. The social worker/therapist should help the client examine the motivation, the aggressive-defensive maneuvering and the consequences of the threat for him and recipient(s) of it. Is this really the route to self fulfillment?

Suicide is depicted by Adler as one of the strongest forms of masculine protest; man's supreme act of asserting his sense of self. Because of his previous failure to communicate with significant others, he has not achieved a necessary sense of superiority; conversely, he feels quite inferior, a psychic development basic to
the suicidal complex. He attempts to free himself from responsibility by attributing his inferiority to heredity or to his parents. He then unerringly places purposeful distance between himself and the anticipated act or decision. Usually simultaneously the patient gives shape to his "separation from the world and reality" by rejecting all communal and humanitarian demands and attempts suicide. Thus, he literally takes his life into his own hands and in his choice of his own time and manner of death, at long last asserts his will power, his superiority over the world even though he "triumphs in pain." This final taking control of one's life in death is not infrequent in prisoner suicides.

Parsons (1951) takes a similar view of suicide. He attests that man would rather bring death on himself than "face the certainty of prolonged torture." In an analysis stemming from a Parsonian action systems viewpoint, "an act of suicide would not be interpreted as motivated by a simple wish to die" but rather as what was "felt by the actor to be the least intolerable resolution of an intolerable conflict situation." In light of his desperate plight he is minimizing his deprivation through self annihilation. Patients with terminal cancer and prisoners with life sentences are two vivid examples. In discussing isolation Fromm claims

the essence of the human mode...of life is the need to be related to the world outside oneself; the need to avoid aloneness. To feel completely alone leads to "mental disintegration."

There is a compelling need in everyone to "belong," to feel at "one with others," to avoid being overcome by "individual insignificance." When man is unable to relate himself to any system from which to derive meaning and direction, he becomes overwhelmed by doubt. Such doubt "finally paralyzes his ability to act, that is, to live." Thus a universal factor in human nature is man's need to avoid isolation and moral aloneness. (Durkheim's anomie). The phantasy of suicide is the last hope if all other means fail to bring relief from the "burden of aloneness." (Fromm, 1941).
We embark upon the discussion of psychoanalytic concepts which illuminate self destructive patterns through a summation of Freud's final formulation on number and kinds of instincts. He classifies all instincts under two general headings; "life instincts and death instincts" (1961). The latter (previously called "aggressive instincts" and "destructive instincts"), perform their work less conspicuously than do the life instincts (eros) and therefore less is known about them. Great public resistance to acknowledging death instincts exists, yet inevitably these instincts accomplish their purpose; everyone ultimately dies. We each harbor a wish, usually unconscious, for death. This assumption is based on Fechner's formulation of the constancy principle that "all living processes tend to return to the stability of the inorganic world" (Hall & Lindzey, 1970). Expressed psychologically, "the goal of all life is death"; thus the death wish is the psychological representation in human beings of the constancy principle.

Freud confirms his "Theory of the Death Instinct" from his study of sadism and masochism (1965). These component instincts almost always appear in combination (1930). When sexual satisfaction can be derived only if "the sex object suffers pain or humiliation" sadism is strongly operative. Masochism is the "need to be the ill treated object." Besides finding the complimentary instincts in two interdependent people, these patterns also occur successively in the same individual. Sadism is the "destructive instinct directed outward". If the aggressive instinct can not find satisfaction in the external world because it collides with real obstacles, it will retreat and increase the amount of destructiveness turned inward.

Self destructiveness may be regarded as an expression of the death instinct (Freud, 1965). It is partially derived from the compulsion to repeat; the effort to restore an earlier, more satisfying state of things. These instincts are the opposite of the erotic (life) instincts which block the death instincts and convert them into aggression which moves "outward against substitute objects" (Hall & Lindzey, 1970). In its extreme form such outward directed destructiveness and its accompanying hatred, another derivative of the death instinct, culminate in extreme sadism or homicide. This
inclination to aggression constitutes the greatest impediment to civilization (Freud, 1930). Civilization attempts to inhibit and weaken such aggressiveness by having parents socialize children to internalize its values and restraints. This takes the form of implementing a restrictive, punitive super ego which becomes an integral part of the personality structure. "Conscience," the cherished moral agency of the civilized person, emerges as permeated with death instinct (Freud, 1923). When tension arises between the ego and superego, the latter subjects the former to great harshness and the "sense of guilt" emerges. It expresses itself in the need for punishment, that is, masochism. The most extreme form occurs in melancholia where the personality is dominated by a punitive superego. Practitioners working in in-patient and out-patient psychiatric facilities often encounter severely depressed, suicidal patients beset with hugh burdens of guilt.

One feels guilty or "sinful" when he does or wants to do something he has learned is "bad". People are made to fear loss of love for "badness". This loss of something so vital must be avoided; therefore discovery of such thoughts and actions must be avoided. The sense of guilt, a form of social anxiety, originates from two sources: (1) fear of external authority which causes internalization of aggressive instincts--one of the severest dictates of society, and (2) fear of the super ego's internal harshness which holds the dangerous aggressive drive in check. To sidestep the threatened punishment and loss of love, one may instead suffer permanent internal unhappiness. If the sense of guilt reaches such proportions that it becomes impossible to tolerate, the individual may resort to neurosis, psychosis or death.

When we think of...the unconscious need for punishment and neurotic self injury, these make plausible the hypothesis that there are instinctual impulses that run contrary to self preservation (Freud, 1965).

It is the need for punishment originating in the sense of guilt that leads to neurotic illness and its attendant desired suffering. Since this need is satisfied through the illness, the patient clings to his symptoms. Praise or encouragement cause him to fear he is getting better. Therefore he unconsciously resists treatment so he can remain disturbed and continue receiving the punishment he feels he deserves.
Several prominent post-Freudian theorists, including Marcuse and Reich, disagree with his "Theory of the Death Instinct." Marcuse’s point of departure is Freud’s use of Fechner’s Constancy Principle which Freud develops into "life consists of a continuous descent toward death" (Marcuse, 1955). The nirvana principle emerges in Freudian thought as the "dominant principle of mental life"; it holds that the organism seeks "to reduce, keep constant or remove internal tension." Marcuse does not believe the nirvana principle to be supreme. Rather he states that "despite the universality of regressive inertia or organic life, instincts attempt to attain their objective in fundamentally different ways." The life instincts can and do gain ascendancy, counteract and delay the "descent toward death." Eros is the great unifying force that preserves life (So too in Freud). The conflict between life and death instincts can be reduced as life approximates a state of gratification; the pleasure and nirvana principles could converge in a non-repressive civilization (Marcuse, 1955). Then Eros would be freed from surplus repression and would be strengthened. At that point, "death would cease to be an instinctual goal."

Nonetheless, death could become a token of freedom, a final liberation, a rational end at the moment of one's own choosing after a fulfilled life. How many aged and chronically ill individuals long for this freedom to choose death over continual pain, rapid decline and being a burden to their loved ones? And should their healers insist that they hold onto a life that may be insufferable?

Reich’s (1949) disagreement is on a different basis. He hypothesizes that the clinical basis of Freud’s construct "death instinct" was "negative therapeutic reaction." Many patients reacted to psychiatric interpretation not by improvement but by intensification of neurotic reactions. Freud considered such a reaction the result of unconscious guilt feelings or the need for punishment which forced the patient to continue suffering. Reich’s reformulation holds that the need for punishment is not the cause but rather the result of the neurotic conflict and attributes the negative therapeutic reaction to the lack of adequate technique for dealing with "latent negative transference."
In the "Masochistic Character" written as a clinical refutation to the death instinct, Reich (1949) states that the manifestations erroneously ascribed to the "hypothetical death instinct" are really due to a form of "orgasm anxiety"--a masochistic disturbance of orgasm function which expresses itself in fear of dying or fear of bursting. Masochism results from the repression of natural sexual desires. Thus, the solution to the problem of masochism lies in achievement of orgasmic satisfaction. He argues that there is no such drive as the biological striving for unpleasure; and that the death instinct hypothesis omits the fact that "the inner mechanisms which constitute an antithesis to sexuality are moral inhibitions which represent the prohibitions imposed by the outer world--an authoritarian society."

The ultimate motive power of life is tension with the prospect of relaxation; an organism deprived of this, internally or externally, will wish to cease living. Self destruction becomes the last and only possibility of relaxation.

Yet even in the desire for death, the pleasure--unpleasure principle expresses itself. Human suffering is due to the "disastrous effect of social conditions on the biopsychic apparatus"; it is these conditions which create neurosis and should be corrected. What seem to be self destructive tendencies are really the expression of strong "destructive intentions... of an authoritarian society interested in suppression of sexuality" ...and pleasure. If, as a result of continually meeting with externally caused frustration to his striving for pleasure, the seeking turns into unpleasure, the organism will destroy itself as the only possible means of release from intolerably painful tension (Reich, 1949).

Fromm (1941) also makes some pithy observations on authoritarian societies in which masochistic strivings frequently appear. Life is experienced as something overwhelmingly powerful which the individual cannot control. Because he comes to feel inferior he belittles himself. In extreme cases, this progresses to antagonizing loved ones, to illness and incurring accidents; all forms of behavior detrimental to the self. "Suffering and weakness
are the aims of such masochistic perversion"; the person feels sexual excitement only when experiencing pain inflicted on him by another--the sadistic partner. This attachment helps the individuals involved escape their unbearable feelings of aloneness and insignificance.

The key theme in Fromm's analysis is the individual's attempts to escape from loneliness (Durkheim's anomie) and his unbearable feelings of powerlessness. He becomes destructive as a reaction to constant anxiety; the aim of his destructiveness is elimination of the object, in this case, the external world. This constitutes a last desperate attempt to save himself from being crushed by it and is a root cause of much anti-social crime against property. If nothing external can become the object of his destructiveness, his own self ultimately does. If this occurs to a marked degree, physical illness results and suicide may be attempted.

Despite Fromm's critique of the "death instinct" on the ground that Freud "fails to sufficiently recognize that the amount of destructiveness varies greatly in individuals and groups" he makes a similar analysis to Freud's of the inhibition--frustration--aggression--destruction chain and of the sado-masochistic pattern. Fromm posits that the more the drive to life is thwarted by suppression, the stronger the drive toward destruction becomes. Destructiveness is the outcome of unlived life." In a society dominated by an authoritarian philosophy evolved out of "extreme desperation" and lack of faith, nihilism and the denial of life occur.

Abraham (1953) posits the "Unconscious Volition of Suicide," when a person has lost all pleasure in life, he thinks it would be better to die than continue living. Persons prone to self injury, avoidable accidents, and refusing food are expressing strong suicidal tendencies."

Fear of starvation often appears during the involutorial period when there is a decrease in genital eroticism (Reich's orgasmic satisfaction). The libido undergoes a regressive change and female depressed patients become extremely disturbed when they no longer consider themselves the object of male desire. The depressed patient
often returns to the most primitive developmental stage—the oral or cannibalistic—in which the tendency to devour or demolish the object is prevalent. His fear of this tendency causes him to refuse food and thus to fear starvation—which he also deems the only punishment fitting for his "unconscious cannibalistic impulses." The starvation as punishment for one's "sinful" incorporative desire may become transformed into suicidal tendencies. The cutting of one's throat is an attack on the phantasied introjected love object as well as a self-punishment. It is his oral sadism that the patient is trying to escape.

Groddeck (1961) reaches the zenith of attributing behavior to internal, unconscious causation. He states that all illnesses, whether organic or "nervous," are creations of the It (Freud's Id), desired and brought forth by it. The It animates man. Accidents are also its creations and are usually "self inflicted punishment for a frightening wish or phantasy." Indulgence in onanism is often met with threats of bodily injury or warnings of idiocy. Much anxiety over masturbation is aroused from infancy on when "the threatening mother hand interrupts voluptuous playing with sex organs." Attacks of hysterical cramp from masturbation phantasies can bring the person close to symbolic death.

Groddeck highlights another connection, besides anxiety, between sensual pleasure and death. The culmination of sexual intercourse is a dying for the man, death in the woman. The erection is life; "life expending effusion of semen is the dying into sleep"; sleeping is death. Concepts of "heaven and hell" evolve from Man's death during embrace, from giving his soul to the woman, when he "let's himself go in sexual pleasure" and becomes unconscious in ecstasy, thus dying in another. Hence, love and death are alike. He may feel hope for resurrection in a child's birth nine months later or dread the "everlasting fires of desire." There are cases of death at the moment of climax—self punishment for pleasure. Death appears as a "flight of the soul out of the body, a giving up of the self, a separation from the world." Contriving to remain sick or dying from disease or suicide are artifices the "It" contrives to "prevent the complexes from reaching consciousness."

There are some areas of agreement in Durkheim, Groddeck and
the Freudians. Durkheim holds that "suicide is impossible if the individual's constitution is opposed to it," if he does not have an inclination in this direction. Can not the "individual's constitution" be construed as his "It" which animates him? And when Durkheim states that "all insanity suicides are either devoid of motive or determined by imaginary motives," aren't these imaginary motives analogous to unconscious impulses? Yet Durkheim considers suicide an "ego manifestation" even while it is an annihilation of the ego. The pain inflicted on the ego is construed as compensating for guilt. These statements resemble Adler's concept of assertion of will and Freud's stress on the "sense of guilt" as central in the need for self-punishment.

Altruistic Suicide

This type of self murder occurs in social groups characterized by a high degree of integration of members and contains elements antithetical to egoistic suicide. Life is rigidly governed by custom; obedience is demanded. The individual is tightly interwoven into society and the group is of utmost importance. Individual life has little value in such a society.

A person may take his own life because of a "higher commandment" to do so (Durkheim, 1951). Such suicide is often regarded with admiration and is considered an ennobling act rather than a destructive one. The spirit of renunciation and abnegation is the immediate and visible cause. The actor may be engaging in a religious sacrifice of honoring his God. The self-sacrifices of the Buddhist Monks in the 1960s fall into this category. Altruistic suicide has the same root as "heroic suicide"--voluntarily dying to protest human suffering and call attention to a humanitarian cause. A recent expression of this is self-immolation in the causes of civil rights and peace.

The individual may be impelled by strong political or nationalistic allegiance. He may kill himself rather than betray his country to the enemy when captured as a spy or Prisoner of War. In armies where obedience is mandatory, one goes to his death when commanded to do so. Such military suicide, which is an obligatory altruistic suicide, is on the decrease.
Marcuse (1955) states that in repressive civilizations heroic death is glorified as the supreme sacrifice. Education is slanted toward consent to death which introduces the element of surrender and submission to whatever life demands. Some theologies and philosophies celebrate "death as an existential category."

**Fatalistic Suicide**

Durkheim's fourth category, and the least common, fatalistic suicide, is presented as the opposite of anomic suicide. It is suicide which evolves from excessive regulation. When an individual's "passions are violently choked by oppressive disciplines" or his future appears irrevocably blocked, life is not worth living. In societies characterized by excessive physical or moral despotism, fatalistic suicide puts an end to the bleak life.

**Indicators of Potential Suicidal Acts**

Understanding the factors which foster and precipitate suicidal behavior is not sufficient to enable the social worker, corrections officer, psychologist, psychiatrist, or nurse (etc.) to intervene to effectively prevent someone whose wellbeing is entrusted to them from taking his own life. A knowledge of the warning signs that suicide is being contemplated is also essential. Although occasionally altruistic suicides occur in the United States, the suicides which are attempted in this country generally fall in the egoistic or anomic categories. Sometimes, perhaps most specifically with prisoners, anomic suicidal behavior contains elements of fatalistic thinking also. The following discussion is applicable for recognition of intent to commit egoistic or anomic self murder.

The person consciously or unconsciously contemplating suicide sends out signals to others alerting them to the fact that he may attempt self annihilation in the near future. The individual who is sensitized to recognizing these warnings is apt to be able to intervene early enough to offset the person's depression, despair, sense that no one cares about him or acute anxiety sufficiently that a pro-life choice is possible instead. If he is skilled in
recognizing indicators but not in helping avert such fatal action, he can act rapidly to see that a third party who has sufficient competence in dealing with suicidal individuals is brought into the picture to do so.

Earlier in this paper, mention was made of the issue of someone's right to choose the time and method of his own death. In intervening to stop a suicide, one is taking a position related to ideals of being "my brother's keeper," of believing "where there's life, there's hope" and that often combined with the despair and the desire to escape from life's painful realities, there are also elements in the individual's personality that may make part of him desperately wish to continue living, albeit in a more satisfying way (Schneidman & Mandelkarn, 1967). It is to this positive side of the ambivalence that the "rescuer" appeals. It is partly the finality of suicide that makes others take the responsibility of interceding before it happens; hoping that it will then be possible to enable the person to move beyond the desperation and later endow his own life with more significant value, meaning and purpose. Also, "acute suicidal states are temporary" (Schneidman & Mandelkarn, 1967). Some individuals who have at one time attempted complete self destruction are later grateful to their "savior" and ultimately pull themselves together and go on to lead happier lives.

Conversely, anyone really determined to commit suicide (and with whose personality it is consonant) over a prolonged period of time will ultimately triumph in killing himself. His aim is definitive; this differentiates him from the aggregate of people for whom suicidal actions denote a "cry for help" to others.

As indicated earlier, psychologically suicide results from anger and aggression turned against the self. Whereas when fury and hostility are violently expressed against another, the result is homicide; when it is unleashed against oneself--self murder is the result. Rarely is the action impetuous; usually it has been well thought out which is why clues to the contemplation may abound.
Behavioral Clues of Impending Suicidal Attempt

The person engages in:

1. Writing suicide notes.

2. Actual threats of "I'll kill myself" as well as more subtle conversations in which person talks of thoughts and fantasies about committing suicide and about death wishes.

3. Sudden generosity in the form of giving away one's valued possessions.

4. Frequent visits or requests to visit doctor or hospital; or failure to take or report for medication he knows is essential to survival.

5. Evidences great pessimism, despair and disturbance. Conveys sense of hopelessness and helplessness.

6. Exhibits continual depression, often coupled with psychomotor agitation; expresses threats or statements like, "I'll succeed the next time," when an earlier suicidal effort has failed.

7. Extreme change in behavior pattern; for instance withdrawal from all interaction, noneating, constant sleeping or inability to sleep at all.

8. Suddenly drawing up a will.

9. Confusion and turmoil over learning of one's own terminal illness or the death of a loved one toward whom much guilt or anger was also felt.

10. Emits messages that he is experiencing extreme internal stress and/or unbearable situational press.

11. Makes illogical or irrational statements or expresses behaviors reflecting extreme thought disorder and confusion.
12. Repeated self-destructive behaviors coupled with carelessness and throwing self into very risky situations. The person seems programmed to self-destruct.

13. Repeated provocations of others to kill him. Seems to be setting a trap for another to bait him into fatal assault.

14. Expressions that something is terribly wrong; much apprehension, sense of alarm, many aches and pains.


16. Expresses extreme guilt feelings and depreciates self.

Any one of the above may herald an imminent suicidal attempt. However, when two or more of these signs are visible, they are likely to spell approaching disaster. It is incumbent upon the practitioner or therapist who notes such behaviors to respond as quickly as he hears, sees or senses the "cry for help." It is invariably serious—even though it may be an attention getting maneuver; the need for attention has reached desperate proportions and must be met, not ignored or denied. The staff member should determine how well laid out the plan is and when the person is planning to execute it. The most critical moment is when the urgent signal of distress is sent out. The immediate goal is to stop the person from destroying himself. Shortly thereafter, longer range goals of helping him "pull himself together" can be set with him.

Techniques of Intervention

A fairly useful battery of interventive techniques which have evolved out of the experience of staff members at suicide prevention centers, psychiatric hospitals and clinics, prisons and social agencies include:

1. Quickly establish a channel of communication. Show concern in a composed, calm voice and manner. Ask questions about his situation and feelings. Keep him talking as an antidote to action.
2. Establish a positive relationship through listening to his problems, conveying understanding and sympathy with his plight, and disclosing yourself as a well-informed person capable of helping him over the immediate crisis.

3. Try to determine if another person is significantly involved in his decision to kill himself. If so, it might be wise to have a fellow staff member contact that important person to see if he can come to the scene or talk to the suicidal person and offer some words of comfort or some information to diminish the panic and distress.

4. Once the crisis is averted, consider having the person see a physician. With client permission, discuss the situation with the doctor and raise the possibility of his prescribing anti-depressant medication.

5. Follow through either as the person in the ongoing relationship or keep in contact with the mental health professional to whom you have referred him until you are reasonably certain he is stabilized at a higher level of functioning and that his reality is not so bleak that suicide will again beckon as preferable to living.

Summary

Each society has a specific aptitude for suicide. This predisposition results from distinct characteristics which vary according to each society. Durkheim, in his classic study of suicide, examined those conditions on which "social suicide rates" depend. He defined suicide as any voluntary death resulting from an act perpetuated by the victim against himself with foreknowledge of the results of his conduct. He depicts suicide as a supreme act of aggression and of alienation.

Durkheim's categorization of suicide into four morphological types was followed. The first two—egoistic and anomic—occur when the individual is inadequately integrated with or bound to society, its customs and values. He attributes egoistic suicide to "excessive
individualism" and finds the person engaging in it "deficient in collective activity." In the anomic variety the person lacks restraint of his passions. In both, the sense of belonging to a close knit family, religious community, economic unit and political system is absent. The individual feels isolated, alone, --his life lacks goal and meaning.

Altruistic and fatalistic suicides both occur when the individual is overly integrated into society and has forfeited his individuality. Altruistic suicide is committed in obedience to the command of a higher external authority and is the anti-thesis of egoistic. Fatalistic suicide, attempted when one has given up trying because life is too bleak with all avenues out of his situation blocked by excessive regulation, is the opposite of anomic. Apparently both too much or too little social regulation contribute to such frustration that the supreme act of self destruction is undertaken to end one's misery.

In addition to an analysis of Durkheim's theory of social causation, various theories of the psychosocial etiology of suicide were examined. All agree that the personality structure of the individual is built during infancy and childhood and that later behavior is at least partially determined by this early formation. All concur that suicide must be consistent with the personality structure or it will not be considered.

The socialization process, with its attendant repression of instinctual desires, was shown to cause a sense of guilt and frustration. If a reservoir of frustration accumulates, aggressive instincts emerge. Turned outward these take the form of destruction, sadism, or homicide. If not allowed external expression, these instincts are directed inward in a self punitive manner leading to masochistic behavior, severe depression or perhaps, when the anxiety and tension become unbearable--to suicide.

Freud's "Theory of the Death Instinct" and criticisms of it were explored. Mostly, the psychoanalysts view suicide as a "displacement" of the thwarted wish to murder another; the desire is turned back against the self. In suicide one kills the "introjected object and absolves his guilt for wanting to murder the object." Thus the ego is satisfied and the harsh super ego placated.
Despite the difference in sociological and psychoanalytic explanations of causation, similarities were found. The psychological counterpart of social control, the super ego or conscience, seemed to govern for the analysts the direction of the patient's behavior. If regulating influences of society or one's super ego are too strong or too weak, suicide becomes a serious possibility. This writer finds little antithesis between the social and psychopathological explanations of suicide. They seem quite complimentary.

Since the paper moves from Durkheim to Groddeck and opened with the former, it seems fitting to close with a quote from the latter.

If once the "It" loses its interest in the game (of life), it lets go of life and dies. Death is voluntary, no one dies except he has desired death.

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Protective Services: Coercive Social Control
or Mutual Liberation
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The area of protective services for children has always been a difficult one for social work. Protective casework has, and is now, both praised and condemned simultaneously from different elements of the community. The stakes in the protective field are usually high and players are subject to various episodes of the "emotional plague" as Wilhelm Reich would have called it. People in protective work exercise their role as worker in a variety of ways and these 'styles' range from being police-like and oppressive to radical and promoting social change. It is characteristic of this work that people, both client and worker, are forced into a mixed bag of emotional and value conflicts.

The roles which social workers assume are directly related to how the agency views the problems that are its charge, and its function, both overt and covert, in the community. The problem for protective service is that of child abuse and neglect; the function of protective services is to prevent or control the problem. The word function, when used in a social work context, has a meaning beyond the technical. In its historical connection with social work, the functional school has provided a psychological and more important an ideological world view as a framework for many of the traditional social agencies. It is necessary that this world view be understood for a number of reasons.

First, any world view attempts to define a human problem as complex as child abuse or neglect, will limit or allow certain types of corrective actions and not others. The definition of the problem itself involves causal assumptions upon which services are based. Second, depending upon its acceptance in the social/political/financial world, various aspects of the definition/service will be valued and others will not. Third, every world view has social and political implications which either support the existing state of affairs or promote change. Fourth, the issue of which world view (ideology, value system, etc.) determines the focus of protective services, is important due to the social control factor which heavily burdens the shoulders of the protective worker and the client. The caseworker, in effect, buys into and enforces this world view. The question then becomes for all of us, do we know what we are buying? Thomas Szasz (1970) raises the same issue:

Every ideology presents the individual with a painful choice: What should be his attitude toward it? Should he be a loyal ideologist or a critical thinker?
The mental health professional who chooses to be a loyal member of his profession will thus embrace the ideology of mental health: he will teach it, apply it, refine it, distribute it as widely as possible, and above all, defend it against those who assail it. Whereas the professional who chooses to be a critical thinker will scrutinize the ideology: he will analyze it; examine it historically, logically, and sociologically; criticize it and hence undermine it as an ideology.

The intent of this paper is to look at some alternatives for protective services that originate in a different world view perspective.

Before we can understand where we should be going, we have to come to grips with what type of assumptions we presently operate on, and what assumptions we should move toward. The present protective ideology has been based upon what has been referred to in the sociology of knowledge literature, as the collectivist (Goroff, 1973) and diagnostic paradigms. (Warren 1971) Our collectivist assumptions are those which maintain,

\[\text{...that the highest of all values is the society (and the peace and harmony it guarantees). While individuals are important, they are second to the community, for without the community, the individuals are insignificant .... the internal peace of the community is the highest of all values; therefore people must order their behavior to the priority of the community.}\]

The diagnostic paradigm relates to our collective assumptions; the problem that social work has to deal with then becomes the "individual deficiency" in the family, child, group, etc...... To provide services under these assumptions involves the residual or 'mopping up' operations we witness around us. Typical of this is the way in which poverty is attacked. We provide Headstart, WIN, career training, etc. The only trouble is, is that poverty results from the lack of money not education, babysitting services, etc. When workers buy into the collectivist-diagnostic approach they must be aware of the assumptions on which the problem is supposed to rest. We accept a definition of the situation, when, as Laing (1972) has so aptly stated, "It is we who have to discover what the situation actually is!"

In opposition to this, is the competing paradigm revolving around individualistic-social change beliefs. Individualism is:
an ideology which maintains that the person is the highest of all values and the vindication of a society is to be found in its assistance in the maximum unford- of the individuals potential....society and institutions are instrumental, i.e., institutions are made for people and not people for institutions. (Goroff, 1973).

Within these assumptions our point of orientation becomes the "dysfunc-
tional social structure" and that "the problem" is a system output rather than inability to function within the social norms. (Warren 1971)

It is initially essential that issues for practice be divided into "work-place issues", and "worker-client" issues (Steinback, 1974). At the outset there are a number of work-place issues which need to be en-
compassed within a new conception of protective casework. First, activity should be aimed at opening up the agency's power and decision-making struc-
tures so as to be more representative of client and worker interest. With-
in the protective field that means worker-client representatives (voting) on all boards is essential. Part of our social work practice should be to encourage consumer involvement as well as our own in those system decisions which affect the lives of all of us. The absence of this involvement is a class phenomenon in the Marxist sense.

For example, the class nature of protective services is especially visible when we look at the composition of governing boards. Board members are usually recruited from the upper middle and upper business strata of society. Many are quite wealthy and politically influential. Almost without exception, there are no service consumers on these boards. Board members are usually recruited through a nominating committee and/or at the recommendation of the various executives. The reason for this pheno-
menon is simple: money. Private agencies are dependent for a large part of their funds on solicitations, contributions, and participation in the United Way and Community Chests. It has only been recently through the purchase of service contracts, that federal and state funds have been introduced. This new source of funding has not, however, necessitated any change in the structure of protective services. The funding has increased the bureaucratic malaise within organizations and reinforced the "noblese oblige' bias. The restrictions on this money usually gear it only to casework services for people on welfare. Public, governmental protective service suffers some of the same difficulties in the legisla-
tive appropriation process. Protective work is quite subject to the criticism expressed by Edgar and Jean Cahn: (1968).

Professionals stand guilty of having structured a situation where the poor may speak in only one capacity--asking for help, acknowledging need and dependency.......By confining the poor to speaking in that role, professionals purport to
prove an incapacity to function responsibly in any other roles.

With the boards as homogeneous as they seem to be, they are prone to reflecting a conservative approach or what is known as the residual view of social welfare. (Romanyshyn-Romanyshyn 1971) Even within the standards set by the CWLA (1973) not much attention is given to the composition of the governing boards:

5.6 COMPOSITION OF GOVERNING BODY

The governing or advisory board should be representative of the community served, which may include individuals served by the agency, and should truly express the community's concern for children.

The plain fact is, that the world view of board members has not been challenged through minority group or client input. There appears to be no major effort to change or improve this situation. The prevailing or dominant protective ideology has posed the problem in such a way as to preclude these types of structural changes within the organization. There seems to be little or no awareness and recognition generally of the political and class role of protective services.

There are several obstacles to that awareness that are intrinsic to the protective philosophy. One obstacle inherent in the philosophy is its near total emphasis that the problem of child abuse/neglect lies within the internal functioning of the family. The problems are based in the inadequate functioning of individuals. The response of society then, when the issue is formed in this way, is helping families cope. The implication is that the social order and arrangement of power relationships and forces are not viewed as causes of family dysfunction. Racism, sexism, alienating work, housing, bureaucratization, school socialization, etc., are not systematically included within the philosophical outlook of protective services. The emphasis is on adjustment not change. (Radical Therapist Collective, 1971).

This point cannot be over stressed. It is the family that is investigated, treated, helped, etc., and in many ways victimized. It should be said that the very manner in which we define casework lends itself to this very purpose. An alternative ideology would pose the issue in a different manner. The women's movement, for example, has provided a clear example of a changing world view. Prior to the changes of the 70's the emphasis was on treating the individual woman. Then, she herself, began to learn that the core or root of many of her problems involve her second-class status and oppression by the social structure. This expansion of consciousness led many to action and social change. The point is, that as
long as the problem (female neurosis, etc.) was defined as being totally within the person, no awareness and effort was being directed at the social and political causes of her mental illness (if you wish to use that term). This example leads us to speculate and re-define the problem of child abuse and neglect in terms of the social factors which promote and maintain human alienation from the self and others. (Radical Therapist Collective 1971)

A second obstacle in the protective philosophy is related to the first. If in fact we do not define the social/political factors within the scope of the problem, then the awareness of those very problems within the service unit is also ignored. Like many other organizations, protective services has its share of institutionalized alienating practices and policies. For example, the hierarchical structure sets supervisor against worker not only within the contexts of real power differences, but also within a belief system which views the worker as dysfunctional should he/she not be able to cope with, or 'treat effectively' client problems. The typical worker evaluation process reflects the real oppression of this structure/belief hegemony.

A third obstacle to awareness in the protective philosophy is that it disguises in rather altruistic terms the political and police-like function of the protective worker. An example from a flyer that is sent from time to time to parents whom the social worker is intending to visit illustrates this point.

THE GOAL OF CHILDREN'S PROTECTIVE SERVICES

Our goal is to help parents so that they and their children may be happier and healthier.

Fortunately, parents are able to use the help provided by the CPS to improve the care of their children in nearly all the thousands of families served.

Only in the few situations where children are seriously neglected or abused and when parents are unable to use help to improve conditions, does Children's Protective Services find it necessary to seek court assistance to protect children.

We hope you will see your social worker as a person who wants to, and can, help you and your family. (MSPCC)
Contrast this to the statement by a local protective agency board president written fifty years ago.

The emphasis on modern life is largely on pleasure. But there are some things which do not change. The duties of parenthood remain the same and it is part of our work to force the culpable parent to shoulder his burden instead of leaving it to be born by the public. (Author's Emphasis) (Cobb 1924)

Despite its repressive nature, it is candid. The effect of the present public relations over-kill is to mystify and deceive both client and worker as to the potential outcome of their transactions. Both parties are placed in continual double binds with regard to honesty, confidentiality, ethics, and morality. In the old days an "agent" of the Society went out to "investigate" a "report". Today that isn't done. The community sends out a "social worker" to extend "casework services" in response to a "request" from one of its members. In fact, protective work is fulfilling the same function in a very similar manner. Granted, times and attitudes have changed; but in protective services, the ideology, and its direct service component have remained essentially the same. The PR, however, has taken the Madison Avenue trip due to its primary fund raising function.

The foregoing social analysis implicit in the protective philosophy, reveals numerous blocks which prevent an awareness that would view consumer involvement in decision-making as an absolute necessity.

Another work-place issue which needs to be re-defined in protective services is that of social action. Administration and workers must conceptualize "the agency as an instrumentality for effective intervention in some of those environmental factors which shape the life of clients". (Sternbach, 1974) This does not only refer to helping clients utilize community resources to cope with outside stress. Social action is the creation of services based upon a radical ideology of active and collective resistance by the worker, his colleagues, and the client, to repressive and sub-human political and social policies. Resistance is a valid part of social casework! It is not the product of 'projective defenses'.

The social action aspect of protective service is typically described as cooperating with other agencies and organizations toward the improvement of community conditions which adversely affect children. This description is less than accurate. A quote from a less publicized statement issued by a research director during one of the periods when social workers were becoming dissatisfied with limitations on their ability to act illustrates this point:
Social action is a cop-out. It's a cop-out because it's something everybody can do and almost everybody does do even down to individual voting. It's a cop-out because it's so easy to do......But mostly it's a cop-out because it directs our attention to the other fellow, the other institutions and away from our own setting and work.

Related to this is that as our pluralistic society is organized there are areas of interest advocating the best program in those areas--housing, day care, health, etc., and what can we accomplish by duplicating those efforts? (Cohen, 1970)

This statement reflected the posture of a protective agency toward social action, and message came through clear; keep your nose to the stone, and stick to business. The problem is, however, it's a stone that may be leading nowhere, and whoever defines what business is, controls it.

As David G. Gil (1974) has so aptly commented,

Thus, one cannot help wondering whether these specialized, symptom-focused agencies are, indeed, committed to the eradication of social problems, or whether, perhaps, out of a symbiotic relationship with and a myopic perspective on them, the agencies themselves become factors contributing to the perpetuation of the problems.

The main point in this paper is that the philosophy which undergirds most of protective services supports existing institutions by the very nature of the assumptions upon which it rests.

Social workers must engage in activity which promotes debate and frequent examination of agency-wide goals, philosophy, policy, and services. With the constant emphasis on doing the job we have failed to reflect critically what the job is! These issues must involve worker-client input. Laing (1972) made a rather interesting comment in this regard, he said:

Another danger is that we let others do the theorizing while we do the work. None of us can afford to take on trust statements by people who think they can tell us what we are doing, or should be doing: people who do not actually do the practical work themselves, but who feel they are in a position to theorize about it. This is a dangerous state of affairs.
It is the worker and his client who must assess the issues and become aware (with a capital A) of what is happening to them. We may not want to live with our clients in the Oscar Lewis tradition, but unless we involve them actively in the structure we may never really know them as people but only as clients.

The people that do the work, take the chances, risk their emotions and sometimes their physical well being are not involved in a meaningful way in the decision-making process. Committees are born and they die; but when push comes to shove decisions are made by the select few at the top. Unionization of staff typically has been discouraged not only by the powerholders, but by those workers who have already internalized the myths and legends of bourgeois professionalism in protective work. When staff get worked up about the need for a social change perspective in private agencies, they are anesthetized with moans and groans about the IRS rulings on their tax exempt status. Sadly, protective workers and administrators do not challenge these rulings. Not surprisingly, the definition of a political act conveniently excludes the heavy and on-going establishment legislative maneuvers and inter-bureaucratic power games. Workers should become aware of and identify those areas within the structure or practice "which may reflect institutional or individual oppression. Included are questions around racism, sexism, classism; poor communication and misuse of power." (Sternback,1974) Within this activity should come the protection of worker rights, opposition to practices such as the dress codes which enforce societal sexual identifications, concrete action on the hiring and training of professional and non-professional indigenous social workers, challenging arbitrary promotional and hiring practices, overcoming obstacles to unionization, etc...

This raises another point. We need each other as people. Protective workers as a collective are performing a service. Within that collective we must not deny the intimacy that we need to share as human beings. Workers need to become involved in group activity so as we can grow as a collective. Those activities can involve peer supervision, hiring, salary negotiations, professional and administration matters which are now within the purview of the hierarchy. Issues such as, whether or not to go to court, problems with welfare, ineffective or repressive courts or police, etc., can be examined and acted on effectively only in a collective. The social worker should try "to build in a structure .....(the opportunity for) meaningful social relationships through the creation of the small face-to-face collective." (Stembach,1974).

In relation to worker-client issues, we need to think of human relationship within a democratic framework, rather than the authoritative one which we presently use.(de Chenne, 1973) It is within an authoritative framework that we become actors within various professional and
community role expectations. We accept the medical/diagnostic/psychiatric model and try to justify unethical practices such as harassment and invasions of privacy. In the democratic framework we hope to begin to shy away from stereotyping in terms of ourselves as well as the client, and develop a more humanistic approach to social work practice. In protective work we need to refine and develop our methods within the democratic paradigm and center our treatment plans around several core elements.

First, it is necessary that our work with clients be as explicit and as open as possible. The client must be made aware of where the worker is coming from, where he will go, and why that is important. We should get away from mystifying the client (especially where court action is to be initiated) and having hidden agendas. The protective ideology perpetuates the deception of clients through the use of terminology which disguises intent and function. In protective work a client should be given on his initial visit a written list of both his and his child's legal and ethical rights with regard to the agency and the law. This is to insure that work with the client remains as much as possible within the protection of constitutionality and fairplay. To fulfill the mandate that explicitness puts upon us, the agency must embark on a policy of open records and open staffing. The client should be allowed to inspect and review his/her record in its entirety and also to attend those staff or consultation meetings where his/her child or family will be discussed. Laing (1972) notes that many of us talk as though we know or understand what is going on, when in fact we do not. When our impressions are put into a record or expressed at a meeting they are taken as truth, and begin to develop a social power of their own which may be oppressive to the client. For example, relationships between protective workers and other professionals in welfare offices, courts, police clinics, housing projects, etc., usually develop their own mutual investment over time. The result is that the poor connected with these various services have little protection from invasion of privacy since confidentiality issues are over-ridden by the need for expediency and maintenance of an informal data gathering system used inter-changibly by all members. The poor, because they are forced to be involved with the human services bureaucracy, have to continually contend with enforced intimate self-disclosure. The informal data gathering system survives on these disclosures which are important determinants of agency action.

The more the gathering system becomes entrenched and mutually reinforced, the more certain points (agencies) become referral sources, to protective services. The main referral sources are those which deal directly with poor people. Combine this with an economic system which reinforces the "casework" approached to poverty and an overwhelming pressure is created to further develop these referral agents. The middle classes generally are not subject to the same intensive monitoring and surveillance procedures due to their relative isolation from public social and welfare services.
Other writers have already indicated that social welfare policies and practices serve as coercive social control mechanisms for poor people unlike other segments of society. (Goroff, 1974)

Second, treatment must be negotiable. Protective services because it has control implications, must be of a contractual nature. This contracting with the client (and in many cases this should be written) helps to insure a give-and-take process and protection from unwanted forms or areas of treatment. A social work contract is an explicit agreement (written) developed by the worker and the client concerning "the nature of the target problem, specific strategies and goals of social work intervention, and the roles and tasks of the participants." (Maluccio and Marlow, 1974) It is within this contract, or the list of rights that provisions should be made for: 1) change of worker at the request of the client; 2) periodic review by the client, worker, and another staff person to insure agreement on means and ends of intervention; 3) procedures within the agency to handle grievances by the client against the worker.

Third, the treatment or service offered and engaged in with the client, must be teachable. We should attempt in treatment to help the client learn those skills and assessment capabilities that we ourselves use. The purpose of this is so the client also can become an agent for change. This involves interpersonal communication styles as well as manipulation of the environment. Awareness must be heightened on how social, political, and economic systems initiate, reinforce, or aggravate internal family or individual personal problems. Within protective work this may be the agency, welfare, the courts, etc....Clients should be given an opportunity to learn how those systems supposedly designed to help them, may be performing another, not so helpful function. In being teachers our emphasis is not only on individual responsibility for behavior but also in achieving through direct action a more responsible social order. It is important that we lay the groundwork, encourage, and support actions by clients to change their lives and others through legitimating their efforts by our continued relationship with them.

Fourth, it is important that the relationship with clients be based in a mutuality of problem solving and exploration. The protective worker must allow himself/herself to be explored and offer as well as expect self disclosure. In the authoritative/collectivist, diagnostic view this is quite limited. The worker is the representative of the community rather than a person. Our way of relating should encourage authenticity and little game playing. (Berne, 1967) Our commitment should be to the client rather than the system. It is only through the development of this mutuality that we can learn to feel what the court process is like, what welfare is like, what substandard housing is like, etc. While increasing our real empathy we will gain more respect
for and from the client. We will learn that clients as people, operate under the same rules of human nature that we do. By the concentration on mutuality, we may be able to begin to see through the wall of bureaucratic objectification which has become strongly entrenched in protective services.

IN CONCLUSION

The need for change in protective work and in social work is inex-tricably connected in a redefinition of the profession and the way we conceive of our social institutions. We have become elitist, abstract, and disconnected from so many things that we have to strike a different course, and gain a new vision. If we continue in the old ways and refuse to analyze the problems within the realm of our own existential experience, protective work will become the IBM of the profession: proficient, efficient, straight, but not terribly human. We will develop ingenious ways of being better technocrats, and lieutenants for the system, when we should be aiming "to produce an atmosphere in which the soul can grow". (Gauthier, 1974)

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TOWARD PARTISAN POLITICS IN A PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION:
UTILITY OF THE CANDIDATES POLL

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Bit by bit, during the past three years, the National Association of Social Workers and some of its local chapters have been moving in the direction of partisan political action.

Perhaps the essence of partisan political action is the selection and election of candidates for public office. The action is partisan in the sense that it is aligned with the established policies of the professional association, not that it is contained within any particular political party.

Defined thus, partisan political action does not encompass as broad a range of activities as either social action or social policy. Both of the latter strategies of action are usually considered by social workers to legitimately fall within their domain. On the other hand, partisan political action is a new and more controversial endeavor for organized social workers.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the initial efforts of one local chapter, The Puget Sound Chapter; to engage in partisan politics by the conduct of a poll of candidates for election to the Washington State Legislature in 1974. Properly speaking, the Chapter endorsed no candidates, merely rated them from "weak" to "outstanding" on their agreement with NASW policies on relevant programs and their social welfare attitudes. Thus, it is a mild form of partisan politics that will be considered.

The paper will analyze the social and organizational context in which the candidates' poll occurred, and then report on the advantages and shortcomings of the poll as a technique for the assessment of political candidates. Finally, there will be a brief commentary on the functions of the professional association in the politicalization of the activities of organized social workers.

THE POLL AS AN ORGANIZATIONAL ACT IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

The sequence of events leading to the action undertaken by the Puget Sound Chapter can be described in terms of Smelser's theory of collective behavior.

*This is to acknowledge the assistance of Ronald Dear, Robert Doupe, and Patricia McFarland in the design and conduct of this project.
Although the theory is intended to explain the genesis of collective behavior, such as mass demonstrations, hostile outbursts, and other social movements, it can be used to describe other forms of societal action. Smelser sees the process of collective behavior as a value-added process where:

"Each determinant is seen as logically--though not temporarily--prior to the next. Each determinant is seen as operating within the scope established by the prior, more general determinant. Each determinant is viewed as a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the occurrence of an episode of collective behavior; taken together, the necessary conditions constitute the sufficient condition for its occurrence."3

The five determinants of collective behavior are labeled: structural conduciveness, structural strain, growth of a generalized hostile belief, mobilization of participants for action, operation of social control.

Structural conduciveness suggests that the social conditions are permissive of the occurrence of the action. Structural conduciveness is analyzed in terms of three variables which Smelser calls (a) the structure of responsibility, (b) the presence or absence of channels for expressing grievances, (c) facilitation of communication among the aggrieved.

Structural strain is the precondition that pertains particularly to the conflict of norms and values in the situation. In and of itself, it is not enough to cause the action, but it contributes its "value" to the eventual outcome.

There is a growth of a generalized hostile belief containing these elements: ambiguity, anxiety, assignment of responsibility to agents, a desire to punish or restrict the responsible agent, and a generalized belief in omnipotence. In addition, there may be confirmation of existing fears and hatreds, the introduction of new deprivation, reduction of opportunities for peaceful protest, and the indication of "failure" and the assignment of responsibility. However, action in the form of a "hostile outburst" or some other resolution of the structural strain will not occur unless there is a mobilization of leadership and the organization of a plan of action.

"The final stage of the value-added process that results in a hostile outburst is the actual mobilization and organization of action. It does not occur, however, unless the other determinants--conduciveness, strain, and a belief that has crystallized and spread--are present."4

The form of the action largely is determined by the presence of counter-deterrents of a preventive sort.
As will be seen in the paragraphs that follow, most of the elements pointed to by Smelser seem to have been present in the events surrounding the Puget Sound Chapter's venture into partisan politics. But the activities of a local chapter are also strongly influenced by the policies and activities of the national professional association of which it is a part. In other words, it is a part of a formal voluntary association which both stimulates and regulates the local activity. The question is asked: Does the presence of a motivated and active professional association act as a spur and/or a deterrent to political action? To answer this, the analysis must encompass the behavior of both the local and national organizations with respect to their stances on partisan political action.

Structural strain

Both the local and national organizations resonated to the critical issues that faced the nation during this period, particularly those that involved social welfare policy. These critical issues were of a nature that demanded immediate action. It was the height of the Watergate period. During the previous decade there had been failure in the large government programs to end poverty, institutionalized racism, and to achieve urban renaissance. The Watergate affair had uncovered lawlessness and corruption in high office that forced the resignation of the President and dozens of other top leaders. Unemployment was widespread and inflation was growing. Instead of releasing funds for domestic use, the end of the war in Southeast Asia was accompanied by an unexplicable rise in the military budget. The government's social programs were drastically cut and their funds impounded. Structural strain was everywhere evident; there was a growth of generalized hostile beliefs. Social workers were in a peculiar and uncomfortable position. On the one hand, they were blamed by their clients for the impoverished circumstances that the clients experienced. On the other hand, they were universally blamed by the general public for "the welfare mess."

This frustration is eloquently expressed by then-President Mitchell I. Ginsberg in an article in June, 1972 NASW News, headlined: "These Trying Times: Siding With Virtue Is Not Enough!". He said that he couldn't remember "when attacks on social work and social services have been as heavy, consistent--and unfounded." The article reported that "social work's image with the general public, legislators, and other elected officials is near rock bottom." Subsequent stories decried the "White House's Attack on Social Work" and deplored the NASW Congressional scorecard: "1972's Legislative Successes are Small and Few."5
A similar frustration was experienced at the local level by the participants in the activities of the Puget Sound Chapter. In 1973, the Chapter joined a large community coalition calling for new national budget priorities which would rectify the drastic reductions in expenditures for social programs. Two congressional hearings were held in Seattle. The NASW was instrumental in preparing a report documenting the plight of social agencies and their clients. This report was presented at the hearings, and subsequently published. The congressmen joined the participants in deploring policies of the national administration. Somewhat later the Puget Sound Chapter became one of the few chapters in the national association to officially call for the impeachment of President Nixon.

**Structural conduciveness**

Many developments occurred at both the national and local levels which created the social conditions permissive of partisan political action.

At the end of 1972, the national office was moved to Washington, D.C., to a location one block from the White House, ten minutes from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and not much further from Capitol Hill. The move to the nation's capital followed closely upon the national Board of Directors' review of its political action policy. This policy empowers the national office, local chapters, and state councils to engage in lobbying, publishing of voting records of political candidates, the writing and promotion of specific legislation, petitioning of government officials and political parties, the entering into coalitions, and demonstrations and public gatherings, including marches on Washington. Furthermore, the national board and local chapters were empowered to endorse candidates for public office subject to certain organizational requirements and limitations, which will be discussed later. A poll of the local chapters in 1972 indicated that there were several dozen NASW members who had filed for a wide range of offices from school board member to congressman. Many were successful, including the president elect of the NASW, who is also a member of the Detroit Common Council.

By March 1973, with the U.S. budget under consideration, Glenn Allison, NASW Legislative Director, observed:

"There is no question that NASW interests and concerns have moved to center stage and, whether we wish it or not, we are deeply engaged in the games politicians play."

At the local level, during 1973-74 a series of events and activities made political action more salient for the membership. Besides the congressional hearings mentioned above, the Chapter renewed its long-standing campaign to secure the passage of state legislation requiring the licensure of social workers. One such bill was introduced by a
Chapter member who had been elected to the State Legislature in 1972. Chapter members, however, were alerted not to expect passage in the current session but to be prepared for a long campaign. The prediction was verified when the bill failed to get out of committee.

This generated support for another long-standing issue, whether the five chapters of NASW in the state should be combined into one State Chapter. This action was encouraged by the national organization for many reasons, not the least of which was the desire to become more potent in legislative reform. In 1974, the five chapters voted to merge. As a result of these activities, local and national, the Puget Sound Chapter was geared for political action.

Mobilization of participants for action

Although the professional association can motivate, legitimate, and coordinate activities at the national level, the arena for direct political action is more likely at the community level and the participants to be the local chapter members.

Historically, the Puget Sound Chapter has a long history of social and legislative action. Activities in the past have included the issuing of legislative bulletins, educational and lobbying efforts with legislators either on behalf of the association or in conjunction with coalitions. It maintains a part-time lobbyist at the State Capitol. For the most part this activity is conducted by a Division of Social Policy and Action, speaking for the Chapter. In addition, the Chapter is part of the Education and Legislative Action Network of the national association. Through participation in these activities, there has developed a corps of members interested and active in the process of social and political action.

Although the local Chapter had not engaged in partisan politics prior to this, its members had sometimes endorsed and campaigned for selected candidates in ad hoc committees of social workers which drew on the membership of the professional association as an organizing base. In recent years, two professional social workers had been elected to the State Legislature with the aid of these ad hoc committees.

In 1974, four social workers announced their candidacy for public office, three of them winning their primary elections. It was during these specific circumstances that the Executive Board of the Puget Sound Chapter officially empowered its Division of Social Policy and Action to proceed with the candidate’s poll. The decision, in part, may have been influenced by the knowledge that among the supporters were energetic Chapter members skilled in survey research techniques who were willing to undertake the task.
The growth of a generalized hostile belief

It is reasonable to assume that during the years under study there was a growth of a generalized hostile belief among social workers directed at the frustrating national developments in social welfare policy. The open hearings with congressmen protesting the cuts in social programs as well as the resolution by the local Chapter to impeach President Nixon helped to define "the enemy" and establish a strategy for action. The failure of the campaign to secure the passage of the bill for the state licensing of social workers further reinforced the frustration and structured the action at the local level. Consequently, instead of ending in a "hostile outburst," the collective behavior of the social workers was directed into the channel of partisan politics. As will be seen in the next section, the careful requirements of the national organization for endorsement of candidates imposed a powerful counter-deterrent to the more drastic "hostile outburst."

The operation of social controls

The incentives for a professional association to engage in partisan political action are many. Successful political action can provide it with direct representation in important governmental bodies. With direct representation, the policies of the sponsoring organization can be fostered and safeguarded. First hand information can be secured about bills and where leverage can be most effective for their passage. Through the use of the rights and privileges that accompany the holding of public office, legislative action can be facilitated. The office of the friendly legislator is both a listening post and a center for mobilization. Moreover, the political organization maintained by the officeholder can provide a basis for continuous public support of the issues of concern to the sponsoring organization.

Needless to say, all of these advantages may be turned the other way if the endorsement process is carried out in a haphazard or arbitrary manner. The act of endorsement may alienate other candidates in the event of their winning and thus result in program setbacks for the sponsoring organization, or they may result in divisiveness among members.9

Therefore, the professional organization that engages in partisan political action carefully defines the conditions and limitations under which endorsement may legitimately occur. The dangers inherent in the process would seem to make it imperative for a national organization to set the rules which govern local activities, and to institute a careful monitoring of the enforcement.

In the paragraphs that follow there is a statement of the national requirements of its chapters for the endorsement of political candidates. The paper will examine how the local Chapter observed these regulations.
Six types for criteria for endorsement are required by the National Association of Social Workers for endorsement:

1. **Issue relevance.** Vital social welfare issues of concern to the NASW must be at stake in the particular election for which candidates are endorsed. These issues must be stated clearly, and be consistent with the policies of the organization.

2. **Area relevance.** Endorsements can be made only of candidates living within the geographical or political jurisdiction of the endorsing body. In essence, this means presidential candidates can only be endorsed by the National Board, state-wide candidates by the State Council, etc.

3. **Campaign readiness.** Endorsements become meaningful when accompanied by campaign organization and funds in support of the candidates. Therefore, a specific program to back any endorsement should be delineated prior to the endorsement and as part of the endorsement consideration. Regardless of the administrative body making the endorsement, consideration should be given to the membership interests in the issues involved and on the act of endorsement.

4. **Candidate requirements.** Candidates must be given the opportunity to state their positions in writing. The endorsement of the candidate, however, is based on a number or complex of issues rather than a single issue. Furthermore, the candidate should be contacted for specific commitment on the issues in return for endorsement and made aware of the program to back the endorsement.

5. **National review.** Any endorsements should provide for National Office review of the endorsement process.

6. **Tax-Exemption status.** The endorsement process must comply with the provisions of the Internal Revenue Act (Section 501, C, 6) and the Federal and State Corrupt Practices Acts. Practically speaking, this means endorsement of political candidates is permissible so long as the endorsement is directly related to the goals and purposes of NASW, and so long as no substantial part of the organization's total activities is devoted to the
effort. The extensive use of funds for political activities may threaten the exempt status of any organization on the theory that the true purpose of the organization is political and not that stated in the application for exemption. The Federal Corrupt Practices Act forbids giving NASW funds to candidates for Federal office.

From an analysis of these criteria, it is evident that the first four are intended to guide local chapter action; the fifth empowers the National Office to review local procedures, and the sixth gives a cogent reason why rules should be observed--the national association might lose its favored tax status. Thus, the connection between the professional association and the federal government is identified.

In order to meet the criteria governing local activity, the Chapter adopted the strategy of the candidates' poll. This strategy involves questioning candidates on relevant issues, assessment of answers together with the rating of candidates from outstanding to weak, publication and dissemination of the results among selected groups of voters prior to the elections. It is possible for a poll to become the first step in a political campaign for candidates officially endorsed by the Chapter. In essence, this depends on the local organization's readiness to enter into full-fledged campaign activity, as well as other factors.

In the case at hand, no official endorsement of the local Chapter was requested, and political campaigning for preferred candidates was carried on in the usual ad hoc committees of social workers described earlier in the paper.

TECHNICAL/POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE POLL

Having arrived at the decision to undertake the candidates' poll, several problems remained--problems in which organizational and technical research issues were intertwined. These will be discussed in sections titled: (a) Which candidates?, (b) What issues?, (c) Will candidates respond?, (d) How can the results be interpreted?, (e) How credible is the response?

Which candidates?

There are literally hundreds of candidates that file in the primary elections in a political jurisdiction of the size encompassed by the Puget Sound Chapter. Its constituency includes social workers living in four counties which contain about 46 percent of the residents of the State of Washington. The geographical area includes all or parts of four congressional districts and several dozen state legislative districts. A survey task of this magnitude was beyond the capacity of the
volunteer team assigned the task. Fortunately, the number of candidates is reduced by the time of the regular elections, but so is the time period for the poll. In the State of Washington there are five weeks between the two elections. Given this time constraint, the poll was limited to one county, King County, and to the candidates in the regular November election. The sample numbered 99 Democratic and Republican Party candidates for 52 state legislative offices, and 10 Democratic and Republican candidates for five Congressional districts. No attempt was made to poll the minority party candidates for these offices.

An alternate procedure for delimiting sample size is also suggested by the national NASW criteria for endorsement. Where the Chapter proposes its own candidates, perhaps it would be sufficient to interview only the candidates for those particular offices. Such was not the case in this instance. However, it should be noted that all three candidates for the regular elections who were professional social workers were included in the sampling plan adopted.

What issues?

The national requirements for endorsement state that "vital social welfare issues of concern to the NASW" must be at stake in the particular election. What is a "vital social welfare issue"? This is not specifically defined by the national organization, nor should it be in a broad policy guideline. Therefore, the team charged with the design of the poll selected issues which had received continuous attention by the national and local organizations in the immediate past and which were likely to appear on the legislative docket in the immediate future. These issues involved the state licensure of social workers, tax reform, national health insurance, appropriations for social programs, and new budget priorities.

Furthermore, a severe restriction was imposed on the number of issues explored and the detail required by the questionnaire. The poll was being mounted at the busiest time of the election. Clarity, brevity, and ease in completion were necessary criteria if the questionnaire was to be completed by the candidates. Consequently, the question formats were of the following order:

How do you rank the importance of each of the following programs for the well-being of the citizens of the state: essential, very important, important, acceptable, unacceptable, don't know? (20 social programs were listed such as day care, aid to families with dependent children, consumer advocacy, community mental health, etc.)

What is your opinion of the following issues: agree, disagree, no opinion? (10 issues were listed such as guaranteed annual income, national health insurance, state licensing of social workers, etc.)

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The tax burden on the average citizen in Washington state should be eased by: (several options identified).

For effective control in inflation it will be necessary to institute: (several options identified).

Information about the candidate's background and characteristics was also obtained.

Will candidates respond?

The usual survey procedures were used to motivate responses. Accompanying the forms was a personalized letter on the NASW letterhead describing the nature of the organization and its desire to have this information as a service to membership and as a basis for possible endorsement. The letter indicated where further information could be obtained; it expressed an interest in working together in the future with the candidate on issues of mutual concern. A self-addressed stamped envelope was included. The candidate was requested to fill out and return the form by a specified date two weeks hence, together with a copy of his/her campaign literature. There was a follow-up telephone call to assure that the letter had been received and to encourage response.

In total, 38 of the 99 candidates for the state posts and a single Congressional candidate returned the filled-out questionnaires. Information was obtained for one or both candidates for 32 of the 52 state offices at stake in the elections.

Some reasons for this non-response can be determined from the telephone follow-up. Apparently, some candidates did not receive the original questionnaire although it was sent to them at the mailing address they listed with the Election Board at the time of filing. Either the public listing was inaccurate, or the address was a false one. Even though a correct address could be located, in many cases the candidate could not be contacted personally: phones were unlisted, temporarily disconnected, or they were hooked into answering services. When contacted, many candidates promised to return their answers, and few followed through. Most were friendly and evasive, saying: "I'm so busy I don't have time," "There are too many polls." One frankly stated that he didn't know anything about the issues that were raised in the poll. In short, the follow-up probably increased the number of returns by one-quarter.

Once returned, it was a simple process to transfer the contents of the questionnaire to a code sheet for further analysis since all the important items in the questionnaire were precoded.
How can the results be interpreted?

The immediate purpose of the poll was to help members of the Puget Sound Chapter to make an informed choice among the candidates. To do this, a short six-page report of the survey was sent to each member (and the candidates) prior to election day. The report described how the survey was conducted and contained a rating of the candidates on their support of social programs and issues. An excerpt from the rating form is presented in Table 1.

Two types of ratings are made: a rating of the candidate's position on each of 17 social programs and issues, and a composite rating called the Summary Score. For the most part the ratings are based on a single item in the questionnaire. However, seven ratings include 2-7 items. The Summary Score contains 30 items. Each rating except the Summary Score is scaled from 0-4 as follows:

4 Strong Support. The program is essential or very important.
3 Moderate Support. The program is important. I agree.
2 Weak Support. The program is acceptable.
1 Don't know. Ambivalent. There are contradictory opinions on parallel items.
0 Opposition. The program is unacceptable. I disagree.

While the Summary Score is based on the same items as the indices mentioned above, a slightly different weighting is given to the items. Candidates with a Summary Score of 90 and above were rated outstanding, 75-89 good, 60-74 average, under 60 weak.

By reference to the rating form (Table 1), an overall assessment of the candidate and his/her position on particular issues can be determined. For example, there were two candidates for the State Senate in the 35th Legislative District, both of whom answered the poll. Neither candidate is a strong one, Ruthe Ridder being rated "average" with a Summary Score of 69, and her opponent "weak" with a Summary Score of 37. The ratings on the 17 social programs and issues provide most of the details which went into the composite rating. However, note that there is little difference between the candidates on social work licensing and the right of social workers to lobby. Candidate Ridder states "don't know" on both issues while Candidate Griffin is "opposed." Candidate Ridder's position is tempered by a strong support of public social welfare policies and other social programs while her opponent is either "opposed" or doesn't know about them.

Having information on both candidates for the same public office is desirable, but not necessary, to guiding a choice of the person for whom to vote. For example, only one candidate for Position 2 of the House of
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<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Scores in Selected Social Programs:

Rating of Candidates on Support of Social Programs:

0 = Opposition
1 = Don't Know
2 = Weak Support
3 = Moderate Support
4 = Strong Support

Table 1
Representatives, 37th Legislative District (Peggy Joan Maxie) responded to the poll. But her Summary Score was an "outstanding" 90, and she was "weak" only with positions on welfare over warfare and control of inflation. Perhaps a vote is merited by this "outstanding" candidate, especially in the absence of information about her opponent. Candidate Lubin in another race in which we have information for one contender is a "weak" candidate in general, although he strongly supports social work licensing and lobbying. Despite these two positive ratings, can the candidate be supported by professional social workers? These examples illustrate the utility of the ratings both as a voter's guide and for subsequent legislative action on particular issues. The latter opinion is reinforced by the many requests for the results of the poll made by registered lobbyists following the election.

How credible is the response?

It is difficult to assess the credibility of the information obtained from a poll, especially when the respondents are political candidates standing for election. However, several tests of credibility were made which support the conclusion that the results are fairly reliable and valid.

The usual checks for item clarity, response set, and internal consistency were performed. Those who answered the questionnaire had little difficulty in understanding the contents: there were very few unchecked items. Furthermore, all of the options for each item were used by some candidates, and some candidates used every option at some place in the questionnaire. This is indicated by the variety of answers recorded in Tables 1-3. The range in Summary Scores varied from 26-100, and on each of separate items from 0-4. A partial check on the internal consistency of response was provided by asking candidates to rank the importance of National Health Insurance and the Guaranteed Annual Income to the citizens of our state. Later in the questionnaire they stated their opinion of whether these pieces of legislation should be adopted by the federal government. Still later, they checked options for the National Health Insurance with which they agreed. Uniformly, there was consistency and accuracy in response.

The findings of the poll are consistent with other studies of political attitudes. The Democratic candidates in general are more likely to be in favor of social programs than their Republican counterparts. Furthermore, it is evident, as illustrated in Table 2, that the party self-designation for the candidates is a reasonably good scale of their liberalism-conservatism. Greatest support is in the following predicted order: independent and moderate Democrats, strong Democrats, independent and moderate Republicans, strong Republicans. The correlation between this scale and the extent of support for social programs is .91, according to gamma, statistically significant well beyond the .01 level.
The same finding is consistently borne out in the analysis of individual items of the candidates' poll. See Table 3.

Furthermore, there is consistency between the attitudes expressed on this poll as compared with the prior voting records of 13 candidates for whom we have both pieces of information.

**DISCUSSION**

This paper has described a set of events and circumstances that led a professional association, the Puget Sound Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers, to enter into partisan politics. The form of partisan politics was the attempt to influence the outcome of an election by the conduct of a candidates' poll and the publication of the results for the membership. This was a very mild form of partisan action, limited both by national guidelines and by the willingness and potency of the local chapter to mount a sustained campaign in the interests of the preferred candidates. The case is of some interest because it represents the initial steps of the professional association to broaden its more typical interest in social policy and action to encompass partisan politics; that is, it is a case study of partisan political action by a professional association. It is also of interest.
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<th>Republican</th>
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<td>4  3  2  1  0</td>
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<td>9  2  1  2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17--Controls over Inflation</td>
<td>9  4  1  1  2</td>
<td>1  2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*4= strong support
3= moderate support
2= weak support
1= I don't know
0= opposition
because it illustrated how technical research procedures can be used in the process—a subject of some concern to researcher-activists.

In describing the events leading to the local decision to engage in partisan politics, the paper used Smelser's theory of collective behavior as a device for organizing the data into a coherent whole. As such, the theory was quite useful. At a minimum it provided a checklist for the observer. The events and circumstances could reasonably be classified in terms of the five functional components of collective behavior: structural strain, structural conduciveness, growth of generalized hostile belief, mobilization of participants for action, operation of control.

Furthermore, the theory is explicit about the role of counterdeterrents in the prevention of hostile outbursts. In the case at hand, it would seem that the professional association acts both as a spur and a counterdeterrent to political action. It provides orderly channels through which frustrations can be expressed, protests channeled, and the attempt at political reform be mounted.

Pivin and Cloward in their book, Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare, point to the regulatory function of the state. The state regulates welfare spending in order to maintain civil order, low-wage work, and inequality. But, in their book, Pivin and Cloward don't show how the professional association is involved in this process. If the professional association is conceived as quasi-governmental in character, then it might be expected to enhance the regulatory, counterdeterrent function of the state. On the other hand, perhaps all levels of the professional association do not function in the same way. In the organizational division of labor perhaps it is the national professional association that is more likely to perform this function, and the local organization the mobilization for reform.

The role of the national professional association as a regulatory agency, as a spur, and a counterdeterrent to political action, warrants more extended discussion.

This study has demonstrated that the guidelines of the national association are workable for the type of political action entered into by the Puget Sound Chapter. However, the guidelines place severe restrictions on the organization if it wishes to sponsor its own candidates. Ordinarily a political campaign organization is set up months in advance of the election and it works for specific candidates. The national guidelines would seem to rule out this option by the requirement that all candidates be given the opportunity to state their positions in writing and thus potentially be eligible for endorsement. So long as this requirement remains, the NASW will be placed in a reactive position, and candidates who wish to run on its platform will need to do so without
official endorsement until a full slate enters. This restriction need not present a major barrier to the entry of professional associations into partisan politics, for they can always use the strategy of the candidates' poll. Moreover, at the present stage of political development, it is likely that more chapters will adopt this strategy than nominate their own candidates.

The experience with the candidates' poll in the Puget Sound region indicates that this strategy is viable but could stand improvement. In particular, ways should be found to assure wider response from candidates. It is likely that to accomplish this, questionnaires will have to be filled out during a personal interview with the candidate rather than by mail. To do this, a much larger corps of workers will be needed than in the present effort. This can be an asset. By participating in the polling process, members are educated on the issues and activated, and there the likelihood of securing active campaign organization is enhanced.

How useful the survey results will be to continuing legislative action remains to be seen. The poll is one way the professional association has of making itself and its program visible and persuasive to political figures. It is a bridge to future negotiation and collaboration.

Currently, candidate ratings are based on the examination of the candidate's credentials, including the prior voting records of incumbents. The poll is an added technique that provides an equal opportunity to incumbents and non-incumbents alike to state their views on issues of concern to the poll takers. As such, it is a valuable tool for professional associations as they embark on the turbulent and uncertain seas of partisan political activity.

FOOTNOTES

1 If social policy is "concerned with the right ordering of the network of relationships between men and women who live together in societies, or with the principles which should govern the activities of individuals and groups so far as they affect the lives and interests of other people," and if social action is "individual or group activity designed to influence a change in social policy," then partisan political action is narrower and more specific in focus. It is primarily concerned with the selection and election of candidates to public office. It is a part of politics, "an exchange process in which individuals, groups, and organizations, including political parties, invest their energies and resources in the expectation of some return or reward."

The definition of social policy is that of A. Macbeath, Can Social Policies Be Rationally Tested? (London: Oxford University Press, 1957) p. 188. The definition of social action is that of Daniel Thursz,


3 Smelser, Ibid., page 91.

4 Smelser, op. cit., p. 253.

5 The NASW News is the monthly newspaper of the professional association. A content analysis covering the period, 1972-1974, indicates that there were one to three news stories per issue devoted to similar accounts and describing legislative and political activities of the association. For a more comprehensive history of events, see Alan Gartner, Colin Greer, and Frank Riessman (eds.), What Nixon Is Doing to Us (New York: Harper and Row, 1973).


9 These potential dangers were explicitly noted by the National Executive Board when they discussed this policy. See "Do's, Don't's, and If's of Political Action--NASW Board Adopts New Policy," NASW News, Vol. 17, No. 5 (Aug.-Sept. 1972), pp. 4-5.

10 These criteria are paraphrased from the statement of the National Board. Ibid.

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Three ratings lack the scale value of two and three: Social Work Right to Lobby, Social Work Licensure, and Controls Over Inflation.


A test of this was performed in the following way. As members of the State House of Representatives, these 13 candidates voted either for or against social legislation on 15 occasions. The candidates were ranked ordered on the number of votes cast favoring social legislation. This rank order was compared with the rank order of the candidates on their overall score in support of social programs. A correlation of .67 exists between the two series, which is statistically significant at the .01 level according to procedures reported in Helen M. Walker and Joseph Lev, Statistical Inference (New York: Henry Holt, 1953) pp. 278-283. The voting record of candidates is reported in Labor Looks at the 43rd Session of the Washington State Legislature (Seattle: Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, June, 1974).


Francis Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward (New York: Pantheon, 1971).


Just after the paper was completed, the Chapter was extended an invitation to meet with a group of 20 legislators to discuss their legislative program. There is no way to know with certainty that this can be attributed to the Chapter's pre-election political activities. At about the same time (January, 1975), the NASW News announced that sections of the Hatch Act had been repealed which prohibited political campaigning by government workers. NASW's Second Vice-President, Mayor Howard N. Lee, was quoted as saying that there is a "distinct need for social workers to participate in the political arena in an effort to shape rules and regulations to fit people instead of helping people conform to rules."
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